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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.



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# CONTENTS

OF

No. LXXXIX.

ART.	Page
I.—1. Bhagavat Gita, id est Θεσπεσιον Μελος, sive almi Krishnæ et Arjunæ Colloquium de rebus divinis.	
2. Die Sündflut, nebst drei andern der wichtigsten Episoden des Mahâ-Bharâtâ.	
3. Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel.	
4. Naldaya. Sanscritum Carmen Calidaso adscriptum, una cum Pradschnacari Methelinensis Scholiis.	
5. Brama-Vaivarta-Purani Specimen.	
6. Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus	
II.—Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Straits, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions. Performed in his Majesty's Ship Blossom, under the command of Cap- tain F. W. Beechey, R.N.	57
III.—The Law of Population. By Michael Thomas Sadler, M.P.	97
IV.—Fragments of Voyages and Travels, including Anecdotes of a Naval Life. By Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S.	115
V.—Conspiration pour l'Egalité, dite de Babeuf. Par Philippo Buonarroti	167
VI.—Statements, Calculations, and Explanations, submitted to the Boar of Trade, relating to the Commercial, Fi- nancial, and Political State of the British West Indies	209
VII.—1. Would Reform in Parliament be a Benefit to the Country? By B. S. Escott, Esq.	
2. The Real Character and Tendency of the proposed Reform.	
3. The Speech of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker on the Reform Question.	
4. Observations on the Ministerial Plan of Reform. By Sir John Walsh, Bart., M.P.	
5. The New Constitution: Remarks by Philip Pusey, Esq. M.P.	
6. Notes on the Bill. By a Barrister	252

CONTENTS OF No. XC.

# CONTENTS

OF

No. XC.

ART.	Page
I.—Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, and the Investigation of Truth. By John Abercrombie, M.D., F.R.S.E., First Physician to his Majesty in Scotland	- 341
II.—Orain le Rob Donn, &c.—Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language, by Robert Mackay, the celebrated bard of Lord Reay's country; with a Memoir of the Author	- 358
III.—A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy. By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge	- - - - - 347
IV.—Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition	- - - 407
V.—Outlines of History	- - - - - 450
VI.—1. Lives of the British Architects. By Allan Cunningham. 1 vol. (Published in the Family Library.)	
2. Designs for Parsonages and Farm Houses, &c. By E. F. Hunt.	
3. Exemplars of Tudor Architecture. By E. F. Hunt	- 472
VII.—Friendly Advice to the Lords on the Reform Bill	- - 504

# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW



- ART. I.—*Bhagavat Gita, id. est Θεσπεσιος Μελος, sive almi Krishne et Arjune Colloquium de rebus divinis.* Edidit Augustus Tscheldius a Schlegel. Bonn. 1823.
2. *Ueber die unter den Namen Bhagavat-Gita bekannte Episode des MAHABHARATA von Wilhelm von Humboldt.* Berlin. 1826.
3. *Nalus, Carmen Sanscritum e Mahabharata, edidit, Latine vertit, et adnotationibus illustravit Franciscus Bopp.* 1819.
4. *Nalu. Eine Indische Dichtung von Wjasa. Aus dem Sanskrit vom Joh. Gottfr. Ludw. Kosegarten.* Jena. 1820.
5. *Yadnodattabada, ou la Mort d'Yadnodatta, Episode extrait du Ramayana, Poeme Epique Sanscrit. Par A. L. Cherzy.* Paris. 1826.
6. *Diluvium cum tribus aliis Maha-Bharati praeclarissimis Episodiis.* Pimus edidit Franciscus Bopp. Berolini. 1829.
7. *Die Sandflut, nebst drei anderen der wichtigsten Episoden des Mahabharata. Aus der Ursprache ubersetzt von Franz Bopp.* Berlin. 1829.
8. *Ardschuna's Reise zu Indra's Himmel, nebst anderen Episoden des Mahabharata von Franz Bopp.* Berlin. 1824.
9. *Nalodaya. Sanscritum Carmen Calidaso adscriptum, nunc cum Pradschmarari Methelinensis Scholiis.* Edidit, Latina Interpretatione atque adnotationibus Criticis instruxit Ferdinandus Benary. Berolini. 1830.
10. *Brahma-Varivarta-Purani Specimen.* Edidit Adolphus Friedericus Stenzler. Berlin. 1829.
11. *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus.* Translated from the original Sanscrit by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. 3 vols. Calcutta. 1827.
12. *Indische Bibliothek. Eine Zeitschrift von August Wilhelm von Schlegel.* 2 vols. Various years.
13. *Rigveda Specimen.* Edidit Fredericus Rosen. London. 1830.

**T**HE indifference of the British public to the religious and political state of the vast empire which extends, in its sovereignty or influence, from the foot of the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, has been a frequent subject of astonishment and complaint.

Those regions of which our ancestors spake and read with a kind of awe-struck wonder, as of those

————— where the gorgeous east  
Shower'd o'er her kings barbaric pearl and gold,

having lost their imaginative interest, as the realms of sovereigns who sat on ivory thrones, rode abroad among a thousand elephants, and seemed to realize all the magic wonders of the 'Arabian Nights'; and having sunk into the presidencies of quiet and unromantic English gentlemen, are supposed to possess no interest except to the holders of East India stock, or to those who think India an admirable country to provide for younger sons. The Journal of Bishop Heber awoke the public mind, at least for a time, to a more vivid curiosity about regions where external nature is so prolific in wonders; where the British government issues out its mandate to almost as many nations and languages as the great king in the Old Testament; where the land is strewn with the wrecks of mighty empires, and with the mouldering monuments of religions whose origin is lost in the depth of remote ages, but which have influenced the fate of generations after generations of our fellow-creatures; and where vestiges are discovered, if not of the earliest, at least of civilization in its primeval form, and stretching upward far beyond the reach, at all events, of profane record. If then there is, in general, such remarkable apathy on all questions connected with India, questions which at present relate to the civil, moral, and religious welfare of a hundred millions of our subjects, it could scarcely be expected that much general attention should be drawn towards the antiquities and literature of a people whose habits of feeling, thinking, and believing are, in many respects, so remote from and repugnant to those of all European nations.

Yet to the few who study with intense interest the history of man, how full of wonder and of information is the civil, the religious, the literary history of this remarkable people, as it has been gradually developed, and as their monuments are more profoundly studied, and their writings more extensively made known through the diligence and activity of English and continental scholars! What curious, even if inexplicable, secrets come, daily as it were, to light from the study of a language, not merely in its primitive roots, but in its construction and grammatical forms, so strikingly allied with the Persian, still more with the Greek, the primitive Latin, and the Teutonic tongues;\* from the discovery, if not in its primitive at

\* As a single instance, we find in the two auxiliary verbs of the Sanskrit not only almost, *to idem litera*, the *asmi, issi, issi*, in the *asmi, asi, asti* of the Indian; but in the other, the *bhavani*, with its root *bhu* and its derivatives, the germ of the *bam*, *has*, but of the Latin imperfect, and of the ancient form of the preterite *fuvi, fuvisti, juvi*.

least in its most full and perfect form, of the great pantheistic system of religion, which, with one exception, under its various modifications, comprehended the whole of Asia and Egypt, at least as the faith of the higher and more intellectual classes; from the examination of the laws and civil polity of a people in which the institution of castes appears in its most rigid and certainly its most lasting form, unchanged, as even European history can prove, since the days of Alexander; from the development of their philosophy, which appears to have passed like that of elder Greece and that of modern Europe through every successive gradation of Idealism, Materialism, Scepticism, Eclecticism; finally, from their poetry, which however encumbered with monstrous and extravagant fiction, and a wild and incoherent mythology, not only excites our interest as characteristic of the people of whose imagination and feelings it is the living expression, but even to European ears may be found to abound in passages rarely perhaps of striking grandeur or energy, but often of the most exquisite delicacy, of the softest tenderness, of infinite variety and gracefulness of fancy, and what may not least surprise our readers, of the purest simplicity.

Oriental poetry is generally proscribed in the mass, as offering little more than a brilliant confusion of florid diction, of turgid and fantastic metaphor, not merely false to European nature, but to those primary and universal principles of taste which demand that the language should be in harmony with the thought, the imagery in keeping with the sentiment. If we may judge, as doubtless we may fairly judge, from literal translations into free though elegant Latin, and into German, which, from the infinite variety of its metrics, and the general pliancy of its structure, is so well adapted to give a faithful copy of every style of national poetry; if we may form anything like a reasonable estimate of Sanskrit poetry from the numerous works which are before us, we may safely pronounce that the diction of the Indian poets is peculiarly simple: their luxuriance is not in the language but in the subject matter of their poetry; in the infinite variety, vastness, and exuberance of their mythological fables; it is in this part that the imagination runs riot,

The reader who may be interested in this branch of oriental literature, will find a brilliant survey of the successive schools of Indian philosophy in a book where, from its title, he would not be inclined to seek it, the *Histoire de la Philosophie du système Sûctey*, by Victor Cousin. This sketch is chiefly compiled from the works of one of the earliest, as well of the ablest, discoverers in the unknown regions of eastern literature, our countryman Mr. Colebrooke. To this gentleman Indian scholars on the continent, as well as in England, look up with something of filial reverence; and we know no one to whom the prize of ability and sagacity seems awarded by such universal consent, or whose title to the highest rank of oriental scholarship is admitted with such ready and unquestioning unanimity.

not in the redundance of metaphor, or the profusion of unmeaning similitudes—in this respect their taste is Grecian rather than Italian. The elegant mind of Heber, at the very commencement of his oriental studies, perceived at once the distinction. ‘I have more and more convinced myself that what is called the florid Eastern style is chiefly to be found in translations; and that the characteristics of the originals are often rather flatness and vapidness than exuberance of ornament.’\* The justice of this opinion, we apprehend, will be acknowledged by all competent judges, even as regards Arabic and Persian poetry; and, however all countries, India among the rest, may have their *Seicentisti*, their Marinos, and Gongoras,—the Nalodaya, edited by M. Benary, is in this false style,—the general character, especially of their earlier poems, is directly the reverse.

It is to the ancient poetry of India that we propose to confine our present article,—to give some account of the discoveries which have been made in these untrodden regions by persons in every sense qualified to pass judgment on the real value of that which has come to light. Unquestionably the mine of Indian poetry has been worked for some years by men admirably qualified to trace the rich vein of gold which runs beneath its dark surface. When we mention the names of the Schlegels, we appeal to poetical critics whose boundless acquaintance with ancient and modern literature, whose high and philosophic principles of taste, however they may not command universal deference, have at least a right to universal respect and attention. The elegant work of the late Frederick Schlegel on the language and the philosophy of India, first, we believe, directed the industry and excited the enthusiasm of German scholars towards the study of Sanscrit. He was followed, and soon outstripped, by his brother, who has, among other works, edited the Bhagavat-Gita, with a most felicitous Latin translation; has published the Indische Bibliothek—a journal abounding in information on all subjects relating to the study of Sanscrit; and is employed in the more arduous work of editing the complete text of the Ramayana. Of the publications of their most acute and indefatigable associate, F. Bopp, we shall have frequent occasion to avail ourselves in the course of our article; and every German catalogue brings forward the names of new adventurers in this expanding field of literary inquiry.

If, however, we set out by professing our *almost* total ignorance of the ancient language, we may perhaps be accused of assuming a judicial authority to which we have no pretensions. We might at once take refuge in the excuse that we profess to review the

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\* Journal of Voyage to India, p. xxxiii.

translations, not the original works, to give our readers an account of these ancient Eastern poets as they appear before us in modern European attire, not to introduce them in their native garb and original simplicity and dignity: yet we may perhaps go further, and, frankly admitting that we have imperfect information, for that very reason advance a higher claim to impartiality. Those who have made themselves masters of a rare and difficult branch of study are naturally disposed to over-estimate its value. The very zeal which has carried them in triumph through many and great obstacles, sensibly magnifies the object, to attain which they have consumed so much labour. None but fervent and enthusiastic minds will apply themselves to such abstruse studies, and the fervour and enthusiasm which cheer them on their course will throw a bright and dazzling colouring over the objects of their pursuit. As to the first navigators of the ocean every island was a paradise, every rock a realm of gold and an abode of bliss; partly from the mere excitement of novelty, partly from the intoxication of success so long despised of, and the sense of toil and peril undergone, which no one is willing to suppose that he has thrown away on a worthless object, partly from that universal propensity of our nature to attribute the highest value to that of which we have exclusive possession—from illusions such as these men of the coolest minds cannot sometimes altogether emancipate themselves, and hence the reports of the first adventurers gradually sober down, and the enchanted lands, though they may still prove in a high degree picturesque and beautiful, lose their romantic and almost preternatural character. So, if we may still pursue the illustration, we have sailed to the pleasant shores of Indian poetry, with little toil on our own part, we have compared the separate accounts of the various discoverers with considerable care, and endeavoured to form a dispassionate judgment on the merits of the new territory thus added to the world of literature. In other words, we have collected from many quarters all the translations of Sanskrit poetry which we have been able to obtain—those of the Schlegels, of Bopp, of Rossguten, and of Rosen, of the German school, of M. Chezy, in French, and in English, of Sir William Jones, the missionaries Carey and Marshman, but, above all, of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson. Ourselves, as students of the language, being confessedly in our leading-strings, we have, nevertheless, been able to form our own opinion in many places where we have ventured to translate the foreign translations, as to the structure of the verse, the collocation of the words, and other peculiar characteristics of the originals. If we have, in general, been obliged to copy the ‘wrong side of the tapestry,’ we have, nevertheless, endeavoured to form some notion of the brilliancy

liancy and disposition of the colours on the right. Our object is to afford to the common reader, by the wide circulation of a popular journal, some knowledge of the valuable labours of men, whose industry and talents deserve a more extensive fame than they are likely to obtain within the circumscribed sphere in which Oriental scholars appear to dwell apart from the common world of letters; and, at the same time, to open a view, although necessarily rapid and imperfect, of the works of poets unknown, even by name, in the West, though once the delight of the most splendid courts, and some of them not merely the bards, but likewise the religious instructors of the most populous, perhaps in their day the most civilized, regions of the earth.

Our first extract will be taken from the famous Bhagavat-Gita, an episode in the great epic poem, the Mahâ Bharatâ. The oldest poetry of the Hindus is contained in their primitive religious books, the Vedas,\* and in their metrical laws, the Institutes of Menu. The Puranas, the traditions, as the Vedas are the scriptures of Hindu faith, are of later origin—the poetical Golden Legend of Brahminical hagiography. Between the Vedas and Puranas, in point of antiquity, or, at least, older than parts of the latter, rank the two great epic poems, the Ramayana and the Mahâ Bharatâ—the Iliad and the Odyssey of the heroic, or rather the mythological, age of Sanscrit poetry. These extraordinary works, in comparison to the stately and uniform structures of the Grecian bard, are as the Himalaya to the *bifidi juga Parnassi*, or perhaps, a more appropriate illustration, as the banian of India, stretching out, and striking down and taking root again, in an endless and intricate grove, to the spreading yet regular planes, or the tall and graceful poplars, which rise beside the margin of some poetic Grecian river.

The Mahâ Bharatâ is most justly called the Great Bharata, for it is distributed into eighteen parts, which together amount to one hundred thousand slokas or distichs. In the midst of this giant epic occurs the Bhagavat-Gita, or the Divine Song—an episode, which, in the form of a dialogue between the god Krishna and the hero Arjuna, gives a full and most curious exposition of the half-mythological, half-philosophical Pantheism of the Bramins. It is, indeed, probable that this episode is of a much later

\* Of the Vedas, our knowledge is derived from the profound dissertation of Mr. Colebrooke, in the eighth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Professor Rosen, of the London University, has just put forth a 'specimen' of the Rig Veda in the original, with a translation and notes. It consists of several short hymns, chiefly addressed to Agni, the God of Fire, and may be compared, with some interest, with the Pseudo-Orphic Hymns of Greek poetry, consisting, like them, of appellations and descriptions of the attributes of the different deities. The laws of Menu, it is well known, were translated by Sir W. Jones, and have been published in a splendid form, and, in the judgment of M. Chezy, with great critical ability, by Mr. Haughton.

date than the poem itself; it reads like a noble fragment of Empedocles or Lucretius, introduced into the midst of an Homeric epic; and we observe that this episode is not noticed in the abstract of the Javanese version of this part of the *Mahā Bhārata* in Sir Stamford Raffles's work. Yet, in point of poetical conception, there is something singularly striking and magnificent in the introduction of this solemn discussion on the nature of the godhead and the destiny of man, in the midst of the fury and tumult of the civil war in which it occurs. The battle pauses while the god and the hero hold their sublime, though somewhat prolix, converse; and if a later interpolation, it is allied with great address to the main subject of the poem.

Of the *Bhagavat-Gita* we have before us—first, the English prose version of that venerable Sanskrit scholar, Mr. Charles Wilkins; secondly, the original text, with a Latin version, composed with singular elegance and dexterity by Augustus Schlegel; thirdly, some passages in German verse, at the end of the volume of Frederick Schlegel; fourthly, some extracts, in a remarkably able and profound disquisition on the philosophy as well as the poetry of the *Bhagavat*, by Baron William von Humboldt.

A civil war had broken out between the two great heroic races of the sons of Pandu and the sons of Kuru. The *Panduidæ*, having been driven from the throne of their common parent, which had been usurped by the younger race of Kuru, are returning from exile, with a mighty army, to maintain their rights and claim their ancestral sceptre. The battle is in the act of closing; the tall and valiant *Bhishma*, the leader, on the part of the *Kuruidæ*, harangues his followers; he 'thunders like a roaring lion,' and blows his shell of battle, to which the conchs and all the warlike music of his host reply. On the other side appears *Arjuna* in his splendid car, drawn by white horses, and attended by the god *Krishna*. *Arjuna* and all his captains in their turn blow their conchs (each of which, like the swords and steeds of the knights of Arthur and Charlemagne, has its proper name.)—a moment, and the battle begins to rage. But *Arjuna*, still accompanied by *Krishna*, commands his chariot to be driven into the space between the armies. He surveys the opposing hosts,—each composed of his kindred; he beholds, on either side, brothers in arms against brothers;

—————'populumque potentem,  
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextrâ,  
'Cognatasque acies.'

A deep melancholy passes over his spirit, and in these words he addresses the deity who stands by his side. (In the versification of these passages, which we have ventured to attempt, our eight-line

line measure, which we have adopted without rhyme, in the number of its syllables, and as nearly as possible, in its cadence, answers to the Sanskrit original.)\*

‘ My kindred, Krishna, I behold, all standing for the battle arm’d;  
My every quailing member fails, and wan and wither’d is my face;  
Cold shuddering runs through all my frame, my hair stands stiff upon  
my head;

And Gandiv† falls from out my hand, and all my burning skin is parch’d.  
I cannot move—I cannot stand; within, my reeling spirit swims.

On every side, oh fair-haired god! I see the dark ill-omened signs:  
My kindred when I’ve slain in fight, what happiness remains for me!  
For victory, Krishna, care not I, nor empire, nor the bliss of life;  
For what is empire, what is wealth, and what, great king, is life itself,  
When those for whom we thirst for wealth, and toil for empire and  
for bliss,

Stand in the battle-field arrayed, and freely peril wealth and life?  
Teachers, sons, fathers, grandsires, uncles, nephews, cousins, kindred  
friends,

Not for the triple world would I, oh Madhuis’ conqueror, slaughter  
them;

How much less for this narrow earth, though they would sternly  
slaughter me.’

Arjuna dwells still more on the miseries of civil war, the extinction of noble races, the suspension of splendid family alliances, the interruption of all sacred rites, (the sacrificia gentilitia,) the general impiety, the licence among the females. He then sinks back in his chariot, lays aside his bow and arrows, and awaits the answer of the god. Krishna sternly reproves his tameness of character. Arjuna replies in a tone still more sad and broken spirited, and declares that he had rather beg his bread than obtain empire by the slaughter of his kindred. The reply of Krishna breathes the terrible sublime of pantheistic fatalism. Upon this system, the murder, the massacre of the dearest kindred, are indifferent; death and life are but unimportant modifications of the

\* ‘ The oldest, most simple, and most generally adopted measure, is the Sloka, a distich, of two sixteen-syllable lines, divided at the eighth syllable. According to our prosodial marks, the following is the scheme :—

○○○○|○--○|○○○○|○-○○  
○○○○|○--○|○○○○|○-○○

The first four syllables are bound by no rule; the second half, on the contrary, is unalterably fixed, excepting that the last syllable has the common licence of termination. In the second half verse, I do not remember a single instance of deviation from this, though sometimes, but very seldom, the first half verse ends with another quadrisyllable foot.—Schlegel, Indische Bibliothek, p. 36. Compare Mr. Colebrooke’s elaborate Essays on Sanscrit Prosody, Kosegarten’s Preface to Nala, and Bopp’s Preface to his Translation of Selections from the Mahabharatā.

† His bow.

same being ; and the immortality, the eternity of the soul becomes a terrific argument for utter disregard of human suffering in the present state of being.

'Thou mourn'st for those thou shouldst not mourn, albeit thy words are like the wise,

For those that live or those that die, may never mourn the truly wise. Ne'er was the time when I was not, nor thou, nor yonder kings of earth :

Hereafter, ne'er shall be the time, when one of us shall cease to be. The soul, within its mortal frame, glides on through childhood, youth, and age ;

Then in another form renew'd, renews its stated course again.

All indestructible is He that spread the living universe ;

And who is he that shall destroy the work of the Undestructible ?

Corruptible these bodies are that wrap the everlasting soul—

The eternal, unimaginable soul. Whence on to battle, Bharata !

For he that thinks to slay the soul, or he that thinks the soul is slain, Are fondly both alike deceived ; it is not slain—it slayeth not ;

It is not born—it doth not die ; past, present, future, knows it not ;

Ancient, eternal, and unchang'd, it dies not with the dying frame.

Who knows it incorruptible, and everlasting, and unborn,

What heeds he whether he may slay, or fall himself in battle slain ?

As their old garments men cast off, anon new raiment to assume,

So casts the soul its worn-out frame, and takes at once another form.

The weapon cannot pierce it through, nor wastes it the consuming fire ;

The liquid waters melt it not, nor dries it up the parching wind ;

Impenetrable and unburn'd ; impermeable and undried ;

Perpetual, ever-wandering, firm, indissoluble, permanent,

Invisible, unspeakable. Thus deeming, wherefore mourn for it ?

But didst thou think that it was born, and didst thou think that it could die ?

Even then thou should'st not mourn for it with idle grief, oh Bharata.

Whate'er is born must surely die—whate'er can die is born again ;

Wherefore the inevitable doom thou should'st not mourn, oh Bharata.'

In this tone proceeds at some length the implacable deity. Arjuna listens with deep submission and deference, and by degrees elicits from Krishna the whole philosophy of religion, concerning the nature of the gods, the universe, the nature of man, the supreme good, and the highest Wisdom.

The first question is that which was constantly agitated in the Grecian schools—the comparative excellence of the active or contemplative life. Here the Bhagavat-Gita departs from the usual doctrine of the Yogues, and eremitical fanatics of the East, and soars to a loftier mysticism. The highest perfection to which the human soul can attain is action without passion ; the mind is to be entirely independent of external objects ; to preserve its undisturbed serenity it should have the conscious power of withdrawing all

all its senses within itself, 'as the tortoise draws all its limbs beneath its shell.' Action is necessary, but action must produce no emotion—no sensation on the calm spirit within; whatever may be their consequences, however important, however awful, events are to be unfelt, and almost unperceived, by the impassive mind; and on this principle Arjuna is to execute the fated slaughter upon his kindred, without the least feeling of sorrow, or fear, or compunction, being permitted to intrude on the divine apathy of his soul. Some of the images with which this passionless tranquillity of the spirit is illustrated appear to us singularly beautiful.

'As to the unrais'd, unswelling ocean flow the multitudinous streams,  
So to the soul serene, unmov'd, flow in the undisturbing huts.'

—And then again the soul, in this state of unbroken quietude,

'Floats like the lotus on the lake, unmov'd, unruffled by the tide.'

The senses are employed in their separate functions, yet the soul still maintains its stately inactivity. In the Latin of Schlegel,—  
'Nihil equidem ago, (sic arbitretur devotus, veritatis gnarus,) cernens, audiens, tangens, odorans, edens, ambulans, spirans, loquens, dmittens, prehensens, intuens et connivens quoque; sensus tantum in rebus sibi subjectis versantur.' Though the life of the anchorite does not appear to equal in religious sublimity this life of unimpassioned activity, yet one chapter seems to expatiate with peculiar delight on the solitary state of him who dwells apart with his tranquil spirit—

'As hangs the still unwavering lamp, when not a breath disturbs the air.'

The occupations and the privileges of these holy anchorites are, if not the highest, yet approaching to the highest perfectibility. Their occupation is to keep all the avenues to the senses closed, to retain the soul within itself, to be perpetually repeating the mystic monosyllable, Om; so doing, they may attain on earth the glorious prerogative of seeing all things in God, and discerning the divine Unity which thus comprehends all things. After death, they ascend and are absorbed into Brahm, the great primal spirit. If through their own want of resolution, or cut short by death, they depart before they have accomplished their devout task, they may be born again, after many ages, in some pious family, recommence their course, and start afresh from the point of holiness and advancement at which they broke off during their former life. But it is remarkable that not merely are the self-inflicted painful mortifications, the excruciating penances, the absurd and fantastic tortures of the Yoguces not enforced, they are positively discountenanced. But it is not so much our object to discuss the philosophic or religious tenets  
of

of the Bhagavat-Gita as to show the character of the poetry. Krishna gradually develops his own nature, and at length distinctly proclaims himself an Avatar of the supreme deity, Brahma himself, from whom all things emanate, into whom all are re-absorbed. Rising by degrees, he first proclaims himself to be whatever is most excellent in the whole of nature—he is the soul in the body—among the stars the most splendid—among mountains, Meru—among rivers, the Ganges—among words, the mystic monosyllable—the noblest of animals, of birds, of fish—among the letters, A—among the seasons, the spring—and, what is most extraordinary, among frauds, gambling with dice. Whatever, in short, is pre-eminent or splendid derives its splendour and pre-eminence from being, as it were, a portion of the divine essence. He even goes so far as to assert that, as God, he is not merely all existence, but likewise all non-existence.

‘Immortality and Death am I; I am what is and what is not.’

Still there is a distinction between the Deity and the universe, which is illustrated by the striking similitude,

‘As the wide permeating air fills all the ether’s boundless space,  
So deem ye, that indwells in me the sum of all created things;’

and by a second, in which the universe is represented as a chain of pearls, suspended from the Supreme Being,—a notion singularly resembling a remarkable passage in Homer (*Iliad*, viii. 25), which bears manifest impress of Asiatic origin\*. If we are inclined to doubt whether all this is intended for a doctrinal exposition, or an imaginary poetic illustration of the pantheistic creed, the actual impersonation of the Deity, comprehending the whole universe within his visible form, is unquestionably the most extraordinary flight of poetic daring in the range of poetry. It is the whole essence of symbolical religion embodied in language,—a highly abstract metaphysical creed represented as reality,—the most subtle fiction of the reason arrayed in form and substance.

Arjuna implores the Deity that he may enjoy the sacred privilege

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\* The image has been applied in another sense by Ben Jonson, in a passage of such inimitable sweetness, that we cannot forbear from quoting it :

Now, true love  
No such effects doth prove ;  
That is an essence far more gentle, fine,  
Pure, perfect, nay divine ;  
It is a golden chain let down from heaven,  
Whose links are bright and even,  
That falls like sleep on lovers, and combines  
The soft and sweetest minds ;  
And in a calm and godlike unity  
Preserves community.

of beholding the godhead in its real nature. Krishna assents to his petition,—and purifies his eyesight for the insupportable vision—

‘Behold my million forms divine, of every kind, and shape, and hue ;  
Wonders ne’er seen to mortal eye, thou shalt behold, O Bharata.  
Yet with thine earthly vision thou that mystic sight mayst not behold ;  
I give to thee an eye divine, to gaze on all my mysteries.’

The veil of mortal sense is instantaneously removed—the god appears as he is—

‘As from a thousand suns the light were blazing over all the heaven,  
Even such the full magnificence of that o’er-weening splendour shone.  
The unity of all the worlds, and all their multiformity,  
Embodied in the god of gods, at once the son of Pandu saw.’

In an agony of terror, his hair uplift, his head on high, his hands clasped in supplication, Arjuna addresses the awful being—

‘All beings, God, in thee I see, and every animated tribe,  
And Brahma on his lotus throne, and all the wise and heavenly Host—  
I see thee with thy countless arms, and sides, and visages, and eyes,  
Infinite on every side, without beginning, middle, end.  
Thou wear’st the crown, thou wield’st the club, the fatal disc—on every side

Intense, immeasurable light, in every part a blazing sun.’

The poet dwells much longer on the magnificence of the vision, but at length the deity assumes a more terrific appearance—for as all things emanate from, so all things are re-absorbed into this universal being. He is not only the creator and origin, but likewise the destroyer and the termination of created things, and is represented as a being into whose immense and horrid jaws the whole human race precipitates itself and is swallowed up—

‘Even as the torrent rivers pour to ocean’s all-absorbing flood,  
Even so the heroes of mankind rush headlong to thy flaming mouth ;  
What art thou in that dreadful shape ? all hail to thee thou mightiest god—

Thy form primeval I would know, yet may not guess thy dread design.’

The god replies, and brings back the whole description to the part from whence they set forth, closing, as he began, with the same fearful lesson of inexorable fatalism :—

‘Time, the destroyer I, prepared t’ extinguish all yon armed host ;  
Save thou, shall not a man survive in that proud battle line arrayed—  
Wherefore, arise, the glory win—defeat the foe—enjoy the throne.  
By me already are they slain, fate’s passive instrument art thou—  
Slay Dron and Bhishma, Jagathrath, and Karm, and all the valiant host ;

Strike them, already struck by me be fearless and be conqueror.’

We subscribe to the opinion of Baron Humboldt, that the seven concluding cantos of this remarkable poem are by a different hand,  
perhaps

perhaps of a later philosophy. To us, as poetical critics, they appear less vigorous and imaginative—and, however full of very curious information as to the philosophical tenets of the Brahminical religion, mar the kind of unity which seems to combine and centre on one purpose the bolder and more complete outline which is comprehended in the earlier cantos. Nor can we afford space for any detailed examination of these later books. On the whole, the *Bhagavat-Gita* is certainly one of the most curious, and the most characteristic works, which we have received from the East. As a record of religious and philosophical opinion it is invaluable, and if the progress of Sanskrit criticism should hereafter be able to fix, with any certainty, the date of this episode of the *Mahâ Bhârata*, it would throw light on the whole history of Indian civilization.

We pass now to a poem of an entirely opposite description,—one which reminds us more of our own Spenser than of the Lucretian or Empedoclean tone of the *Bhagavat-Gita*. The *Nalus* or *Nala*, is another episode of the vast *Mahâ Bhârata*, and has been translated into Latin by Franz Bopp, and into German verse by Kosegarten. A part of the poem has likewise been translated into German verse by the original editor. It is a poem full of the most pathetic interest; and if any portion of Indian song, hitherto translated into the European languages, is likely to arrest general attention, it is this beautiful tale, which wants only a poet's hand to transplant it in its living freshness to our foreign climate. We must, indeed, acknowledge that, in general, Indian poetry is scarcely ever likely to become popular in Europe. The causes are obvious.—Poetry, which departs from what we may call the vernacular idiom of thought and feeling, must content itself with being the treasured delight of the few;—if it speaks a dialect in the least foreign or learned, or requires a more than ordinarily vivid imagination to transport us into the new world which it opens before us; if it not only awakes no old delightful associations, but depends upon others which are altogether alien to our habits and usual tone of thinking, it must win its way, even if successfully, very slowly; nor is it at any time likely to become completely naturalized among the general mass of readers. Of our own great poets—Milton and Spenser cannot, strictly speaking, be said to be popular;—nothing but the universal nature of Shakspeare forces its way to all hearts. If, then, even with some of our own poets, certainly with those of other European countries, we often require a previous training of knowledge before we can enter into their real spirit, and there is constant danger, lest in this tardy process the life and the feeling which are essential to poetic enjoyment should have evaporated,—if when the understanding must have coldly interpreted

preted before the heart and affections can catch the poet's meaning,—by that time the contagious fire, which ought to have communicated itself with electric rapidity, has died away, and can never hope to be rekindled,—how much more must this be the case with poetry born in a region with a different soil, a different heaven, as well as a different race of human beings? Such are the serious difficulties with which Indian poetry must strive. The face of external nature—the domain of the poet—in those more minute details which give life and reality to the fiction, is strange, unusual; if not demanding a perpetual and laborious comment, at least connected with no pleasurable associations. The gardens of England bloom with the same flowers as those which enamel the meadows of Italy and Greece, at least they bear the same names and excite the same emotions,—the roses, and lilies, and violets of southern song breathe, as it were, their familiar odours when transplanted into our northern climate,—they are the common property of all European poets. The laurels which wave over Delphi; the oaks of Dodona, the beech under which the shepherd Tityrus reclined,—constantly awaken agreeable and well-known images. But take, on the other hand, the description of spring, translated from the hymns of Jayadeva, by Sir W. Jones:

‘Now the hearts of damsels, whose lovers travel at a distance, are pierced with anguish.’ [So far we have a common, and therefore pleasing, though trite observation, but what interest can we have in what follows?] ‘While the blossoms of Bacul are conspicuous among the flowrets covered with bees, the Tamala, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk which it vanquishes; and the clustering flowers of the Palasa resemble the nails of Cama, with which he rends the hearts of the young. The full-blown Cesara gleams like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love; and the pointed thyrsi of the Cetasa resemble the darts by which lovers are wounded. See the branches of Patali flowers filled with bees, like the quiver of Samara filled with shafts; while the tender blossom of the Caruna smiles to see the whole world laying shame aside. The far-scented Madhavi beautifies the trees, round which it twines, and the fresh Mullicâ seduces with rich perfume even the hearts of hermits; while the Amra trec, with blooming tresses, is embraced by the gay creeper Atimacta, and the blue streams of Yamuna wind round the groves of Vrindhasa.’

To an Indian ear, doubtless, this would be as delightful a landscape as Cowper's Garden to our own,—while to us it is even more barren and unmusical than Darwin's scientific botany to the uninitiate. The mythology, with which their poetry is as instinct as that of the ancient Greeks, presents to us but dark allusions, and either strange, or monstrous, or at least unknown forms. We are cradled in familiarity with the gods of Greece and Rome,—  
their

their very haunted dwellings are sacred to the imagination,—Tempe and Arothusa, and Delphi and Helicon, are peopled with their tutelar deities, whose forms and attributes rise up at once before us ;—but we feel no sacred horror at the name of the holy mountain Meru : Troy and Thebes awaken far different trains of thought from Ayodhya and Vidarbha,—of the form and the powers of Vishnu and Siva we know little, and that little indistinctly. Had the Indian mythological odes of Sir W. Jones been animated with a much higher and more daring vein of lyric inspiration, they would still have been weighed down by their cumbrous learning,—they require a profound and regular course of study before we can enter into their merits. The *Cloud Messenger* of Calidasa, translated with considerable elegance by Mr. Wilson, is liable to the same objection ; its beauty, after its very fine opening, consists in the description of places whose very names are full of poetry to the native ear, but to the European awaken no pleasing sentiment whatever.

To a certain degree, then, Indian poetry must be to us learned or foreign—yet there are universal feelings, which lie in the very depth of our common nature,—affections and passions, of which the language is as universal as the shape and the lineaments of man ; and when poetry, in however remote a region, speaks this general dialect of the heart, it will command attention and excite a pleasing or a thrilling interest. • Such appears to us to be the case with the episode of Nala ; and the purely Indian costume of the poetry, in this instance, only adds to its charms, by making us feel that we have before us a faithful transcript of native manners, which, instead of demanding much previous acquaintance with Indian usages, conveys to us much information in a very delightful way : the Nala would require much fewer explanatory notes than any other piece of Oriental poetry. This poem likewise gives a very favourable view of the virtues of the Indian character. A nation, to whom the devoted conjugal fidelity of the wife of Nala is the ideal of female excellence, must have reached a high rank in moral culture ; and the whole poem breathes that gentle, and humane, and pacific tone, which is so strikingly distinctive in all the earlier representations of the Indian native races. Mr. Southey, when, following the bent of his own genius, he indulged, in his Oriental epic, in those exquisite pictures of domestic love which are the peculiar charm of his poetry, was more true to Indian life than he himself perhaps supposed ; for the poem of Nala was, we believe, altogether unknown in Europe at the time of the publication of the *‘Curse of Kehama.’* Nor is it mean praise to the Indian poet that so many centuries ago he should have equalled, in his conceptions of the moral elevation of the female character,

the

the Christian poet who has been most successful in delineating the domestic virtues.

Nala, the monarch of Nishadha, centered in his person all the noble qualities which could distinguish an Indian monarch. He surpassed all kings in justice, all men in beauty, and he was unrivalled in the management of horses. Bhima, the king of Vidarbha (Berar), possessed an only daughter, the most beautiful and most modest of her sex—the gentle Damajanti. Like the knights and ladies of old, these two perfect beings become mutually enamoured from the fame each of the other's admirable qualities: but instead of human ambassadors—the faithful squire or the adventurous handmaid,—Indian poetry furnishes the enamoured prince with a very different kind of confidante. • Wandering in the woods, Nala beholds a flock of birds with golden wings, who offer to convey the tidings of his passion to the ear of the princess. Nala could not refuse a proposal so courteous, and at the same time so acceptable. We have in these translations admitted a slight alteration in our measure, in order to make it more flowing.

‘Flew away the swans\* rejoicing, to Vidarbha straight they flew,  
To Vidarbha's stately city, there by Damajanti's feet,  
Down with drooping plumes they settled, and she gazed upon the flock,

Wondering at their forms so graceful, where amid her maids she sat.  
Sportively began the damsels all around to chase the birds,  
Scattering flew the swans before her, all about the lovely grove.  
Lightly ran the nimble maidens, every one her bird pursued;  
But the swan that through the forest gentle Damajanti followed,  
Suddenly in human language spake to Damajanti thus:  
“Damajanti, in Vidarbha dwells a noble monarch, Nala,  
Fair in form as the Aswinas, peerless among men is he—  
Like Kandharba in his beauty, like a god in human form—  
Truly if that thou wert wedded to this man, O peerless princess!  
Beautiful would be thy children, like to him, thou slender maid.  
We have seen Gods and Gandharyas, men, the Serpents and the  
Rishis; †

All we've seen, but ne'er the equal have we seen of noble Nala.  
Peerless art thou among all women, Nala is the pride of men.’

\* In the original, according to our translators, this is a far less poetic bird; and we must crave permission for once to turn our ‘geese into swans.’ If, however, we are to believe Bohlen, in his very learned work, ‘Das alte Indien,’ the translators are altogether mistaken; they have been misled by the similarity of the word *hansa* to *gans*. The original either means a mythic bird, closely resembling the swan, or is perhaps the tall and brilliant flamingo, which Southey has introduced with such effect in one of his rich descriptions in the ‘Curse of Kehama.’ The goose, however, is so common in Indian mythology, that this must be received with much doubt.

† Intermediate beings in Indian mythology.

They receive a favourable answer from the princess, and take flight.

' Thus the egg-born to the maiden spake, O lord of many peasants !  
Back then flew they to Nishadha, and to Nala told it all.'

Love has the same effect on maidens in east and west.

' Full of thought she sat dejected, pale her melancholy cheeks ;  
Damajanti sat and yielded all her soul to sighs of grief ;  
Silent gazing on the heavens, miserable to behold ;  
Wan was all her soft complexion with her spirit's inward sorrows ;  
Nor in sleep, nor gentle converse, nor in banquets found she joy,  
Night nor day she could not slumber ; Woe, O woe ! she wept and said.'

As in ancient Greece, or as in feudal romance, the kings of all the earth, and all the chiefs or warriors who aspire to the hand of this blameless Helen of the East, are summoned to a solemn assemblage, called the *Swayambhara*, or self-election, where the princess is to designate the favoured suitor by throwing a wreath of flowers round his neck. The roads to the court of Vidarbha are crowded with rajahs and kings ; and groan beneath the weight of steeds, and cars, and elephants. Nala, of course, is among the first ; but on his way he encounters four formidable and unexpected rivals, Indra the god of the firmament, Agni the god of fire, Varuna the god of the waters, Yama the god of the infernal regions. They declare that they have descended from heaven to seek the hand of the lovely Damajanti, and they adjure the enamoured Nala, by his piety and dutiful allegiance to the gods, to undertake the ungracious task of bearing their message of love to the fair. Nala remonstrates, but piety triumphs over passion. He is suddenly, by the divine aid, transported into the bower of the princess.

' There he saw Vidarbha's maiden, girt with all her virgin bands,  
Bright in beauty, full of softness, worthy of her noble blood ;  
Every limb in round proportion, slender sides and lovely eyes ;  
Even the moon's soft gleam despising, in her own o'erpowering  
brightness ;

As he gazed, his love grew warmer to the softly smiling maid,  
Yet to keep his truth, his duty, all his passion he suppressed.'

He delivers the message of the gods, but the maiden, in this delicate situation, permits her candour to prevail over her bashfulness, and declares that, even in the presence of the gods, she shall select the noble Nala. But a new difficulty arises ; the assembly is met at the *Swayambhara*, all the royal suitors are in array, and Damajanti discovers, to her dismay, five Nalas ; for each of the deities had assumed the form, the features, the dress of the king of Nishadha. She addresses the deities in a supplicating hymn.

‘ With her words and with her spirit, uttered she her humble prayer,  
Folding both her hands and trembling, to the gods the maiden spake.’  
The gods are moved with compassion, they stand confessed, pure  
(literally *sine sudore*), with eyes that do not close, with chaplets of  
celestial amaranth, their feet not touching the ground, their bodies  
casting no shadow. The form of the mortal Nala is distinguished by the opposite of all these celestial attributes. He is  
not free from the dust and heat of earth, his feet press the ground,  
his body casts a shadow.

‘ Modestly the large-eyed maiden lifted up his garment’s hem,  
Round his shoulders threw she lightly the bright zone of radiant  
flowers.’

The assembly breaks up amid the applause of the gods, and the  
jealous lamentations of the unsuccessful suitors.

The nuptials are celebrated; Nala and his bride are blessed  
with two children; Nala is the model of all virtue; beloved by  
his subjects, pious to the gods, a diligent reader of the four  
Vedas, even of the fifth—he at length performs the Aswamedha,  
the celebrated sacrifice of the horse, the height of Indian  
devotion.

But ‘ the course of true love never doth run smooth.’ The  
gods on their return from the Swayambara had met the fierce  
and vindictive Kali and another Deity, who, enraged to find them-  
selves too late, and jealous of the success of Nala, swore deep  
and eternal vengeance. But evil spirits have no power over the  
blameless; offence must be committed before they can possess  
themselves of the soul of man. In unlucky hour Nala is guilty of  
a nameless act of impurity in the omission of a certain ablution;  
the demon Kali at once enters into him, his understanding is per-  
verted, his disposition changed, and one lingering virtue, the love  
of Damajanti, alone remains. He plays at dice with his unna-  
tural brother Pushikara—loses his wealth, palaces, provinces, his  
kingdom, his very clothes. Damajanti had fortunately seized  
an opportunity of sending her children, under the care of the  
chief charioteer (the master of the horse), to her father’s court.  
What stake remains to the ruined gambler? none but Damajanti  
herself. The brother proposes the hazard; but the demoniac  
has not yet lost that last holy affection. They are driven together  
into the wilderness—with but one garment between them, for a  
bird flew away with the only one Nala had retained, mocking the  
spendthrift gambler—and proscribed by an edict, which makes it  
a capital crime to afford them any succour, or to receive them  
under any roof. Nala persuades his miserable wife to abandon  
him to his fate, and retire to her father’s court. It is our fault  
if we have entirely marred the exquisite pathos of her reply.

‘ Truly

' Truly all my heart is breaking, and my sinking members fail,  
When, O king, thy desperate counsel, once I think on, once again.  
Robbed of kingdom, robbed of riches, naked, worn with thirst and  
hunger,

Shall I leave thee in the forest, shall I wander from thee far ?  
When thou, sad and famine-stricken, thinkest of thy former bliss  
In the wild wood, O my husband, I will soothe thy weariness.  
Like a wife is no physician, in a state so sad as thine,  
Medicine none is like her kindness—Nala, speak I not the truth ?'

Nala promises that they shall not part; but the evil spirit within  
him strives to overpower this last virtue. The frantic man deter-  
mines to abandon her while she is sleeping; he cuts off part of the  
single garment they possess, and leaves her half naked, and lying  
on the hard earth. Once he turns back to take a parting look—

' Yet his cruel heart relenting, to the cabin turns he back :  
On the slumbering Damajanti gazing, sadly wept the king :  
Thou, that sun or wind hath never roughly visited, my lov'd one,  
On the hard earth in a cabin sleep'st, with no protecting friend.  
When she sees her severed garment, she, that ever smiled so sweetly,  
Will not all her senses fail her, loveliest, how will't fare with her ?  
How will't fare with Bhima's daughter, lonely, by her lord abandoned,  
Wandering in the savage forest, where wild beasts and serpents dwell ?'  
He entreats the protection of all the gods and genii, but rests his  
chief trust in a still surer safeguard.

' Noblest, may they all protect thee, best of all thy virtue guard thee.'  
The classical reader will not fail to call to mind the Ariadne of  
Catullus; the English, the Una of Spenser, or the lady in Comus.

' My sister is not so defenceless left  
As you imagine; she has a hidden strength  
Which you remember not.'

The strength of Damajanti, through which she is enabled

' To trace huge forests, and unharboured heaths,  
Infamous hills, and sandy perilous wilds,'

is her deep, and ardent, and self-regardless love for her faithless  
husband.

' Damajanti woke—the beauteous, in the wild wood, full of dread,  
When she did not see her husband, overpowered with grief and pain.  
Loud she shriek'd in her first anguish—Where art thou, Nishardha's  
king ?

Mighty king ! my sole protector ! Ah ! my lord, desert'st thou me ?  
Oh ! I'm lost, undone for ever ; helpless in the wild wood left.  
Faithful once to every duty, wert thou, king, and true in word ;  
True in word art thou, to leave me, slumbering in the forest thus ?  
Couldst thou then depart, forsaking thy weak, faithful, once-loved wife,  
Her that never sinned against thee, now, alas ! so sinned against ?  
O, I fear, thou famous conqueror, shew thee to me, oh, my lord ;

Yes, I see thee—there I see thee—there thou art, Nishardha's king.  
 In the straw why thus conceal thee ? why no answer ? speak, my lord  
 Wherefore now, like one forsworn, thus sternly stayest thou aloof ! ?  
 When I come beseeching to thee, wilt thou not console nor cheer me ?  
 For myself I will not sorrow, not for aught to me befalls.  
 Thou art all alone, my husband ; I will only mourn for thee.  
 How will't fare with thee, my Nala, thirsting, famished, faint with  
 hunger,

At eve on some hard root reposing, and no more beholding me ?

Her adventures are as strange and various, as ever happened to  
 errant d'amsel in romance. She is in danger from a terrible ser-  
 pent, is saved by a huntsman, only to fall into more peril from  
 his unhallowed desires : she prays for divine succour, and proves,  
 that though not absolutely secure, that

‘ Through the sacred rays of chastity  
 No savage fierce, bandit, or mountaineer,  
 Will dare to soil her virgin purity,’—

yet she may still ‘ safely walk in unbleached’ majesty—for the  
 lustful huntsman falls dead at her feet.

Indian poetry animates all nature, and, like the Greek, peoples  
 it, if not with the same graceful forms, with a conscious and intel-  
 ligent spirit. The desolate wife approaches a sacred mountain—

‘ To the mountain then, the holy, rich in many a lofty cliff,  
 To the heavens in splendour rising, many-hued, the heart exalting,  
 Full within of precious metal, rich with many a glowing gem,  
 Rising o'er the spreading forest, like a barrier high and strong ;  
 Lions, elephants, and tigers there, and bears and wild boars range,  
 And of many birds the voices sweetly sound o'er all its cliffs.’

She addresses the Genius of the mountain—

‘ Oh ! thou holy, honoured mountain, heaven-ward rising, widely  
 famed,

Refuge of the helpless, noble ; hail, thou pillar of the earth !  
 Reverent I approach and hail thee—I, the daughter of a king.

\* \* \* \* \*

Oh, all-honoured prince of mountains ! with thy hundred soaring  
 peaks,

Hast thou haply seen my Nala, wandering in the savage woods ?  
 Why repliest thou not, oh mountain ! nor consol'st me with thy voice ?  
 Her in anguish—thine own daughter—her so lone, so full of dread.’  
 She then descends into a quiet valley, inhabited by a fraternity  
 of Sanyasis, Gymnosophists or hermits, who are clothed in the  
 bark of trees. In amazement at her beauty they worship her as  
 a divinity.

‘ Fear not thou, oh blessed spirit !

Speak, oh thou ! of form so beautiful ; who art thou, and what thy  
 purpose ?

As

As thy noble form we gaze on, as we gaze on thy bright eyes,  
In amaze we stand and wonder; freely breathe, and wail no more.  
Of the wood art thou the goddess? or the mountain-goddess thou?  
Or the river-nymph, the beautiful? Blessed spirit, speak the truth.'

Her next adventure is more animating and picturesque. She encounters a caravan of travelling merchants, who, in the same manner, are inclined to adore her as a celestial being, and gladly admit her into their cavalcade. The conclusion of this scene is so characteristic, that we cannot omit it. At nightfall the tents are pitched by a beautiful stream, covered with the lotus flower.

'When the midnight came all noiseless—came in silence deep and still,

Weary slept the band of merchants. Lo! a herd of elephants  
Came to drink the mountain river, oozing moisture from their temples.  
When the caravan they gazed on, the tame elephants they scented.  
Forward ran they, wild and furious, tossing fierce their murderous  
trunks.

Irresistible the onset of the rushing ponderous beasts:

As the peak from some high mountain, thundering rolls into the valley.  
Strewn was all the way before them with the boughs, the limbs of  
trees.

On they crash'd to where the travellers slumber'd by the lotus lake.  
Trampled down without a struggle, helpless on the earth they lay.  
Woe, O woe! shriek'd out the merchants; wildly some began to fly,  
In the forest thickets plunging; some stood gasping, blind with dread.  
With their tusks, their trunks, their feet, beat them down the ele-  
phants.

Many saw their camels dying, mingled with the men on foot,  
And in frantic tumult rushing, fiercely struck each other dead.  
Many, miserably shrieking, cast them down upon the earth;  
Many climbed the trees in anguish, or plunged deep beneath the  
waves.

Such, so fearful was the tumult, the three worlds seemed all appalled.

" 'Tis a fire that burns and blazes; save ye, fly ye for your lives!

Lo! your precious pearls ye trample: take them up;—why fly so fast?  
Save them—'tis a common venture: fear ye not I would deceive."

To each other cried the merchants, and in shrieking anguish scat-  
tered.'

The calamity is ascribed to the presence of the ill-fated queen. She is forced to fly, and at length reaches a hospitable city, where, though half naked, worn with toil, and withered with sorrow, she is adored for her beauty as she passes through the streets, and is received with the greatest kindness by the mother of the king.

The adventures of Nala are not less strange and stirring. He has an encounter with an enchanted serpent, an incident of which we find, more than once, almost the exact parallel in the Teutonic ballads.

ballads. His form is entirely changed, and he is received as 'master of the horse' at the court of Ayodhya, or Oude. King Bhima, distressed at the loss of his daughter, traces out her retreat by means of some wandering Brahmins. She returns home, and after some time, in order to discover the retreat of Nala, proclaims her intention of holding another Swayambara, that she may proceed to a second marriage, the worst offence against female propriety\*, especially in a lady of her rank.

Rituparna, the King of Oude, determines to become a candidate for the princess, and sets forth with his charioteer—the disguised Nala. This king was gifted with so wonderful a faculty of calculation, that he could count the fruits upon a tree as he drove rapidly under it. Nala was no less distinguished for his unrivalled management of horses. They mutually communicate their secrets; and Nala thus, already dispossessed by the wicked spirit, becomes more than a match for any gamester. As they enter the city of King Bhima, Damajanti recognizes the sound of her husband's trampling steeds—his driving could not be mistaken by her ear.

'All her heart was thrilled with wonder, as she heard the welcome sound;

On they seemed to come, as Nala drove of yore his trampling steeds;  
Damajanti heard and trembled at the old familiar sound.

On the palace roof the peacocks, th' elephants within their stalls,

And the coursers heard the rolling of the mighty monarch's car.

Peacocks, elephants, the trampling of the fiery coursers heard;

Up they raised their necks and clamoured, as at sound of coming rain.

Damajanti employs every artifice to discover her husband. She suspects the charioteer, about whom all is wonderful and miraculous. The gates rise or expand to let him in; self-kindled fire is ever ready at his call; the water flows towards him when he is in want of it. Her suspicions are still further excited by a whimsical incident. She procures some of his food, and recognizes the well-known flavour of her husband's cookery. This is Indiau, what follows is universal nature. By her handmaid, she sends her children to him.

'Soon as he young Indrasena and her little brother saw,

Up he sprang, his arms wound round them, to his bosom folding both

When he gazed upon the children, like the children of the gods,

All his heart o'erflowed with pity, and unwilling tears brake forth.

Yet Nischadha's lord perceiving that she marked his strong emotion,

From his hold released the children, and to Cesina he spake.

Oh! so like mine own twin children was you lovely infant pair,

Seeing them thus unexpected, have I broken out in tears.'

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\* Second marriages are prohibited by the laws of Menu; and hence, no doubt, one great motive to the performance of the Suttee.

Damajanti contrives an interview, and questions the mysterious charioteer:—

‘Hast thou ever seen, Mahaka, an upright and noble man,  
Who departed, and abandoned in the wood his wife that slept,—  
The beloved wife and blameless,—in the wild wood worn with grief?  
Him, who was my chosen husband—him, for whom I scorned the gods;  
Could he leave the true, the loving—her that hath his children borne?’

Nala can conceal himself no longer; but the jealous thought that his wife was about to commit the faithless and indecorous offence of taking a second husband, rankles in his heart, and he rebukes her with sternness. Damajanti adjures the wind, the sun, and the moon, to bear witness that she was guiltless of any such design, and only employed the innocent artifice to win back her lord.

‘He through all the world that wanders, witness the all-seeing Wind,  
Let him now of life bereave me, if in this ’gainst thee I’ve sinned.  
And the Sun that ever moveth o’er the bosom of the deep,  
Let him now of life bereave me, if in this ’gainst thee I’ve sinned.  
Witness, too, the Moon that travels through the midst of all the  
World;

Let her, too, of life bereave me, if in this ’gainst thee I’ve sinned.  
These three gods are those that govern the three worlds—so let them  
speak.

If these gods can say with justice, “Cast her off,” so let it be.  
Thus adjured, a solemn witness spake the Wind from out the air:—  
“She hath done or thought no evil; Nala, it is truth I speak.  
King, the treasure of her virtue, Damajanti well hath guarded;  
We ourselves have seen and watched her, closely for three live-long  
years.”

Even as thus the Wind was speaking, flowers fell showering all around,  
And the god’s sweet music sounded, floating on the soft west-wind.’

Nala reassumes his form, and the poem ends with his winning back all that he had lost to his unprincipled brother, his re-ascending his ancestral throne, and re-commencing a reign of piety, justice, and felicity.

Thus closes a piece, which, for interest of story, characteristic variety of incident, purity of moral tone, delicacy of sentiment, and richness of imagery, inspires a very high idea of Indian imagination and feeling, and wants but the aid of a faithful and spirited translator to give the name of Vyasa acknowledged rank among the celebrated poets of antiquity. ‘The heroic truth and devotedness of Damajanti,’ observes A. Schlegel, at the close of a glowing passage on the general merit of this poem, ‘are as celebrated as those of Penelope in the west, and deserve to be as well known in Europe.’\*

The same simple pathos, the same tenderness of feeling, which

\* Indische Bibliothek, i. 98.

charm in the more affecting parts of the Nala, prevail in an extract from the Ramayana, (the other great Sanscrit epic)—the death of Yadnadatta, translated by M. Chezy. We are likewise indebted to M. Chezy for the Hermitage of Candu, translated from the Brahma Purana, and the very graceful idyl, of a later school, the Gata Karparu, or 'L'Absence,' translated in the *Journal Asiatique* for July, 1822. We have room for little more than an outline of the affecting incident which forms the subject of the episode of the death of Yadnadatta. King Dasaratha, mourning the loss of his son Rama, ascribes his desolate state to the malediction of an aged Bramin, which foretold that before his death he would know the deep sorrow of a childless heart. He proceeds to relate the adventure. Going out on a beautiful day with his bow and arrows, to shoot a buffalo or an elephant, as they might come down to the margin of the river to drink, he was startled by a sound, which he mistook for the cry of an elephant, and discharged the fatal arrow. Like the Cephalus of Ovid, he was answered by the cry of a human victim; not that of a dear and familiar voice, as in the more tragical incident of the Latin poem, (the passionate but affected expressions of which it is curious to compare with the simpler Indian,) but that of an unknown youth, who had come down to draw water in his vessel. The youth was the only support of his aged parents, both of whom were leading the life of hermits, and both completely blind and destitute. The lamentations of the youth at thus leaving his parents in a state of utter destitution, are full of the most exquisite tenderness;—three lives, his own and those of his parents, have been cut off by this single blow; yet, before he expires, he consoles the afflicted king, by informing him that he has not incurred the guilt of even accidentally slaying a Brahmin—a crime of inexpressible enormity to one of the Chatrya, or warrior caste, to which the king belonged, for though the father of the youth was a Brahmin, his mother was but a lowly Sudra. Dasaratha, at the request of the dying youth, proceeds to communicate the sad intelligence to the parents. The blind old recluses hear his step approaching their solitary hermitage, mistake it for that of their son, and, in a tone of tender remonstrance, reprove him for having stayed so long away. The incident is beautifully conceived, and is expressed in the simplest and most natural language. Their affliction, when they hear the fatal tidings, is touched with equal truth and tenderness. They intreat the guiltless homicide to lead them to the body of their son, that they may once more touch what they cannot see. The mother breaks out in a few words of passionate sorrow; the father dwells at greater length on the irreparable loss. We subjoin a few lines of the literal Latin version by M. Bournouf in M. Chezy's

Chezy's work, lest we should be suspected on this or other occasions to have coloured too highly.

' Materque ejus mortui etiam linguâ exanimem faciem *lambens*,  
Exclamavit valde flebiliter, ut orba nato juvenca, recens enixa :

" Nonne tibi, Yadnadatta, ego *præ* vitâ etiam cara sum ;

Cur longam viam ingressurus me non alloqueris ?

Amplexus igitur me, postea, o fili, abibis.

Quid, o nate, iratus mihi es, quid mihi non respondes ? "

Continuo pater quoque ejus, membra ejus attingens,

Hoc dixit mortuo filio velut viventi, infelix.

" Nonne *ad te* ego pater, o fili, simul cum matre veni ?

Exsurge ergo, veni *ad nos* : in collo, fili, amplectere.

Cujus et proximâ nocte ego piam lectionem facientis in silvâ,

Audiam mellitam vocem, sacras scripturas legentis ?

Et quis, quum absolvêro vespertinas preces, ablutione factâ, et culto  
per oblationem igne,

Delectabit meos pedes manibus circum attingens ?

Herbas, radices, fructus silvestres afferet quis e silvâ,

Nobis cœcis, fili, desiderantibus, fame circumventis ?

Sta, ne, ne iveris, fili, Yamæ sedem versus,

Cras mecum pariter et cum matre abibis simul, filiole,

Ambo enim tui desiderio, præsidio destituti, non post longum quoque

E spiritu *vitali*, fili, sejungamur, mortem penes facti sine dubio.'

At the conclusion of his lamentation the son appears with a glorified body in a splendid car, having been immediately admitted, in reward for his *filial virtue*, to the dwellings of the blest. The parent imprecates on the unintentional homicide the milder yet terrific *ârn* : that as he has made them childless, so, before his death, shall he be childless among men—and hence in sorrow for his son Rama, Dasaratha in his old age pines away, and brings down his grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.

Our next extract will be of a very different character, selected rather from the singularity of the subject than from any great poetical merit—the Indian tradition of the Deluge, as it has been extracted from the Mahabharata, published in the original and translated into German by Franz Bopp. The promised Latin version of this indefatigable scholar, if published, has not yet reached us. Nothing has thrown so much discredit on oriental studies, particularly on the valuable Asiatic Researches, as the fixed determination to find the whole of the Mosaic history in the remoter regions of the East. It was not to be expected that, when the new world of oriental literature was suddenly disclosed, the first attempts to explore would be always guided by cool and dispassionate criticism. Even Sir W. Jones was led away, at times, by the ardour of his imagination ; and the gorgeous palaces of the Mahabadian dynasty, which were built on the authority of the  
Desatir

Desatir and the Dabistan, and thrown upward into an age anterior even to the earliest Indian civilization, have melted away, and 'left not a wreck behind,' before the cooler and more profound investigations of Mr. Erskine.\* Sir W. Jones was succeeded by Wilford, a man of most excursive imagination, bred in the school of Bryant, who, even if he had himself been more deeply versed in the ancient language, would have been an unsafe guide. But Wilford, it is well known, unfortunately betrayed to the crafty and mercenary pundits whom he employed, the objects which he hoped to find; and these unscrupulous interpreters, unwilling to disappoint their employer, had little difficulty in discovering, or forging, or interpolating, whatever might suit his purpose. The honest candour with which Wilford, a man of the strictest integrity, made the open and humiliating confession of the deceptions which had been practised upon him, ought for ever to preserve his memory from disrespect. The fictions to which he had given currency, only retained, and still we are ashamed to say retain, their ground in histories of the Bible and works of a certain school of theology, from which no criticism can exorcise an error once established: still, however, with sensible men, a kind of suspicion was thrown over the study itself; and the cool and sagacious researches of men, probably better acquainted with their own language than some of the Brahmins themselves, were implicated in the fate of the fantastic and, though profoundly learned, ever injudicious reveries of Wilford.

Now, however, that we may depend on the genuineness of our documents, it is curious to examine the Indian version or versions of the universal tradition of the Deluge; for, besides this extract from the Maha-bharata, Sir W. Jones had extracted from the Bhagavata Purana another, and, in some respects, very different legend. Both of these versions are strongly impregnated with the mythological extravagance of India; but the Purana, one of the Talmudic books of Indian tradition, as M. Bopp observes, is evidently of a much later date than the ruder and simpler fable of the old Epic. It belongs to a less ancient school of poetry, and a less ancient system of religion. While it is much more exuberant in its fiction, it nevertheless betrays a sort of apprehension lest it shall shock the less easy faith of a more incredulous reader; it is manifestly from the religious school of the followers of Vishnu, and, indeed, seems to have some reference to one of the philosophic systems. Yet the outline of the story is the same. In the Maha-bharatic version, Manu, like Noah, stands alone in an age of universal depravity. His virtues, however, are of the

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\* See the very valuable papers of this gentleman in the Bombay Transactions.

Indian cast—the most severe and excruciating penances by which he extorts, as it were, the favour of the deity.\*

‘ Vivaswati’s son, a rajah and a sage of mighty fame,  
King of men, the first great Father in his glory equalled he ;  
In his might and kingly power, Manu, and in earthly bliss,  
And in wonder-working penance, sire and grandsire far surpassed.  
With his arms on high outstretched, wrought the sovereign of men,  
Steadily on one foot standing, penance rigorous and dread.  
With his sunken head low-stooping, with his fixed unwavering eye,  
Dread he thus his awful penance, many a long and weary year.  
To the penitent with tresses streaming, loose, and long, and wet,  
By the margin of Wirini, it was thus that spake the Fish.’

Here the different age and character of the two poems begin to appear. The ancient Epic acknowledges no god but the supreme Brahma ; ‘ I am Lord of all things, Brahma ; higher than myself is nought.’ The Purana represents the fish as one of the avatars of Vishnu. The author of the latter work thinks it necessary to apologise, as it were, for the degradation of the deity, (this seems to be even of a more modern time of thought,) for though the deity sometimes assumes certain forms, he passes through them like the subtle air, without defiling his pure and immutable nature. The object of the descent of Vishnu is likewise very different from that of Brahma. It is not on account of the depravity of mankind, but lest Hayagrava, one of the accursed Danawi, the evil spirits, should intercept, while he sleeps, the Vedas which are perpetually flowing from the lips of Brahma. It is in dread lest the sacred books should perish, not from any mercy on mankind, that Vishnu becomes incarnate. The Manu of the Epic becomes Satjavrata in the Purana. The poems having thus far diverged now coalesce in nearly the same wild legend. The fish—in which, in the Epic, Brahma, in the Purana, Vishnu, is incarnate—appeals to the humanity of Manu to save him, being of very small size, from the more powerful and rapacious monsters of the deep. The kind-hearted Manu at once complies.

‘ Brought the son of Vivaswati to the river shore the Fish,  
Cast it in a crystal vessel, as the moonshine clear and bright.  
Rapid grew that Fish, oh Rajah, tended with such duteous care :  
Cleaved to him the heart of Manu, as to a beloved son.  
Time rolled on, and larger, larger, ever waxed that wondrous Fish,  
Nor within that crystal vessel found he longer room to move.

\* The editor remarks, that the name Manudschah, Man-born, as the appellation of the human race, is derived from Manu, as likewise Manawas, *manu*, Man—Manawi, *fem.* Woman : from thence the Gothic *Munn*, which we have preserved. Manu is thus the representative of Man.

† The Jewish traditions in the Talmud seem to have given hospitable reception to all the wildest fictions of east and west. In *Schoetgen, Huxæ Hebraica*, vol. ii. p. 80, there is a strange representation of the Ancient of Days in the form of a fish.

Spake again that fish to Manu, as he saw him thus he spake :  
 Oh all prosperous, oh all gentle, bring me to another place.  
 Then the Fish from out the vessel blessed Manu took again,  
 And with gentle speed he bore him, Manu, to a spacious lake.  
 There the conqueror of cities, mighty Manu, cast him in.  
 Still he grew, that Fish so wondrous, many a rolling tract of years.  
 Three miles long that lake expanded, and a single mile in breadth ;  
 Yet that Fish, with eyes like lotus, there no longer might endure,  
 Nor, oh sovereign of the Vaisyas, might that lake his bulk contain.  
 ' Spake again the Fish to Manu, as he saw him thus he spake :  
 " Bring me now, 'oh blest and holy,' to the Ganga, ocean's bride,  
 Let me dwell in her wide waters ; yet, oh loved one, as thou wilt,  
 Be it so—at thy commanding, murmur would beseem me ill,  
 Since through thee, oh blest and blameless, to this wondrous bulk  
 I've grown."

Thus addressed, the happy Manu took again the Fish, and bore  
 To the sacred stream of Ganga, and himself he cast him in.  
 Still it grew as time roll'd onward (Tamer of thy foes) that Fish.

' Spake again that Fish to Manu, as he saw him thus he spake :  
 " Mightiest, I can dwell no longer here in Ganga's narrow stream ;  
 Blest of men, once more befriend me, bear me to the ocean swift."  
 Manu's self from Ganga's waters took again that wondrous Fish,  
 And he brought him to the ocean, and himself he cast him in.'

This leviathan still waxes more immense, and at length addresses Manu—foretels the approaching deluge ; declares that all the world is to be submerged, but that he will be present to preserve the blameless Manu.

' All the fixed and all the moving, all that stirs or stirreth not,  
 Lo, of all the time approaches, the tremendous time of doom.'

He commands Manu to build a ship, with sails and all the necessary tackling, and to go on board, not with his own family, but with the Seven Sages, beings who, in Indian mythology, hold an intermediate rank between man and the deity. He is likewise to bear with him, not the birds and beasts after their kinds, as in the Purana, but the seminal principles of all existing things. The deluge approaches, Manu embarks, the wondrous Fish is at hand,

' King of Men, the born of Manu ! Manu saw the sea-born Fish,  
 In his form foreshewn, the horned, like a mountain huge and high.'

Manu, as he is commanded, lashes his bark to the prominent horn of the Fish, is drawn along, and his perilous voyage is thus described—

' In his bark, along the ocean, boldly went the lord of men,  
 Dancing with the tumbling billows, dashing through the roaring spray ;  
 Tossed about by winds tumultuous, in the vast and heaving sea,  
 Like a trembling drunken woman, reeled that bark—oh, King of men !  
 Earth

Earth was seen no more, no region, nor the intermediate space,  
 All around a waste of water, water all, and air and sky.  
 In the whole world of création, princely son of Bharata!  
 None were seen but those seven sages, Manu only, and the Fish:  
 Years on years, and still unwearied, drew that Fish the bark along,  
 Till, at length, it came where reared Himavân its loftiest peak;  
 There, at length they came, and smiling, thus the Fish addressed the sage:

“Bind thou now thy stately vessel to the peak of Himavân.”

At the Fish's mandate quickly to the peak of Himavân  
 Bound the sage his bark, and ever to this day, that loftiest peak  
 Bears the name of Naubandhana\*, from the binding of the ship.

‘To the Sage the God of Mercy then with fixed look bespoke,  
 I am lord of all creation—Brahma—higher than all height,  
 I, in fish-like form, have saved thee, Manu, in the perilous hour;  
 But from thee new tribes of creatures, gods, Aswinas, men must  
 spring,

All the worlds must be created, that which moves and moveth not,  
 By an all surpassing penance, this great work must be achieved.’

(Of the nature of this penance the poet is silent; all we learn  
 further is that Manu was the parent of the new-born human race,  
 and that the new creation took place instantaneously.

The editor of this remarkable episode of the Maha-Bharata has  
 subjoined in the same publication three other extracts, of greater  
 length, and in a very different strain. The first of these, Sawitri,  
 appears to possess great poetical beauty: it is another ideal im-  
 personation of perfect female virtue. The groundwork, or rather  
 the machinery of the poem, is wild and mythological; but its  
 interest rests on those universal affections of our nature which  
 hallow the discharge of the social duties. It abounds in the same  
 soft touches of domestic feeling; its moral is, that the wisdom  
 and devotedness of a noble wife have the same power which the  
 Greeks ascribed to the song of Orpheus; if they do not draw  
 iron tears from the cheek of Yama, the Indian Pluto, yet they so  
 far excite his admiration as to extort at length, after many other  
 boons, the departed spirit of her husband from his inflexible  
 grasp, as Hercules, by main force, rescues that of Alcestis in the  
 tragedy of Euripides. The next episode contains the Rape of  
 Draupadi, the one wife of the five sons of Pandu, an arrangement  
 singular, and we believe unprecedented, in the mythic or heroic  
 age of India. This community of husbands has no resemblance  
 to the loose morality said to prevail among some of the tribes at  
 the foot of the Himalaya and other parts of India; it is a *véméssis*, or

\* Here is another singular etymological coincidence; it is impossible not to recog-  
 nize the Greek *ναυ* in the Sanscrit *nav*; and on the other half of the composite word  
 we trace the Gothic *band*, from whence our *band*, and the verb *to bind*.

a privilege (which it seems difficult to say), to which the princess had been predestined in an earlier state of being. The rescue of the wife from the king of Sind by the five heroes is the subject of a bold and spirited battle-piece. M. Chezy, in his glowing panegyric on the epic poets of India, seems to consider them as equally successful in the descriptions of warlike tumults and feats of arms, as in the painting of more quiet scenes, and incidents of gentler character. He is speaking, it is true, more particularly of Valmiki, the author of the *Ramayana*, but his observations were probably not intended to refer exclusively to that poem.

‘C’est surtout dans la poésie épique que la langue Sanskrite semble ravir la palme à toutes les autres; et parmi les poètes Anglais, le grand Valmiki, dans son *Ramayana*, paroît avoir le mieux connu l’art d’en faire ressortir toutes les beautés. Sous son magique pinceau, nous le voyons se prêter, sans effort, à tous les tons, à toutes les couleurs. S’agit-il de décrire des scènes douces et attendrissantes?—cette belle langue, aussi sonore que féconde, lui fournit les expressions les plus harmonieuses; et semblable à un fleuve tranquille qui serpente mollement sur la mousse et les fleurs, elle entraîne sans secousse notre imagination ravie, et la transporte doucement dans un monde enchanté. Mais dans les sujets qui exigent de l’énergie et de la force—dans les descriptions des combats, par exemple, son style devient aussi rapide, aussi animé, que l’action elle-même. Les chars roulent et bondissent, les éléphants furieux heurtent avec fracas leurs énormes défenses, les chevaux hennissent, frappent du pied la terre retentissante, les massues s’entrechoquent, les dards sifflent, et se brisent; la mort vole de toute part; on ne lit plus, on est transporté dans la plus horrible mêlée.’

If we may presume to judge, from all that is yet before the European public, the excellence of the Indian poets lies rather in softness than energetic action; their battles want the truth, the life, the distinctness of Homer; they seem rather turgid and exaggerated than sublime, though, after all, we must take into the account the vast and unwieldy character of Asiatic warfare. Still we shall, we conceive, sooner find a parallel in their works to the garden of Alcinoüs, the isle of Circe, or even the parting of Hector and Andromache, than to Achilles standing on the trench and averting the tide of Trojan victory. Arjuna’s Return is another warlike episode, in which the hero, armed with celestial weapons, assaults and conquers the cities of the Danawi or Dæmons. It is the sequel to ‘Arjuna’s Journey to Indra’s Heaven,’ which M. Bopp has in another volume edited, with a translation into German verse. The ascent of Arjuna, and the palaces of Indra, are described with great splendour of imagery, and in one part with a kind of voluptuous colouring. It is not unamusing in some points of beauty to compare the celestial Urwasi, who is sent

to

to try the virtue of the model of Indian chivalry, with the Alcina or Armida of Italian romance. The death of Hidimba, in the same volume, is a curious illustration of the universality of the same fictions all over the earth. Hidimba is exactly the blood-lapping, bone-crunching, marrow-sucking giant or ogre, who, having thrilled with terror the bosoms of children of an older growth, in the ballads of our Teutonic ancestors, has sunk into our nursery tales, from whence he is well-nigh exorcised by the more potent spirit of Utilitarianism. But the Brahmin's Lament (*Des Brahminen Wehklage*), though grounded on a similar legend, falls again into the softer and more pathetic vein. While the sons of Pandu dwelt in Eketschara, Bhima, sitting alone with his mother, hears the lamentation of a Brahmin. A terrible giant infested the neighbourhood of the city, to whom a tribute of human flesh was daily paid. It had now come to the turn of the poorer Brahmins to furnish forth the horrible repast, and in this family either the Brahmin himself, the mother, the grown-up daughter, or the son, a little child, must be surrendered as the victim. It is a contest of the most affecting self-devotion; and in turn the father, the mother, and the daughter, in what may be fairly called three beautiful elegies, full of curious allusions to the state of Indian society, enforce their claim to the privilege of being made the sacrifice. At the close they sit down and weep.

' Seeing them together weeping, 'gan the little son to speak—  
Gazing with both eyes wide open, lisped he thus his broken words—  
" Weep not, father, weep not, mother, oh, my sister, weep not thou."  
First to one, and then to th' other, went he with a smiling mouth,  
Then a spike of spear-grass lifting, spake he thus as though in mirth,  
" With this spear point will I kill him, this man-eating giant, dead."  
In their bitterness of anguish, as the playful child they heard  
Prattling thus, within their bosoms stole unspeakable delight.'

It is, however, in the purely mythological part of their poetry that the bards of India differ most widely from those of the west; and although in these passages they will appear to the greatest disadvantage to European taste, yet we must not pass unnoticed this highly characteristic, though by no means most interesting feature in their poetic genius. The same principles, which condemned the Indians to perpetual barbarism in the fine arts, at least those of sculpture and painting, predominated in their poetry. Their religion never advanced beyond the rude and cumbrous symbolic forms in which it represented the power and attributes of its deities. In Greece, all was humanized; the god was cast in the most perfect mould of human strength or beauty,—and, though floating as it were in a more fine and subtle atmosphere, the shape and lineaments of man were distinct and definite. In India, it remained

remained the vast allegoric image, which represented majesty only by enormous stature, strength by multitudinous arms, wisdom by the trunk of the elephant, providence by innumerable eyes, ubiquity by innumerable bodies. To the uninitiate it is strange enough to gaze on these vast and monstrous forms, as they stand hewn out of the living rock in the cave-temples of Ellora and Elephanta; but, as poetic machinery, they become still more unwieldy and unmanageable. Brought to life and set in action, they still remained the types and representatives of the elements or the great universal powers of nature; and, while the Greek delighted in approximating his divinity to the human being, and so placing it, as it were, within the comprehension of human sense, the Indian seemed inspired with a sacred horror of bringing the actions of his deities within the range of credibility. Even in the more human incarnations of the deity, those of Rama and Krishna, in which he drew near to the Bacchus and Apollo of Greece, he still kept far aloof from the truth and reality of life; while the earlier Siva and Vishnu have still more of the allegoric character; and the mythology mingled in strange and incongruous alliance human action, and sometimes human affections, with the immensity, and incomprehensible mysteriousness of the divine nature. Hence in Indian mythological poetry the sublime is the vast, the monstrous, the incalculable; time is measured by millions of ages; space by myriads of leagues; and the same poets, who are so true in their delineations of pure human nature, and sometimes so agreeably fanciful in their pictures of the next region to earth, and of the intermediate race, the nymphs and genii,—when they soar still higher, are lost in extravagance, and appear as if their fiction deliberately scorned the most remote approximation to truth.

It would be curious, if we had space, to inquire into some of the causes which conspired to give this peculiar character to their mythologic poetry. It is not enough to ascribe it altogether to the religion, for the religion and the poetry were twin-born, or rather the poetry was but the religion embodied in language. We must briefly suggest what we cannot pause to develop. External nature must exercise a great influence on the minds of poets; they are insensibly impregnated as it were with the local character of the regions in which they live. In India, almost all is vast and exuberant; the rivers, the plains, the forests, the trees, the very vegetation—and it is moreover most probable that the Brahminical caste, who were the chief inventors and conservators of the poetic faith of India, descended from the vallies and table-lands of the Himalaya. It is here, amid mountains, far the highest in the world, crowned with eternal snows, girt with innumerable forests, and with the richest luxuriance of vegetation at their foot; amid  
this

this fabled Imaus of the ancients, from which almost all the mightiest rivers of the old world flow down—it is here that Indian poetry has placed its Olympus,—and if born in such regions, can we wonder that it has given unbounded scope to the imagination, and dwelt on the vast, the vague, the shadowy, the allegorical, rather than on the clear, the definite, and the real?

Nor was the imagination less likely to be sent forth without guide or compass into the depths of the unreal world, by that which is the main principle of both the Brahminical and Buddhist faith. Where the perfection of man is total abstraction from active life, he is little likely to fashion the visions in which he may indulge according to the truth of nature. Either from ignorance, or forgetfulness, or contempt of this 'diurnal sphere,' the soul will either be unable or disdain to confine itself to the vulgar and every day occurrences of the mortal being from which it has endeavoured to estrange itself. When life is thus, as it were, a perpetual sleep, the waking thoughts will have all the wildness and incoherence of dreams. The whole life of the Greek was action; and his gods were as active as himself. That Homer had mingled in scenes like those which he has described; that he drew from real, or at least traditionary truth, cannot be doubted; we are almost inclined to think that, like *Ercilla* or *Cervantes*, he had himself borne part in such wars as he describes with so much living fidelity, and been tost, a practical adventurer, upon the seas, into the perils of which he enters with such lively feeling. But some of the Indian mythological poetry we can conceive to have been dreamed by a solitary *Yoguee*, in the highest state of abstraction from all objects of sense, in the deep silence of a sultry noon; when of the whole man nothing was awake but the phantasy, and only the language of earth in which his images were embodied was remembered, with none of the thoughts or sympathies of human nature.

Nor can we doubt that the state of society contributed to form the character of Indian mythological poetry. Their epopea, as *Heeren* well observes, was the poetry of the Brahminical caste. Throughout the *Mahabharatā* and the *Ramayana*, at least in every part which is before the European public, prevails the deepest veneration for the inviolate sanctity of this class. In the curious episode, the Penance of *Visvamitra*, translated from the *Ramayana*, at the end of *F. Bopp's 'Conjugation-System der Sanskrit Sprache,'* the subject is the attempt of a king of the *Chatrya*, or warrior caste, by penances as extraordinary as those which on other occasions are represented as endangering the power of the gods themselves, to raise himself to the rank of a Brahmin. Hence the essentially predominant religious character of the

Indian Epic : even where it is less monstrous or allegorical, and approximates nearer to human life, it is still mythological. Its heroes are gods ; however less remote from humanity, they are still præterhuman. Its subject is not the exploits of ancient warlike champions told by the bard, in an assembly of chieftains as daring and as warlike, but the adventures of divinities communicated to men on the recognized authority of a sacerdotal order. It seems to have demanded the unhesitating faith due to religious lessons, taught by those holy men who alone were privileged to know the nature, and to relate the acts of the deities. We are, therefore, more inclined to wonder that these sacred poets so often stoop to pourtray human interest in their tender and pathetic episodes, than that the groundwork of the poems is still supernatural,—the Ramayana entirely so, being as fabulous as the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, to which it has been compared. In the Mahabharata, even if the civil war of the Panduidæ and Kuruidæ, as celebrated as that of Troy among the Greeks, rests on any historical tradition, it is become so completely mythological in its character as to lose all appearance of historical truth. It is less surprising that such poets should venture on their most monstrous and extravagant conceptions, when we call to mind that their audience listened to them with religious awe ; a great part of the audience being devoted, as it were, by their institutions, to perpetual childhood of intellect, and receiving, therefore, the most audacious fictions with all the delighted wonder and unquestioning credulity of the unreasoning age.

The specimen which we shall select from the mythological part of the Indian poetry is the descent of the Ganges from heaven. It is found in the first book of the Ramayana, in the prose translation of Carey and Marshman, and has been also rendered into German hexameters by the first of all translators, as well as critics, in the world, Augustus William Schlegel. The difference between the two versions is a striking exemplification of the too-often forgotten truth, that poetry can only be translated by a poet. With unfeigned respect for those industrious and excellent missionaries, and the utmost gratitude for their disinterested labours, we can scarcely think them qualified to do justice to the ancient Sanscrit poets, more especially in a version, however faithful, into prose. Did we know Homer only by Macpherson's translation, or even through some less bombastic version in prose, without the charm of verse we should form but a humble estimate of the poet of the *Iliad* ; and though we have neither right nor inclination to attribute to those good men the stern Tertullianism with which their brother Ward has dealt his anathemas against the whole fabric of ancient as well as modern Indian religion, and morals,

and

and letters; yet perhaps that holy zeal to which we owe their valuable labours would scarcely permit them to appreciate, or indeed to discriminate from their religious influence, the poetic merit of these curious compositions. Christianity was firmly established before the eloquent Father of the Church could venture, from his fine taste for the exquisite Attic grace and purity of Aristophanes, to save him from the proscription which had fallen on the poets of paganism. It would be as unwise, therefore, to expect from such translators that high and enthusiastic sense of the genius, that fine discernment of the beauties of their originals, without which poetic versions must almost inevitably be dull and lifeless,—as it would be unjust to under-rate the scrupulous and laborious fidelity with which it seems that they have executed their more cold and unimpassioned labours.

The descent of the Ganges is the sequel of another fiction still more monstrous, but perhaps one of the most singular of the cosmogonical notions of the ancient Indians. Sagara, the king of Ayodhya (Oude), was without offspring—in almost all eastern countries the most grievous calamity incident to man, more especially to those of noble or royal race. By the most surpassing penances he obtains an oracle from the wise Brighu, predicting that one of his wives will bring forth a single son, the other *sixty thousand*! Accordingly the fair Cesina gives birth to Asamanja; his other wife to a gourd, which, like the egg of Leda, is instinct with life. From the seeds of this gourd, preserved with great care, and fed with ghee, come forth in due time the sixty thousand boys. The son of Cesina was a youth of the most malicious and cruel disposition; his pastime was to throw little infants into the river, and solace himself with their cries. He is sent into exile by his just and humane father, where he has a son, Ansuman, as gentle and popular as Asamanja was malignant and odious. King Sagara prepares to offer the Aswamedha, the famous sacrifice of the horse. The holy and untouched steed is led forth, as in the ‘Curse of Kehama,’ among the admiring multitude, by the youthful Ansuman, when on a sudden a monstrous serpent arises from the earth, and drags it into the abyss. Sagara, in wrath, commands his sixty thousand sons to undertake the recovery of the steed from the malignant demon who has thus interrupted the sacrifice. Having searched long in vain, they begin to dig into the bowels of the earth, until,—

‘Cloven with shovel and with hoe, pierced by axes and by spades,  
Shrieked the earth in frantic woe; rose from out the yawning shades  
Yells of anguish, hideous roars from the expiring brood of hell—  
Serpents, giants, and Asoors, in the deep abyss that dwell.

Sixty thousand leagues in length, all unweary, full of wrath,  
Through the centre, in their strength, clove they down their hellward  
path.\*

The gods, expecting the whole frame of the world, thus undermined, to perish in total ruin, assemble around Brahma to implore his interposition. He informs them that Vishnu, in the form of Kapila, has been the robber of the horse, and that in due time the god will avenge himself. From Patala, the hell of Indian mythology, the Śagaridæ recommence their impious and destructive work.

‘ And downward dug they many a rood, and downward till they saw  
aghast,

Where the earth-bearing elephant stood, ev’n like a mountain tall  
and vast.

’Tis he whose head aloft sustains the broad earth’s forest-clothed  
round,

With all its vast and spreading plains, and many a stately city  
crown’d.

If underneath the o’erbearing load bows down his weary head, ’tis then  
The mighty earthquakes are abroad, and shaking down the abodes  
of men.

Around earth’s pillar moved they slowly, and thus in humble accents  
blest

Him the lofty and the holy, that bears the region of the East.

And southward dug they many a rood, until before their shuddering  
sight,

The next earth-bearing elephant stood, huge Mahapadmas’ mountain  
height.

Upon his head earth’s southern bound, all full of wonder, saw they rest.  
Slow and awe-struck paced they round, and him, earth’s southern  
pillar, blest.

Westward then their work they urge, king Sagara’s six myriad race,  
Unto the vast earth’s western verge, and there in his appointed place  
The next earth-bearing elephant stood, huge Saumanasa’s mountain  
crest ;

Around they paced in humble mood, and in like courteous phrase  
address,

And still their weary toil endure, and onward dig until they see  
Last earth-bearing Himapandure, glorying in his majesty.’

At length they reach the place where Vishnu appears in the form of Kapila, with the horse feeding near him ; a flame issues forth from the indignant deity, and the six myriad sons of Sagara become a heap of ashes.

The adventure devolves on the youthful Ansuman, who achieves it with perfect success ; Vishnu permits him to lead away the

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\* We have, in this passage, tried the effect of rhyme.

steed, but the ashes of his brethren cannot be purified by earthly water; the goddess Ganga must first be brought to earth, and, having undergone lustration from that holy flood, the race of Sagara are to ascend to heaven. Yet a long period elapses; and it is not till the reign of the virtuous Bhagiratha, that Brahma is moved by his surpassing penance to grant the descent of Ganga from heaven. King Bhagiratha had taken his stand on the top of Gokarna, the sacred peak of the Himavan, (the Himalaya,) and here

'Stands with arms outstretch'd on high, amid five blazing fires, the one Towards each quarter of the sky, the fifth the full meridian sun. Mid fiercest frosts on snow he slept, the dry and withered leaves his food, Mid rains his roofless vigil kept, the soul and sense alike subdued.'

His prayers are irresistible; but Brahma forewarns him, that the unbroken descent of Ganga from heaven would be so overpowering, that the earth would be unable to sustain it, and Siva must be propitiated, in order that he may receive on his head the precipitous cataract. Under this wild and unwieldy allegory appears to lurk an obscure allusion to the course of the Ganges among the summits, and under the forests of the Himalaya, which are the locks of Siva.

'High on the top of Himavān the mighty Mashawara stood; And "Descend," he gave the word to the heaven-meandering water— Full of wrath, the mandate heard Himavān's majestic daughter. To a giant's stature soaring and intolerable speed, From heaven's height down rush'd she pouring upon Siva's sacred head. Him the goddess thought in scorn with her resistless might to sweep By her fierce waves o'erborne, down to hell's remotest deep.'

Siva, in his turn enraged, resists her fury.

'Down on Sankara's holy head, down the holy fell, and there Amid the entangling meshes spread, of his loose and flowing hair, Vast and boundless as the woods upon the Himalaya's brow, Nor ever may the struggling floods rush headlong to the earth below. Opening, egress was not there, amid those winding, long meanders. Within that labyrinthine hair, for many an age the goddess wanders.'

The king again has recourse to his penances, Siva is propitiated, and the stream by seven\* channels finds its way to the plains of India. The spirit and the luxuriance of the description which fol-

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\* Schlegel supposes the three western streams to be the Indus, which appears under its real name the Sind, the Taxartes, and the Oxus; are not the Sareswatic, or perhaps the Sutlej, under the name of Sita, and the Jumna meant? Of the eastern branches, it is not difficult to fix the Burhampooter. Schlegel suggests the Irawaddy, and the Blue River of China. Why not the Alacananda and the Gogra? The main stream bears the name of the Bhagiratha, till it joins the Alacananda and takes the name of the Ganges.

lows, of the king leading the way, and the obedient waters rolling after his car, appear to us of a high order of poetry.

‘ Up the Rajah at the sign upon his glittering chariot leaps,  
Instant Ganga the divine follows his majestic steps,  
From the high heaven burst she forth first on Siva’s lofty crown,  
Headlong then and prone to earth thundering rushed the cataract down.  
Swarms of bright-hued fish came dashing ; turtles, dolphins in their mirth,

Fallen or falling, glancing, flashing, to the many-gleaming earth.  
And all the host of heaven came down, spirits and genii, in amaze,  
And each forsook his heavenly throne, upon that glorious scene to gaze.  
On cars, like high-tower’d cities, seen, with elephants and coursers, rode,

Or on soft-swinging palanquin, lay wondering each observant god.  
Asmet in bright divan each god, and flash’d their jewell’d vestures’ rays,  
The coruscating ather glow’d, as with a hundred suns ablaze.  
And with the fish and dolphins gleaming, and scaly crocodiles and snakes,

Glanc’d the air, as when fast streaming the blue lightning shoots and breaks :

And in ten thousand sparkles bright went flashing up the cloudy spray,  
The snowy flocking swans less white, within its glittering mists at play.  
And headlong now poured down the flood, and now in silver circlets wound,

Then lakelike spread all bright and broad, then gently, gently flowed around,

Then ’neath the cavern’d earth descending, then spouted up the boiling tide,

Then stream with stream harmonious blending, swell bubbling up or smooth subside.

By that heaven-welling water’s breast, the genii and the sages stood,  
Its sanctifying dews they blest, and plung’d within the lustral flood.  
Whoe’er beneath the curse of heaven from that immaculate world had fled,

To th’ impure earth in exile driven, to that all-holy baptism sped ;  
And purified from every sin, to the bright spirit’s bliss restor’d,  
Th’ ethereal sphere they entered in, and through th’ empyreal mansions soar’d.

The world in solemn jubilee behold these heavenly waves draw near,  
From sin and dark pollution free, bathed in the blameless waters clear.  
Swift king Bhagiratha drave upon his lofty glittering car,  
And swift with her obeisant wave bright Ganga followed him afar.’

It is now time that we should turn our attention to the curious volumes of our countryman, Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, entitled the ‘ Hindu Drama.’ We must overleap, we should conceive, some centuries, which probably intervened between the epic and

and the dramatic poetry of the Indians. For though the Ramayana and the Mahabarata may have assumed their present form at a later period; though to Calidasa, the author of the Sakontala, is attributed the same office, which is said by some to have been performed by the poets of the court of Pisistratus to the Homeric songs—'he is believed by some to have revised the works of Valmiki and Vyasa, and to have corrected the perfect editions of them which are current;'<sup>\*</sup>—yet the drama evidently appears to belong to a much later, a more refined, and less poetic age.

Nothing can more strikingly illustrate the justice of the observations with which we commenced our article, than the perfect apathy with which Mr. Wilson's work, rapidly translated into French and German, has been received by the English public: perhaps many literary men scarcely know of its existence. It must be acknowledged that if we expect to encounter tragedy in all her state and terror; thrilling the soul with the crimes and calamities of an heroic race, who are struggling in the inextricable toils of destiny; or embodying, with the boldness, the variety, and truth of our English dramatists, the passions and the follies of men; if we would shake with terror, be melted into tears, or convulsed with laughter, we shall be disappointed in the mild and fanciful, and often purely mythological, dramatic exhibitions of ancient India. But if we are inclined to take delight in the creations of a much lighter and more luxuriant fancy; in descriptions of exquisite grace and softness; in frequent touches of natural pathos; in plots interwoven with considerable ingenuity—characters struck out with great distinctness and animation; above all, in genuine representations of Indian life, and all its peculiarities of local circumstance, costume, manners, and habits, we shall find much both to interest and to amuse in the volumes of Mr. Wilson. It is often dangerous to raise high expectations, by appropriating well-known and almost sacred names to new or foreign candidates for fame; and certainly when Sir W. Jones incautiously, and probably in another sense, designated Calidasa as the Indian Shakspeare, he created a false impression. Had Shakspeare written but the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the parallel would have been more correct. Nothing can be more curious than both the similitude and dissimilitude of the Indian to the different schools of the European drama. Like that of the Greeks, the Hindu drama was derived from, and formed a part of, their religious ceremonies. It was performed at some great festival, which, in the East, usually being combined with a fair for mercantile purposes, may suggest a less dignified comparison;

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<sup>\*</sup> Sir W. Jones. Preface to *Sakontala*.

but it retained its sacred character in the solemn invocation to the Deity, which was its universal prelude.

‘According to Hindu authorities, the occasions suitable for dramatic representations are the lunar holidays, a royal coronation, assemblages of people at fairs and religious festivals, marriages, the meeting of friends, taking first possession of a house or a town, or the birth of a son. The most ordinary occasion,\* however, of a performance was, as will be seen, the season peculiarly sacred to some divinity.’—*Wilson, Preface*, p. vii.

The Indian dramatist had no hope of that distinction of European writers—‘the running many nights.’ ‘It is clear,’ observes Mr. Wilson; ‘that the Hindu plays are written with a view to but one specific representation.’ Yet, as in Greece\* the revival of a popular tragedy was no uncommon practice, there can be little doubt, that successive festivals, perhaps in remote places, were gratified with the ‘second representation’ of the successful works of Calidāsa or Bābhavuti. The Hindu drama was not broken up into a trilogy, but made up, on some occasions, by its length, extending in some cases to ten acts. But the most remarkable peculiarity of the Indian theatre is, that the same play was written in two distinct dialects—the more dignified part in Sanscrit, the more familiar in Pracrit. This was not, as in many modern European theatres, to give greater comic breadth and reality to low or foreign characters—to Dr. Caius or Sir Hugh Evans—for the Pracrit admitted different provincial variations to heighten the effect of the more vulgar scenes—but a general rule of the drama, in which the more stately Sanscrit was assigned to the higher rank; the more soft and Italian Pracrit to females and to the lower class. This is the more extraordinary, if we take into the account the just observations of Mr. Wilson.

‘Although there is little reason to doubt that the Sanscrit language was once a spoken tongue in some parts of India, yet it does not seem probable that it was ever the vernacular language of the whole country, and it certainly ceased to be a living dialect at a period of which we have no knowledge. The greater part of every play is written in Sanscrit. None of the dramatic compositions at present known can boast, perhaps, of a very high antiquity, and several of them are comparatively modern. They must, therefore, have been unintelligible to a considerable portion of their audiences, and never could have been so directly addressed to the bulk of the population as to have exercised much influence on their passions or their tastes.

‘This circumstance, however (proceeds Mr. Wilson), is perfectly in character with the constitution of Hindu society, by which the

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\* See Professor Böckh's very able treatise on the question, whether the copies which we possess of some of the works of the great Greek tragedians are not, in some instances, ‘*rifacimenti*’ of the original pieces.

highest branches of literature, as well as the highest offices of the state, were reserved for the privileged tribes of Chatryas and Brahmins. Even among them; however, a small portion could have followed the expressions of the actors so as to have felt their full force; and the plays of the Hindus must, therefore, have been exceedingly deficient in theatrical effect. In some measure, this deficiency was compensated by peculiar impressions, and the popularity of most of the stories, and the sanctity of the representation, as well as of the Sanscrit language, substituted an adventitious interest for ordinary excitement.'

In another passage of his preliminary disquisition (page 63), Mr. Wilson gives the technical rules laid down by the native critics (to all appearance as numerous, and minute, and trifling a swarm as ever wriggled in the sunshine of literature), for the different dialects to be used by the different characters. 'In practice, however, we have rarely more than the three varieties, of Sanscrit, and a Pracrit more or less refined.' In another respect, besides its sacred character, the Indian drama resembled the Greek; it never entirely renounced its alliance with dancing and music, though, as at Athens, the dancing, which was originally the whole of the mute and imitative exhibition, retired into the interlude, or was refined into appropriate gesticulation; and the music, in the same manner, receded into a subordinate station, either as an accompaniment to the lyric songs, or to fill up the interval between the acts. The ballet, however, or pantomime, continued to exist as a distinct exhibition, the *Rasa*; and, in many provinces, a burlesque spectacle, mingled up of buffoonery and lyric songs, and representing the acts of Rama or Krishna, is still highly popular, and bears a striking analogy to the satyric drama of the Greeks. In the more regular and refined compositions the mythological or heroic subjects are taken from the celebrated epics, or the Puranas: the Ramayana and Mahabharat are to the Indian dramatists what the Iliad and Odyssey were to those of Athens.

But in most respects the Indian may claim nearer kindred with the romantic than the classical drama. It disdains the unities, it intermingles prose and verse, the serious and the comic, with all the license of the Spanish or the English scene. The *Gracioso* is almost an indispensable character. But in the plays before us, he is something much superior to a low buffoon (Mr. Wilson observes that he is always a Brahmin); he has neither the amusing quavery of Scapin, nor the shrewdness and caustic cleverness of Shakspeare's Fools, but is a merry, light-hearted, but faithful companion, ready for any service, and with an European fondness for good eating. The *Vita* is a character peculiar to the Indian drama:

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‘It is necessary that he should be accomplished in the lighter arts, particularly poetry, music, and singing, and he appears indiscriminately as the companion of a man or woman, although, in the latter case, the female is the courtesan; he is generally represented on familiar, and easy, yet dependent terms with his associate, and evinces something of the character of the Parasite of the Greek comedy, but that he is never rendered contemptible.’—*Wilson*, p. 42.

In one of the dramas before us he plays rather an important and by no means a degrading part.

Sir W. Jones, it appears, was misinformed, when he was led to suppose that the Indian theatre would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe. Mr. Wilson doubts whether the extant plays amount to many more than sixty. But they seem to make up in variety of structure for their small number. The Indian critics have classed them with the minuteness of *Polonius*,—they have ‘tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral,—scene indivisible and poem unlimited.’ But, strictly speaking, ‘tragedy, with her bowl and dagger,’ may not tread the Indian stage,—this gentle people will not endure the sight of blood,—nor is the rule that of the stern but decorous Greeks;

‘*Nec pueros coram populo Medea tradit.*’

Though death may take place behind the scenes, and the interest is sometimes excited by fearful situations, a tragic catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule, and the death of either the hero or heroine is never to be announced.\* On the whole, from the *Sakontalâ* (the Moon of Intellect, translated by Dr. Taylor, is of a distinct class, more analogous to our ancient *Lingua*, or *Randolph’s Muses’ Looking Glass*), and from the dramas now before us, if we were to compare the theatre of India to any European drama, we should certainly select that of Spain; and when *Schlegel*, speaking of the graceful and brilliant *Sakontalâ*, gave the countenance of his authority to the resemblance between *Calidâsa* and *Shakspeare*, we wonder that the other great object of his admiration, *Calderon*, did not the rather occur to him.

*Mrichchakatî*, or the Toy Cart, the first translation in Mr. Wilson’s volumes, opens with imploring the accustomed benediction from *Siva*. This is followed, according to rule, with an interlude, something in the manner, but guiltless of the wit, of the *Prelude to the Taming of the Shrew*, in which *Christophero Sly*

\* Mr. Wilson likewise informs us that Hindu *bienséance* proscribes other acts, as unfit for the scene,—‘The excepted topics of a serious nature, are hostile defiance, solemn imprecations, exile, degradation, and national calamity; whilst those of a less grave or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, the bath, unction, and the marriage ceremony.’—p. 12.

plays so distinguished a part. Here the manager is the chief personage; and the object is to announce the play about to be performed, and by this very artificial contrivance to 'insinuate the plot into the boxes.' All these interludes are evidently modern, and have been prefixed to the more popular and celebrated plays on their revival; their authority is a point of great importance in the history of the Indian drama. The play before us is announced as the work of a celebrated King, Sudraka, who terminated a life of the highest political, literary, and religious distinction, by voluntarily entering the 'fatal fire,' like the Cæsar and other Indian Sages, who excited the astonishment and admiration of the Greeks. According to one calculation, Sudraka lived one hundred and ninety-two years after the Christian æra, by another before it; but we must acknowledge that both dates appear to rest on but slender and unsatisfactory evidence; nor do we understand how Mr. Wilson reconciles his strongest argument for the antiquity of the 'Toy Cart,' the remarkable fact that the Buddhist and Brahminical religions appear co-existing almost in amity, at least by no means in fierce and intolerant hostility, with the appearance of the same historical phenomenon in the Mádharma and Malatî, to which he assigns, on more solid grounds, the much later date, A. D. 720. If in the work attributed to king Sudraka, the Buddhists, though denominated heretics, enjoy perfect toleration, and their monasteries appear to flourish under the royal protection, in the later play the virtues and the gentleness of the Budha priestess are strongly contrasted with the bloodthirsty and ferocious hierophants of the dark rites of the Sivaite superstition. Her intimate connexion with the hero and heroine shows clearly to which side the poet intended the interest of his audience to incline. Those who are aware of the great importance of throwing light on the relation of these two religions to each other, in every question of Indian history and antiquities, will excuse this short digression. Nothing has caused so much perplexity as the co-existence, at different periods, of the symbols of Buddhism and Brahminism, in general thought to have been opposed to each other with implacable hostility, as for instance in the great cave temples, particularly those of Ellora. We will merely add, that the insurrection of a cowherd, and his dethronement of the ruling sovereign, is rather a singular incident to be celebrated by a royal poet.

But at whatever time, or by whatever poet it was written, this drama displays a very singular picture of Indian manners, and we must add, of Indian morals. The poets and novelists of polygamous countries certainly enjoy one inestimable privilege; when they have sufficiently excited our interest by the passion of two

rival

'rival queens' for one hero, they have an easy way of extricating themselves from the embarrassment, by permitting him to marry both. So the Chinese novelist, in the very curious tale, the 'Two Cousins,' translated by Mons. Rémusat, and reviewed in this journal a few years ago; and so in the present drama, the lawful wife, though she has actually prepared a suttee, in expectation of the death of her lord, submits, without remonstrance, and apparently without the least jealous reluctance, to her husband's additional union with the heroine of the piece. This heroine is neither more nor less than a courtesan, but no low or mercenary being; she is a wealthy and highly accomplished female, as Mr. Wilson observes, like the *hetaira* of the Greeks. Her passion for the hero is full of the deepest devotion and disinterestedness; it rests on her admiration of his noble and virtuous character, which, although he has sunk into the lowest state of poverty, commands universal respect; and for him she rejects the importunities of the king's brother. We fear that in our rapid sketch we shall scarcely give a clear notion of an extremely lively plot, full of quick and sudden turns, and even more busy and diversified, both in the incidents and characters which it brings forward, than most Spanish comedies. The scene opens with the lamentations of the gracioso, the friend of the Brahmin Charudatta, at whose hospitable board he had been accustomed to feast, but who is now reduced to the utmost poverty. To Charudatta himself, the Brahmin, among the bitterest of the feelings excited by his humbled state, is the scantiness of his offerings to his household gods.

'Alas! how changed, the offerings to the gods,  
That swans and stately storks, in better times,  
About my threshold flocking, bore away;  
Now a scant tribute to the insect tribe  
Falls midst rank grass, by worms to be devoured.'

He laments his poverty, but in a fine, manly spirit:—

'I do not, trust me, grieve for my lost wealth;  
But that the guest no longer seeks the dwelling  
Whence wealth has vanished, does, I own, afflict me.  
Like the ungrateful bees, who wanton fly  
The elephant's broad front when thick congeals  
The dried up dew, they visit me no more.

'Tis true, I think not of my wasted fortunes.  
As fate decrees, so riches come and vanish.  
But I lament to find the love of friends  
Hangs all unstrung, because a man is poor.  
And then with poverty comes disrespect;  
From disrespect does self-dependence fail;  
Then scorn and sorrow, following, overwhelm

The intellect; and when the judgment fails,  
The being perishes; and thus, from poverty,  
Each ill that pains humanity proceeds.'

The next scene presents us with Vasantasenā, the courtesan pursued by the king's brother,—a character who rather reminds us of the queen's son, Cloten, in 'Cymbeline;' but Samsthanaka is a kind of literary coxcomb, and sadly misquotes the poets. He is attended by the Vitā, a character which we have before described. While Vasantasenā is struggling in vain to escape, the door of Charudatta's house opens, and the maid, Radanika, comes out. Vasantasenā, in the dark, slips within the door, and the maid is seized by mistake, but she is rescued by the gracioso, who asserts with great spirit the Brahminical dignity, and the inviolability of his mansion; nor indeed does he treat the king's relative with much respect—a trait which strikingly exemplifies the sanctity of the Brahminical character. Even the Vitā is struck with reverence by the virtues of the noble Brahmin.

VITA.—I am afraid.

SAMSTHANAKA.—Of what?

VIT.—Of the eminent virtues of Charudatta.

SAMS.—Very eminent, indeed, when they cannot afford his visitors a dinner.

VIT.—Never mind that; he has become impoverished by his liberality, like the lake in the summer, which is exhausted by relieving the thirst of the travellers. In his prosperity he was kind to all, and never treated any one with disrespect.

SAMS.—Who is this slave? the son of a slave? Is he a warrior? a hero? Is he Pandu? Swetaketu?—(And so the prince runs on through a whole list of mythological names.)

VIT.—No. I will tell you what he is. He is Charudatta, the tree of plenty to the poor, bowed down by its abundant fruit. He is the cherisher of the good, the mirror of the wise, a touchstone of piety, an ocean of decorum, the doer of good to all—of evil to none; a treasure of manly virtues—intelligent, liberal, and upright. In a word, he only is worthy of admiration. In the plenitude of his merits he may be said to live: other men merely breathe. So come, we had better depart.'

The scene within the house, between Charudatta and Vasantasenā, is conducted with the utmost courtesy and propriety. The lady departs, leaving a valuable casket of jewels in the charge of the Brahmin. The two following acts open scenes of Indian low life: an adventure at the door of a gambling-house, and an act of burglary, executed with an ingenuity which might move the envy of some of the worthy opponents of the new police in our metropolis. Both, however, advance the progress of the story, by introducing characters which contributed to the denouement.

The

The thief, of course, steals the casket of the courtesan, and the gracioso is despatched to her dwelling (where the casket had already arrived by another course) to replace the loss by a valuable chain of jewels, cheerfully sacrificed by the Brahmin's wife, lest her husband's honour should be impeached. The description of the dwelling of this oriental Aspasia appears to us so curious that we shall give it at length.

'ATTENDANT.—This is the outer door, Sir.

MAITREYA.\*—A very pretty entrance, indeed. The threshold is very neatly coloured, well swept and watered; the floor is beautified with strings of sweet flowers; the top of the gate is lofty, and gives one the pleasure of looking up to the clouds; whilst the jasmine festoon hangs tremblingly down, as if it were now hanging on the trunk of Indra's elephant. Over the door is a lofty arch of ivory; above it, again, wave flags, dyed with safflower, their fringes curling in the wind, like fingers that beckon me, Come hither. On either side the capitals of the door-posts support elegant crystal flower-pots, in which young mango-trees are springing up. The door-pannels are of gold, like the stout breast of a demon, stuck with studs of adamant. The whole cries "Away!" to a poor man; whilst its splendour catches the eye of the wisest.

ATT.—This leads to the first court. Enter, Sir, enter.

*(They enter the first court.)*

MAIT.—Bless me! why here is a line of palaces as white as the moon, as the conch, as the stalk of the water-lily! The stucco has been laid on here by handfuls. Golden steps, embellished with various stones, lead to the upper apartments, where the crystal windows, festooned with pearls, and bright as the eyes of a moon-faced maid, look down upon Ujain. The porter dozes on an easy chair, as stately as a Brahmin deep in the Vedas; and the very crows, crammed with rice and curds, disdain the fragments of the sacrifice, as if they were no more than scattered plaster. Proceed.

ATT.—This is the second court. Enter.

*(They enter the second court.)*

MAIT.—Oh! here are the stables. The carriage oxen are in good case, pampered with jawasa, I declare; and straw and oil-cakes are ready for them; their horns are bright with grease. Here we have a buffalo snorting indignantly, like a Brahmin of high caste whom somebody has affronted; here the ram stands to have his neck well rubbed, like a wrestler after a match; here they dress the manes of the horses; here is a monkey tied as fast as a thief; and here the mahauts (elephant drivers) are plying the elephants with balls of rice and ghee. Proceed.

ATT.—This, Sir, is the third gateway.

*(They enter the third court.)*

MAIT.—Oh! this is the public court, where the young bucks of

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\* The gracioso—the friend and messenger of Charudatta.

Ujain assemble: these are their seats, I suppose. The half-read book lies on the gaming-table, the men of which are made of jewels. Oh! yonder are some old libertines lounging about; they seem to have pictures in their hands, studying, I conclude, to improve their skill in the peace and war of love. What next?

ATT.—This is the entrance to the fourth court.

*(They enter the fourth court.)*

MAIT.—Oh, ho! this is a very gay scene. Here the drums, whilst beaten by taper fingers, emit, like clouds, a murmuring; there the cymbals, beating time, flash as they descend, like the unlucky stars that fall from heaven. The flute here breathes the soft hum of the bee; whilst here a damsel holds the vina in her lap, and frets its wires with her finger-nails, like some wild minx, that sets her mark on the face of her offending swain. Some damsels are singing, like so many bees intoxicated with flowery nectar; others are practising the graceful dance; and others are employed in reading plays and poems. The place is hung with water-jars, to catch the cooling breeze. What comes next?

ATT.—This is the gate of the fifth court.

*(They enter the fifth court.)*

MAIT.—Oh, how my mouth waters! what a savoury scent of oil and assafoetida! The kitchen sighs softly forth its fragrant and abundant smoke: the odours are delicious; they fill me with rapture. The butcher's boy is washing the skin of an animal just slain, like so much foul linen. The cook is surrounded with dishes; the sweet-meats are mixing; the cakes are baking. *(Apart.)* O that I could meet with some one to do me a friendly turn! one who would wash my feet, and say, "Eat, Sir, eat!" This is certainly Indra's heaven; the damsels are Apsarāsas; the bandhulas are Gandharbias. . . . .

ATT.—This is the sixth entry.

*(They enter.)*

MAIT.—The arched gateway is of gold and many coloured gems on a ground of sapphire, and looks like the bow of Indra on an azure sky. What is going forward here so busily? This is the jeweller's court; skilful artists are examining pearls, topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, the lapis-lazuli, coral, and other jewels; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments on coloured thread, some string pearls, some grind the lapis-lazuli, some pierce shells, and some cut coral; there we have perfumers drying the saffron-bags, shaking the musk-bags, expressing the sandal-juice, and compounding essences. Whom have we here? fair damsels and their gallants, laughing, talking, chewing musk and betel, and drinking wine. Here are the male and female hangers on—men that neglected their own families, and spent their all upon the harlot, and are now glad to quaff the drainings of her wine-cup.

ATT.—This is the seventh court. Enter.

*(They enter the seventh court.)*

MAIT.—This is the aviary; very handsome indeed—the doves bill and

and coo in comfort ; the pampered parrot, stuffed with curds and rice, croaks like a Brahmin pundit chanting a hymn from the Vedas ; the maina chatters as glibly as a housemaid, issuing her mistress's commands to her fellow-servants ; while the koil, crammed with juicy fruit, whines like a water-carrier ; the quails fight ; the partridges cry ; the domestic peacock dances about delighted, and fans the palace with his gem-embazoned tail, as if to cool its heated walls ; the swans, like balls of moonlight, roll about in pairs, and follow each graceful maid as if to learn to imitate her walk ; whilst the long-legged cranes stalk about the court, like eunuchs on guard ; some birds are hung in cages, either carried about or suspended from the balconies : so that the lady lives here amongst the winged race, as if she tenanted Indra's garden.—Well, where do you go now ?

Att.—Enter, Sir, the eighth court.'

We are here introduced to the brother and the mother of the fair mistress, who seem to live very comfortably in this questionable establishment. Afterwards

' (They enter the garden.)

MAIT.—A very lovely scene : the numerous trees are bowed down by delicious fruit, and between them are silken swings constructed for the light form of youthful beauty ; the yellow jasmine, the graceful mālātī, the full-blossomed mallekā, the blue clitoria, spontaneous shed their flowers and strew the ground with a carpet more lovely than any in the groves of Indra ; the reservoir glows with the red lotus blossoms, like the dawn with the fiery beams of the rising sun, and here the asoka tree, with its rich crimson blossoms, shines like a young warrior bathed with the sanguine shower of the furious fight.'

Having given this long description of the lady's palace, we must select, as a specimen of the poetry, a scene from nature, as completely Indian in all its features. Vasantasenā, attended by the Vitā, pays a visit to the Brahmin, and is overtaken by a storm :

VAS.—The purple lightning darts such brilliant rays,  
As gleam from golden lamps, in temples hung ;  
Whilst like the consort of an humble lord,  
The timid moonlight peeps amidst the clouds.

VIT.—There, like a string of elephants, the clouds  
In regular file by lightning fillets bound,  
Move slowly at the potent god's commands.  
The heavens let down a silver chain to earth,  
The earth that shines with buds and sheds sweet odours,  
Is pierced with showers, like diamond-shafted darts,  
Launched from the rolling mass of deepest blue,  
Which heaves before the breeze, and foams with flame ;  
Like ocean's dark waves by the tempest driven,  
And tossing high their flashing surge to shore.

VAS.

VAS.—Hailed by the pea-fowl with their shrillest cries ;  
 By the pleased storks delightedly caressed ;  
 And by the provident swans with anxious eye  
 Regarded—yonder rests one threatening cloud  
 Involving all the atmosphere in gloom.

VIT.—The countenance of heaven is close concealed,  
 By shades the lightning scant irradiates ;  
 The day and night confusedly intermix ;  
 And all the lotus eyes of ether close.  
 The world is lulled to slumber by the sound  
 Of falling waters, sheltered by the clouds  
 That countless crowd the chambers of the sky.

VAS.—*The stars are all extinct, as fades the memory  
 Of kindness in a bad man's heart.* The heavens  
 Are shorn of all their radiance, as the wife  
 Her glory loses in her husband's absence.  
 In sooth, I think the firmament dissolves :  
 Melted by Indra's scorching bolt, it falls  
 In unexhausted torrents. Now the cloud  
 Ascends—now stoops—now roars aloud in thunder—  
 Now sheds its streams—now frowns with deeper gloom,—  
 Full of fantastic change, like one new raised  
 By fortune's fickle favours.

VIT.— Now the sky  
 With lightning gleams—now laughs with whitening storks—  
 Now glows with Indra's painted bow, that hurls  
 Its hundred shafts—now rattles with his bolt—  
 Now loud it chafes with rushing winds—and now  
 With clustering clouds, that roll their spiry folds,  
 Like sable snakes, along, it thickens dark,  
 As if 'twere clothed with vapours, such as spread  
 When incense soars in curling wreaths to heaven.

VAS.—Shame on thee, cloud ! that seekest to affright me !  
 With thy loud threats, and with thy watery shafts,  
 Wouldst stay my progress, hastening to my love ?  
 Indra, I violate no vows to thee,  
 That thou shouldst thunder angrily reproof.  
 It ill becomes thee to obstruct my path.  
 Draw off thy clouds, in pity to my passion,  
 If ever thou wert conscious of affection,  
 And for Aholya \* wore a husband's form.  
 Or be it so ! Rage on ! Still pour thy deluge,  
 And launch thy hundred-shafted bolt in vain.  
 Thou canst not stop the faithful maid that flies  
 To lose her terrors in a lover's arms.  
 If the clouds roar—e'en be it so ; it is

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\* Indra enacted Amphitryon to the fair Aholya. The clouds are male personifications ; the lightning is a nymph.

Their nature: all of man is ever savage.  
 But, gentle lightning! how canst thou not know  
 The cares that agitate the female bosom?

Mr. Wilson acknowledges that in this passage he has expanded the expression, in order to convey more accurately the idea intended by the simpler phraseology. No doubt, in the original all this is expressed, if less distinctly, much more rapidly, by the singular power which the language possesses of melting together words which, as it were, convey to the mind at once a mingled mass of images.

The intelligence between the Bramin and the devoted Vasantasena is no sooner established than it suffers a fatal reverse. They agree to meet in a public garden, in the outskirts of the city, and Charudatta's carriage is at the door to convey the lady. At that instant the insurgent Aryaka rushes in, pursued by the king's guards, and leaps into the chariot, which drives off. At the same time the chariot of the king's brother is stopped at the same place, and into this the lady unwittingly enters. On her arrival at the garden, she discovers that she has fallen into the hands of her importunate but odious admirer; and as she scornfully rejects his advances, this cruel Cloten, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Vitā, strangles her with his own hands, and leaves her, as he supposes, dead. She is restored to life by the Buddha devotee, whom, in the early part of the play, her generosity had rescued from his difficulties, and enabled to renounce the world. The ninth act commences with the meeting of the court of justice, before which the king's guilty brother appears, and denounces the Bramin Charudatta as the murderer of Vasantasena. The reverence of the judges for his character, and his own defence, are in vain, though he takes a high tone of vindication.

CHARUDATTA.—The wretch that sickens at another's merits,  
 The mind by passion blinded, bent to ruin  
 The object of its malice, do not claim  
 Reply, nor any heed to what they utter,  
 Which, from their very nature, must be falsehood.  
 For me—you know me! Would I pluck a flower?  
 I draw the tender creeper gently to me,  
 Nor rudely rob it of its clustering beauty.  
 How think you, then, could I with violent hands  
 Tear from their lovely seat those jetty locks,  
 More glossy than the black bee's wing? or how  
 So wrong my nature, and betray my love,  
 As, with remorseless heart, to blast in death  
 The weeping charms that vainly sued for mercy?

The circumstantial evidence, however, is so strong against him,  
 that

that in the last act he is led forth to death by two Chandalas, his executioners. As he passes he observes,

‘From every window lovely faces shed  
The kindly drops, and bathe me with their tears.’

His sentence is read with all its horrible formality.

CHARUDATTA.—Dreadful reverse to hear such wretches herald

My death, and blacken thus with lies my fame ;  
Not so my sires—for them the frequent shout  
Has filled the sacred temple, where the crowd ;  
Of holy Brahmins to the gods proclaimed.  
The costly rite accomplished ; and shall I,  
Alas, Vasantasena, who have drunk  
Thy nectar’d tones, from lips whose ruby glow  
Disgraced the coral, and displayed the charms  
Of teeth more pearly than the moon’s chaste light,  
Profane my ears with such unworthy draughts,  
Or stain my unslaved spirit with the pledge  
Of poison, brewed by infamy and shame ?

(*Puts his hands to his ear.*) ’

An affecting parting with his child follows ; it ends with these words, as he embraces the boy :

‘This is the truest wealth ; love equal smiles  
On poor and rich : the bosom’s precious balm  
Is not the fragrant herb, nor costly unguent,  
But nature’s breath, affection’s holy perfume.’

Of course, at the instant before the execution, Vasantasena appears—tidings arrive that the insurgent Aryaka has dethroned the reigning king. Charudatta is just in time to prevent his wife from mounting the fatal pile, on which she is preparing to burn herself, notwithstanding her husband’s well-known passion for the other lady. This Indian Griselda receives the fair courtesan as her *sister*, that is, as her husband’s second wife. The new king, in honour of her worth, requests to acknowledge her as a *kinswoman*, and a veil is thrown over her head to betoken her abandonment of her former life. And so ends this remarkable picture of Oriental manners.

Vikrama and Urvashi is a drama of pure poetry, a kind of Oriental Undine, describing the loves of a mortal being and a celestial nymph. It abounds in graceful and fanciful poetic images, but we cannot think that Mr. Wilson, who, in some parts of his work displays much poetical talent, has been altogether successful in the variety of lyric measures which he has attempted. It would have required an ear as exquisite as that of Moore, and his magic power of melting our somewhat inflexible language into strains of ‘linked sweetness long drawn out,’ to have followed this Indian lyrist in the infinite versatility of his measures.

Mádhava and Málati is the Romeo and Juliet of the Indian theatre. It is a glowing picture of youthful passion, but scarcely, if ever, overstepping the bounds of the most scrupulous modesty. 'The passion of Málati (observes Mr. Wilson) is equally extreme with that of Juliet, but her unconquerable reserve, even to the extent of denying her utterance to him she loves more than life, is a curious picture of the restraint to which the manners of Hindu women were subjected, even whilst they were in enjoyment, as appears from the drama, of considerable personal freedom.' There is a double plot, and twofold difficulties arise to thwart the union of this beautiful and enamoured pair. The first is the rivalry of the son of the great minister, on whose side the royal authority is put forth. On him a trick is played, resembling that to which our old friend cousin Slender is exposed in the affair of Anne Page, though certainly with much less comic effect. The second is the implacable hostility of the priests of the dark Sivaite superstition. We have already observed, that the old Buddha priestess, who has been both the nurse of the maiden Málati and the preceptress of the youth Mádhava, appears in the most amiable light, as encouraging the mutual passion of two beings so suited to each other. She thus describes the state of the enamoured maiden—

'Poor girl—the lesson I have lately hinted  
Has bowed her lofty spirit, and she seeks  
To win me to her; mournfully she pines  
When I am absent; brightens in my presence.  
Whispers her secret thoughts to me; presents me  
With costly gifts; when I depart she clings  
Around my neck, and only lets me leave her  
When I have vowed repeatedly return.  
Then on my knee she sits, and bids me tell her  
Again the story of the nymphs that loved,  
And questions o'er and o'er, with flimsy pretext,  
Their fate and conduct,—then she silent pauses  
As lost in meditation.'

On the other hand, the Sivaite rites of Chamundà are painted in the blackest, the most tremendous, the most hateful colours. Desperate, when he apprehends that Málati is to be given in marriage to his rival, the youthful hero approaches the fearful temple of these deities, to propitiate them by an offering of 'the flesh of man untouched by trenchant steel.' The description of the scene, avowedly softened by Mr. Wilson, is disgusting enough as it appears. We only select one strange similitude—

'And now I see the goblin host—each stalks  
On legs like palm-trees, a gaunt skeleton;'  
and the close of his speech—

'All is plunged

In

In utter gloom : the river flows before me,  
 The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds  
 Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.  
 Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past,  
 And rends its crumbling banks ; the wailing owl  
 Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds  
 The loud, long moaning jackall yells reply.'

He hears a voice

so musical and wild,  
 That sounds like the affrighted osprey's cry—  
 It bursts not unfamiliar to my ear.'

It is the voice of Málati who has been seized as a human sacrifice ; he rescues her, slays the priest, and from that time becomes an object of implacable hostility to the whole body of the Sivaite magicians. We regret that we cannot trace any farther the plot of this *chef-d'œuvre* of Babavhuti : the benevolent Buddhist, and her associate, triumph over the malignant powers of blood and darkness ; and we abstain, with some unwillingness, from selecting an example of the poet's skill in describing natural scenery—in which the dramatic bards of India indulge with, apparently, the deepest delight.

In the Uttara Rama Cheritra, the continuation of the history of Rama, we have to make our weary way through many scenes of almost lifeless mythology, before we arrive at the better parts of the poem, the pathetic expressions of mutual love uttered by Rama, and his wife Sita, from whom he has been long separated ;—for, says the Indian poet,

‘ How many are the forms affection takes,  
 And yet is one unchanged ; as water seen  
 In bubbles, eddies, billows, is the same  
 Unaltered element.’

There is something very spirited and noble in the manner in which the two sons of Rama, who, unknown to their father, have been brought up in the hermitage of a holy recluse, burst, like Guidarius and Arviragus, into the battle, which rages near their retirement. Yet the celestial arms with which one of these youths arrests the battle, are purely Indian. It is by the magic powers of meditation that he brings a spirit of drowsiness over the whole army—

‘ (*Lava stands in the attitude of meditation.*)

CHANDADETA.—What is this ?

The shouts are stilled.

LAVA.—So much for these revilers.

SUMANTRA.—This is no common deed ; the youth must wield  
 Celestial weapons.

CHAN.—It is true ; for see

In fearful change, that equal pains the eye,  
 Alternate gloom to flashing lightning yields.  
 How like a painted army stands our host,  
 As the resistless charm subdues their senses.  
 And now along the sky dark vapours float  
 In masses ponderous as the peaks of Vindhya,  
 And blackness, gathered from the caves of hell;  
 Like molten brass, red sullen flames, by fits  
 Glow through the gloom, and loud the breeze awakens,  
 As 'twere the word of final dissolution.'

The recognition of his sons by Rama is not without fine touches.

'RAMA.—In every look and act these youths display  
 The majesty that would become an empire;  
 Upon their forms has Nature set her signs,  
 Like rays of light within a costly gem,  
 Or drops of nectar on a lovely lotus,  
 That indicate such glorious destiny  
 As should alone to Raghu's sons pertain.  
 Dark as the dove's blue neck is their deep hue;  
 Such shoulders has the monarch of the herd;  
 Their dauntless looks are like the angry lion's;  
 And like the deep-toned music of the drum  
 Of holy sacrifice, each mellow voice.  
 I see in each my own similitude;  
 And not alone my likeness, but in much  
 They wear the lovely semblance of my Sitā,  
 The lotus countenance of Jānaki  
 Is even now before me—such those teeth  
 Of pearly whiteness, such the pouting lip,  
 The taper ear, and such the expressive eye,  
 Although 'tis tempered with a manly fierceness.  
 Their dwelling in these groves—the very same  
 Where Sitā was abandoned—and so like—  
 And then the heavenly weapons—self presented,  
 That, as the sages say, would never quit  
 Our line without due cause—my queen's condition—  
 Burthened with promised joys; these thoughts distract  
 My heart, and fill my soul with hope and terror;  
 Nor can I learn the truth, nor ask these youths  
 The history of their birth.'

The most curious, however, of these plays, on account of its historical allusions, the intricacy of the plot, and the skilful delineation of character, is the *Mudrā Rakshasa*, or the signet of the minister. The fable of this drama relates to the reign of the celebrated Chandra-gupta, who dispossessed and exterminated the former sovereigns, the race of Nanda, from the throne of Patna, the ancient Palibothra. This monarch it is impossible not to identify with

with the Sandracottus, or, as it is written by Athenæus, Sandracoptus, who reigned over the Gangaridæ, is said by Plutarch to have seen Alexander, and was the monarch with whom Seleucus Nicator entered into a treaty, and whose court was frequently visited by the historian Megasthenes. The Greek accounts describe this king as of low origin, the son of a barber; the Indian, though of royal birth, yet the son of a king who was himself born of a Sudra mother, by a woman of low extraction: and it is curious that in the description of the allies led by an invader against Chandra-gupta, appear the Javanas, who may be converted without much difficulty into Ionians. The interest of the play turns on the character of the minister Chanakya, to whose consummate ability Chandra-gupta owes his elevation to the throne. Chanakya, having been cruelly insulted, loosed the single tuft of hair which adorns the head of a Brahmin, and made a solemn vow never to tie it up again till he had obtained full vengeance from the house of Nanda. He has succeeded in exterminating the elder royal race, and his only object is now to secure the throne of Chandra-gupta. For this purpose he must provide him with a minister of equal ability to himself. Rakshasa, the only man worthy of succeeding to his place, is, on the other side, endeavouring to raise, or has already organized, a formidable invasion of the kingdom. It is the object of Chanakya to detach this man from the service of the enemy, and to this end he weaves a web of Machiavellian policy, which might have moved the admiration and envy of the late Duke of Otranto, though we doubt whether M. Fouché would have laboured with such disinterested magnanimity to elevate a worthy successor to his office. Wherever he turns, Rakshasa finds himself entangled in the inextricable toils which his wily antagonist has spun around him; his plots recoil on his own head; his mines are undermined; his spies are in the pay of his enemy; his most trusty agents are the agents of Chanakya; he becomes an object of jealousy, of suspicion to his own party, of which he is the life; and at length is brought to the feet of his master in the art of oriental policy; who, having attained the high and disinterested object for which he has plotted all his villainies, at once abdicates his own ministerial power, and bestows on his master Chandra-gupta the only minister worthy to succeed himself. Of this intricate plot it is impossible for us to give a distinct outline, and the poetry, though vigorous and animated, rarely breaks out in passages likely, whether for elegance or power, to form striking extracts in the pages of a review. With one remarkable simile, therefore, we shall close these notices of the Indian drama:—

‘**RAKSHASA.**—See, what is the hour?

**ATTENDANT.**—Near sunset, Sir.

**RAKSHASA.**

RAKSHASA.—Indeed ! so near the time when, like the slaves  
 That fly a lord whom fortune has abandoned,  
 The trees that cast their shadows at the dawn  
 With servile speed before the rising sun,  
 Now turn them backward from his downward course  
 As to the west he drives his jaded steeds,  
 To rest from their long circuit, and acquire  
 Reviving vigour for the morrow's toil.

Mr. Wilson has performed a valuable service to the European public by his translation of the Hindu drama. We repeat that, to those who have formed rigid and exclusive canons of taste on classical, or even more recent models, these curious plays will afford little pleasure or amusement. By those, however, who take a wider range, and judge according to a more liberal philosophy—at all events by all who are delighted with living and authentic pictures of the manners and of the genius of different nations—they will be read with very great delight and interest.

The rapid progress of the study of the Sanscrit language is a remarkable event in literary history. In the course of thirty years nearly seven hundred publications have appeared relating to a language to which, certainly, not a hundred scholars have applied, and with which not fifty are accurately acquainted. Such is the statement of Adelung in his recent catalogue of works on Sanscrit literature. The language is taught in the schools of Berlin, Breslau, and Bonn. About the university of Cambridge, M. Adelung, we suspect, is misinformed. In the list of three hundred and eighty works described by M. Adelung, are one hundred and seventy Indian, six Persian, sixty-three English, seventy-eight German, forty French, eight Danish, three Russian, four Dutch, one Polish, and one Greek. It is not perhaps generally known, that by the bequest of a munificent individual, the late Colonel Boden, a professorship of Sanscrit has been founded and liberally endowed in the university of Oxford. The university, no doubt, will be anxious to do justice to their important charge, and will be desirous to nominate that candidate who shall be best qualified for the office, from whatever quarter he may come ; though we confess that we shall have some feeling of national disappointment if the situation shall be wrested away by the superior claims of some learned foreigner, who cannot have pursued the study with the same advantages as a resident in India. For the best qualified English candidates the university will naturally look to the servants of the East India Company—a class of persons whose contributions, not merely to the study of the Eastern languages, but to the general literature of their country, have scarcely received their fair meed of applause. The works

works of Orme, Sir J. Malcolm, Colonel Wilks, and many other living authors,—it is almost invidious and unjust to make a selection,—may claim a very high rank as historical compositions.

Among those whose names are before the public as Sanscrit scholars—though we presume not to aver that there are not many of equal attainments—Mr. Wilson stands in the first rank.—He has rendered most valuable service to oriental literature, not only by the work which we have introduced to the reader, but by the far more laborious compilation of his Sanscrit dictionary. The want of a new, perhaps extended edition of this work, which cannot be obtained, retards the progress of the Sanscrit student,—a want which is imperfectly supplied by the valuable but less comprehensive ‘*Radices Sanscritæ*’ of Professor Rosen, and the ‘*Glossarium Sanskritum*’ of Bopp. But to whomsoever the lot may fall, independent of the religious advantages contemplated, we believe, by the founder, in encouraging the study of the parent language of the numerous dialects spoken throughout that peninsula, which is, no doubt, sooner or later, to partake in the blessings of Christianity, we confidently trust that we shall receive from the Oxford professor continual accessions to our treasures of Sanscrit literature, and be enabled to complete our yet imperfect history of this remarkable branch of the poetry and philosophy of man.

ART. II.—*Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Straits, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions.* Performed in his Majesty's Ship Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., in 1825, 1826, 1827, and 1828. London. 4to. 1831.

MEN of science continue to be much divided in opinion as to what is, and what is not, the sort of encouragement which the government of this country ought to give to scientific inquiry. The views of Mr. Babbage, and many others, have been abundantly explained to our readers in a late article; but these are strenuously opposed by persons equally eminent,—according to whom the case stands thus:—

Whenever the investigation of certain topics would be useful to the public service, but, from whatever cause, such investigation is not likely to be undertaken by individual members of the community, it is the clear duty of government, acting as stewards or agents of the public, to employ the means placed in their hands for the advancement of such objects; but when the members

of the community are themselves willing and competent to prosecute the inquiries, the interference of government would be not only useless, but hurtful. There cannot, they proceed, be a doubt that the philosophical pursuits to which the learned members of the French Institute devote their time, are highly beneficial to their country; or that the government of France does well to pension the savans, and to invest them with honours, that these able men may be stimulated to fresh inquiries. If science in that country were not kept up by the protecting hand of government, it would soon languish and die;—not because those accomplished philosophers, who are the admiration of Europe, are at all lukewarm in their pursuits, but because there is not, in the community at large, either a sufficient degree of taste for such things to render them generally fashionable, or enough of wealth to make them profitable. In England, they assure us, it is quite otherwise. There is not only a very extensive taste for every description of science diffused throughout our country, but there is ample wealth, always ready, upon the slightest hint, to support the expenses of such investigations. For government, therefore, to interfere in England with such things, would be like dashing with the oar to accelerate the cataract. There is abundance of momentum already impressed upon the body, and any additional force applied to it would be wasted. It matters little what may be the object of inquiry in this country; whether it be abstract and refined, or practical and immediately useful—or whether it combine the practical with the speculative—or even if it be altogether absurd and visionary. Let any subject of inquiry be started, it is straightway pursued with ardour; and there is no instance that they have heard of in which any such inquiry has been retarded for want of due encouragement. Proceeding to examples, they tell us there was a time when the Royal Society was supposed to be the only grand fountain of knowledge in the kingdom. At length, certain of its members conceived their favourite pursuit not sufficiently attended to, and in a few months was established the Geological Society. Since that period, the astronomers have, in like manner, set up for themselves; and so far from being in want of further encouragement, these interesting bodies derive, from the pockets of their own members, every assistance they can possibly desire. These are only two out of many similar societies in London, all of them numerous, and all of them supported by the voluntary contributions of their own members. But the other day Mr. Barrow pointed out the want of a society which should devote itself expressly to geographical subjects, and in less than three months five hundred and fifty members came forward to enter their names, all ready to pay

pay their subscriptions, and upwards of a hundred of them to compound by a ten years' purchase for their annual payments. We are asked if, after this, we can question the sincerity and zeal with which scientific objects are *de facto* encouraged in England? We are told that we should surprise our readers were we to lay before them an account of the sums of money actually paid annually by the scientific and literary bodies of the metropolis alone; to say nothing of those which may be found in almost every town in the empire. We are asked if the money thus raised by voluntary and cheerful contribution, and expended most judiciously on purely scientific objects, is not only fifty times greater than the whole amount so ostentatiously distributed by the government of our neighbours, but fifty times greater than the executive of this country could venture to collect for any such purpose, or would be permitted to bestow even if they did collect it? Then as to titles and other external distinctions, is it not precisely because such honours are distributed with a sparing hand in this country, that they are felt, when bestowed, as of real value by the individuals selected, and carry solid weight with the body of the nation?

Having thus stated the substance of what has been urged among scientific people, in reply to Mr. Babbage, and part of our own reviewal of his late treatise, we consider ourselves as having given all readers the means of judging for themselves between the contending parties. Truth, as in most cases, may most probably lie between. That all Mr. Babbage's complaints and our own have been answered we do not think; but croaking is not our element, and it is a pleasing relief to do justice to the admirable style in which, with regard to one great object of scientific inquiry, the British government in our day has unquestionably done its duty—carrying the wishes of the country into effect, by bringing its resources to a focus, and applying them in a manner which the government alone could have had the means of doing,—we allude to the case of arctic discovery.

For a long period of time, and particularly since the peace consequent upon Napoleon's downfall, a lively curiosity had been manifested in this country on the subject of the north-west passage, and the possibility of reaching the pole. We are not discussing just now whether these inquiries were judicious or not—the fact of their great and general popularity is indisputable. But as it was utterly impossible that any private person, or even any scientific body, could undertake the equipment of expeditions for the investigation of these points, it became the duty of government, in obedience to the general wish, to put the resources trusted to its management into such operation as should satisfy the country that

that the experiment had been properly tried. The primary reason why such expeditions cannot be sent out by private persons, is not the want of money, as might, at first sight, be supposed, but the impossibility of any private persons being able to command the services of men competent to perform the task, and willing to submit to the requisite discipline. If Captain Ross, indeed, shall ever cast up again, either on this or on the other side of Beering's Straits, we shall be compelled to admit at least of one splendid exception; but until that officer reappears—as God send he soon may!—we must hold fast to the old doctrine—viz., that such gigantic enterprises are stripped of every fair chance of a successful issue, unless they be undertaken by government.

It is fair, then, to own, that in our view, Mr. Babbage and his allies should not have passed in silence what has been done by the executive for this single investigation. There was first the voyage round Baffin's Bay by Ross—abortive, indeed, but through no fault on the part of government, who at that time were only training their officers to this novel service. Then came the two celebrated voyages of Sir Edward Parry—both eminently successful and instructive, as far as they went. Next followed Captain Lyon's unsuccessful attempt to pass through Repulse Bay. To these we may add Buchan's voyage towards the North Pole, and Parry's, with the same object, but with different means. Then we have Sir John Franklin's two wonderful journeys, with the splendid episode of Dr. Richardson; and, lastly, this great voyage of Beechey. These expeditions are no fewer than nine in number,—all of them very costly, and most of them in the highest degree creditable to us. It is true the grand ultimate purpose of these expensive and laborious equipments has not been attained to the letter, since fifty leagues of coast remain still unexplored; but surely this is not owing to any want of encouragement on the part of government. On the contrary, we are convinced that no candid-minded person who has followed these admirable voyagers and travellers, can have failed to give the government ample credit, not only for the public spirit with which they have followed up the anxious wishes of the nation at large, but for the discernment they have evinced in the choice of officers to conduct such dangerous and difficult enterprises.

Reflections of this nature will very often recur to the reader as he peruses the narrative of Captain Beechey, whose volume, we venture to predict, will be generally considered as the most interesting of the whole series. Part of this distinction it undoubtedly owes to the much greater variety and extent of his field of observation, but part of it likewise belongs to the superiority of his powers of composition, and perhaps also to his powers

powers of observation, or the faculty which, from internal evidence, we infer he possesses in a high degree, of seizing the most characteristic points of every subject, whether they be the most prominent or not.

The object of this voyage may be told in a few words. Captain Franklin was directed to proceed through Canada to the Arctic Ocean, and then to coast along towards Beering's Strait ; and as it was essential to his success that when he reached that point he should not be compelled to retrace his steps, Captain Beechey was sent round by Cape Horn, and through the Pacific, to receive him on board at the termination of his journey, should he fortunately succeed. The two officers, before starting, arranged, under the sanction of the Admiralty, their plan of joint operations. They agreed as to their place of rendezvous, their signals, and various other essential particulars, by which they hoped to ascertain their proximity to one another, after having between them made the circuit of the two Americas. It is a matter of very bitter regret that plans so admirably arranged, skill so effectively wielded, and courage so undaunted, should all have failed. Had it not been for the fog, which for so many days kept Franklin at a stand, he might, and certainly would, have reached the boat sent a-head by the Blossom to meet him ; or, had he only known that Beechey's people were within fifty leagues of him, he might have dashed on gallantly through the fog and gained the prize, and made himself (if indeed he be not so already) the greatest traveller the world has yet seen. Under all the circumstances of the case, however, it would not only have been a gross breach of orders, but sheer madness in Franklin to have gone forward. Indeed, if we were called upon to state which of all the qualities in these great officers we hold in highest admiration, we should say it is the courageous strength of mind evinced by them when called upon to abandon the enterprises upon which their fame and professional fortune were suspended. Mere animal bravery is to be purchased at any moment ; but the self-denial which these sacrifices imply, and the substantial effort of intellect which these men displayed in summing up and balancing the pros and cons of circumstances entirely new to them, belong, we conceive, only to very high training, during a whole lifetime. in a profession where circumstances are changing every hour, and in which nothing but the true spirit of a gentleman, directed exclusively to public objects, can ever lead to eminence.

We think it will be doing more justice to Captain Beechey to run hastily over his track, before giving any extracts from his book, than to allow our readers to pick up from detached passages the thread of so long a story. The truth, however, is, that the whole  
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work, though consisting of topics of boundless diversity, hangs so capitally together, that we cannot hope, by either outline or extracts, to give a just conception of its interest.

Captain Beechey was not selected for this important service at random, or from favour, but because he had served a long and arduous apprenticeship in northern voyages, and had, during that period, displayed talents and resources worthy of a wider field. In 1817, he was placed under the command of Franklin, in the *Trent*, appointed to accompany Captain Buchan in his endeavour to reach the North Pole *via* Spitzbergen. When Parry sailed on his first great expedition, during which he wintered at Melville Island, Beechey was his first Lieutenant. On his return, by way of a change, he was employed in surveying the northern shores of Africa, of which service an account has been published. Thus he became inured to all climates, and was obviously the most proper person to command the expedition fitted out to co-operate with his two old captains, Parry and Franklin.

His Majesty's ship *Blossom*, Captain F. W. Beechey, sailed from England on the 19th of May, 1825, and, having looked in at the usual stopping-places, Teneriffe and Rio de Janeiro, proceeded round the Horn, and touched at Concepcion and Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili. So far all is commonplace; but even this part of the voyage is treated in a manner which gives the reader an agreeable notion of what he is likely to meet with when the same hand comes to be employed on perfectly new materials. These expectations will soon be gratified—for in a few days the *Blossom* reached the Easter Island of Cook, where she met with a most characteristic reception. Her next visit was to Pitcairn's Island, which appears to us by far the most interesting point in the whole voyage. The only survivor of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, old Adams (the most remarkable of patriarchs), and the descendants of those wretched traitors, might furnish materials for a volume. We have even heard it whispered, that one of the most eminent poets of the day has some thoughts of building a romance on this foundation. Captain Beechey's next point was Oeno Island, a coral formation, where one of his boats was lost, under circumstances of considerable interest. Then comes Gambier's Group,—which affords such a delightful treat in the way of savage life, that we are reminded of the best parts of Cook's Voyages. The scenes described bring back, more forcibly than we had dared to hope for, the feelings with which we perused those spirit-stirring pages in the fresh days of boyish wonder and delight.\* After

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\* By the way, both Cook and Vancouver's narratives are sadly clogged with nautical and scientific details; but Captain Beechey has most judiciously confined all such

After quitting Gambier's Group, they ran for Otaheite, where Becchey's proceedings are in the highest degree interesting,—indeed, there seems to be a magic about that island which impresses everything belonging to it with a peculiar charm. As soon as the crew of the Blossom were sufficiently refreshed, she proceeded nearly due north to the Sandwich Islands, where civilization has crept on at a very different rate from that of Otaheite. The next point is Kamtchatka, then Beering's Straits, and lastly Kotzebue Sound, the rendezvous agreed upon with Franklin. The arrival of the ship at so remote a point within fifteen days of the time specified in the order of the Admiralty, affords a striking example of the high state of perfection to navigation has been brought; and not only navigation, but discipline, taking that word in its largest sense. How much certainty of purpose is there not implied in all the parties concerned, when a ship could be started from Spithead on the 25th of May, with directions to be within Beering's Straits on the 10th of July of the succeeding year, and that, in spite of all obstructions, she should be anchored at the rendezvous within one day more than a fortnight of the appointed time! The voyagers, as we know, found no trace of Franklin; but discovering the Arctic Sea to be tolerably open, they proceeded along the coast of America as far as was safe in the ship, and then despatched their boat, properly fitted, to explore still further, in hopes of falling in with their friend, who, it is most grievously tantalizing to think, was at one time within one hundred and fifty miles of them!

The Blossom remained in Kotzebue Sound till the 14th of October, 1826, when the approach of winter obliged them to repass Beering's Straits, to escape being frozen up, which Captain Becchey was positively instructed to avoid, for reasons which will be stated in their proper place. No news had been heard of Captain Franklin, and they left the Polar Sea with heavy hearts on his account, but evidently not sorry to quit the beastly Esquimaux who inhabit those cheerless regions.

The wide world of the North and South Pacific Oceans was now before our gallant officer, where to choose his place of rest; for the Admiralty, in a wise and liberal policy, had left this

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such matters to the appendix,—a plan which carries with it a double advantage. In the first place, the narrative, disencumbered of these technicalities, can be perused without interruption by the general reader; while, on the other hand, the seaman and the man of science can make much readier use of the information important to them. What they want is arranged and condensed so as to be at once accessible, instead of being scattered up and down, as in Cook's Voyages, greatly to the torment of the navigator who follows in his track, and never knows how to disentangle the matter he is in quest of from the popular narration.

to the voyager himself. 'You are to proceed,' say their Lordships' orders, 'to such places as you may deem most eligible and convenient for completing your provisions and water.' After a little hesitation, it was decided to proceed to San Francisco, in California. But all the advantages he had anticipated not being found at this place, a fresh voyage was undertaken,—a short trip,—some seven thousand miles only, across the Pacific to Macao, in China. As soon as the necessary supplies were laid in, our indefatigable sailors started off, back again, towards Beering's Straits, looking in at Loo Choo, the Yslas del Arzobispo, and Kamtchatka. On this occasion they reached the rendezvous on the 5th of August, 1827, or within five days only of the time pointed out to them by the Admiralty orders.

Their disappointment of course was great at there being still no trace of Franklin,—a feeling which was aggravated by finding it impossible to pursue their researches even as far as they had done the year before. The ship was retarded by the ice, their boat wrecked, and finally they were compelled to leave Kotzebue Sound, without hearing or seeing anything of the land expedition under Franklin, or that by sea under Parry. On this occasion the winter set in sooner than it had done in the preceding year, and they were glad to get out of the Sound, and take a final leave of Beering's Straits on the 7th of October. The rest of the voyage belongs to the civilized or half-civilized part of the world,—California, San Blas in Mexico, Valparaiso and Coquembe in Chili,—Rio Janeiro, &c. The ship reached Spithead after an absence of three years and a half, during which she had sailed over seventy-three thousand miles, and experienced every vicissitude of climate.

A glance at the chart prefixed to Part I. of this voyage, will make the above rapid sketch quite intelligible; but, even if our reader does not happen to have the book at hand, we trust the following more detailed account of the proceedings of the Blossom will now be readily followed.

We pass over the early part of the voyage, merely because we shall require all the space our limits allow for matters of greater interest, and come at once to Beechey's reception among the natives of Easter Island, Cook's description of whom would have led us to expect a more agreeable scene on this occasion. Unfortunately it appears that some of the inhabitants have been seduced on board merchant ships, and carried away—and hence, no wonder, a change of feeling in the place. The delinquents who have produced such evils richly deserve harsher treatment than Beechey gives them;—La Pérouse profited by the kind and considerate conduct of Cook—and now the scoundrelism

drelism of a few heartless interlopers re-acts to the disadvantage of everybody.

‘As the boats approached, the anxiety of the natives was manifested by shouts, which overpowered the voices of the officers; and our boats, before they gained the beach, were surrounded by hundreds of swimmers, clinging to the gunwale, the stern, and the rudder, until they became unmanageable. They all appeared to be friendly disposed, and none came empty-handed. Bananas, yams, potatoes, sugar-cane, nets, idols, &c., were offered for sale, and some were even thrown into the boat, leaving their visitors to make what return they chose. Among the swimmers there were a great many females, who were equally or more anxious to get into the boats than the men, and made use of every persuasion to induce the crew to admit them. But to have acceded to their entreaties would have encumbered the party, and subjected them to depredations. As it was, the boats were so weighed down by persons clinging to them, that for personal safety the crew were compelled to have recourse to sticks to keep them off, at which none of the natives took offence, but regained their position the instant the attention of the persons in the boat was called to some other object. Just within the gunwale there were many small things which were highly prized by the swimmers; and the boats being brought low in the water by the crowd hanging to them, many of these articles were stolen, notwithstanding the most vigilant attention on the part of the crew, who had no means of recovering them—the marauders darting into the water, and diving the moment they committed a theft. The women were no less active in these piracies than the men; for if they were not the actual plunderers, they procured the opportunity for others, by engrossing the attention of the seamen by their caresses and ludicrous gestures.

‘In proceeding to the landing-place the boats had to pass a small isolated rock which rose several feet above the water. As many females as could possibly find room crowded upon this eminence, pressing together so closely, that the rock appeared to be a mass of living beings. Of these Nereids three or four would shoot off at a time into the water, and swim with the expertness of fish to the boats to try their influence on their visitors. One of them, a very young girl, and less accustomed to the water than her companions, was taken upon the shoulders of an elderly man, conjectured to be her father, and was, by him, recommended to the attention of one of the officers, who, in compassion, allowed her a seat in his boat. She was young and exceedingly pretty; her features were small and well made, her eyes dark, and her hair black, long, and flowing; her colour, deep brunette. She was tattooed in arches upon the forehead, and, like the greater part of her countrywomen, from the waist downward to the knee in narrow compact blue lines, which at a short distance had the appearance of breeches.’—pp. 32, 33.

After a good deal of trouble, the boats succeed in reaching the shore. The officers, on landing, are surrounded and pillaged

by the natives. This is submitted to for some time; but, at length, the inconvenience amounts to something very like violence, in spite of every endeavour that could be made to conciliate them.

'The presents were expended, and the officer was returning to the boat for a fresh supply, when the natives, probably mistaking his intentions, became exceedingly clamorous; and the confusion was further increased by a marine endeavouring to regain his cap, which had been snatched from his head. The natives took advantage of the confusion, and redoubled their endeavours to pilfer, which our party were at last obliged to repel by threats, and sometimes by force. At length they became so audacious, that there was no longer any doubt of their intentions, or that a system of open plunder had commenced; which, with the appearance of clubs and sticks, and the departure of the women, induced Mr. Peard, very judiciously, to order his party into the boats. This seemed to be the signal for an assault; the chief who had received the present threw a large stone, which struck Mr. Peard forcibly upon the back, and was immediately followed by a shower of missiles which darkened the air. The natives in the water and about the boats instantly withdrew to their comrades, who had run behind a bank out of the reach of the muskets, which former experience alone could have taught them to fear, for none had yet been fired by us.

'The stones, each of which weighed about a pound, fell incredibly thick, and with such precision that several of the seamen were knocked down under the thwarts of the boat; and every person was more or less wounded, except the female to whom Lieutenant Wainwright had given protection, who, as if aware of the skilfulness of her countrymen, sat unconcerned upon the gunwale, until one of the officers, with more consideration for her safety than she herself possessed, pushed her overboard, and she swam ashore. A blank cartridge was at first fired over the heads of the crowd; but forbearance, which with savages is generally mistaken for cowardice or inability, only augmented their fury. The showers of stones were if possible increased, until the personal safety of all rendered it necessary to resort to severe measures. The chief, still urging the islanders on, very deservedly, and perhaps fortunately, fell a victim to the first shot that was fired in defence. Terrified by this example, the natives kept closer under their bulwark; and though they continued to throw stones, and occasioned considerable difficulty in extricating the boats, their attacks were not so effectual as before, nor sufficient to prevent the embarkation of the crew, all of whom were got on board.'—pp. 36, 37.

Captain Beechey made no further effort to open any intercourse with these savages; judiciously remarking, that nothing was to be gained which could be put in competition with the probable loss of lives that might attend such an attempt. Some voyagers, particularly Roggewein and La Perouse, had expressed

pressed the opinion, that the people of Easter Island live together in communities, a whole swarm inhabiting one hut; and that property was in common. Some circumstances seemed, on the present occasion, to countenance this strange notion; but Captain Beechey's plain common-sense way of viewing all things made him all along sceptical—and we quote one sentence as a specimen of his quickness and sagacity:—

‘One strong fact in support of my opinion was the unceremonious manner in which the apparent proprietor of a piece of ground planted with potatoes drove away the mob, who, with very little consideration for the owner, were taking the crop out of the earth to barter with our party.’—p. 40.

On the way from Easter to Pitcairn Island the Blossom touched (among other coral specks on the ocean) at what is called on our charts Elizabeth Island. One peculiar circumstance connected with this spot seems well worthy the attention of geologists. The coral, of which it is formed, instead of being under the surface of the water, flush with it, or elevated only a little way, is here raised to a considerable height above the sea.

‘The island is five miles in length, and one in breadth, and has a flat surface nearly eighty feet above the sea. On all sides, except the north, it is bounded by perpendicular cliffs about fifty feet high, composed entirely of dead coral, more or less porous, honeycombed at the surface, and hardening into a compact calcareous substance within, possessing the fracture of secondary limestone, and has a species of millepore interspersed through it. These cliffs are considerably undermined by the action of the waves, and some of them appear on the eve of precipitating their superincumbent weight into the sea; those which are less injured in this way present no alternate ridges or indication of the different levels which the sea might have occupied at different periods, but a smooth surface, as if the island (which there is every probability has been raised by volcanic agency) had been forced up by one great subterranean convulsion.’—p. 45.

There has been a standing dispute, it seems, as to the name of this curious and unique specimen of an elevated coral island, but Captain Beechey decides in favour of another party altogether—the crew of the *Essex*, an American whaler, who accidentally fell in with it after the loss of their vessel. We should not have mentioned this insignificant matter, but for the note which is added, describing the loss of the aforesaid American. The story is, ‘that when the *Essex* was in the act of catching whales, one of these animals became enraged, and attacked the vessel by swimming against it with all its strength. The steersman endeavoured to evade the shock by managing the helm, but in vain. The third blow stove in the bows of the ship, and she went down.’ The

story goes on to say that the men who were on board took to their boat and joined their companions, who were employed at a distance harpooning whales. They then endeavoured to reach the coast of Chili, where two boats out of three arrived. There were only a few of the people alive when they reached the continent, and it is from these persons that this monstrous tale is derived.

We have heard from good authority, that of all the survivors there was not one who had actually been on board the *Essex* at the time she was said to have been attacked by the whale. Consequently the whole matter rests upon the report of persons who saw it not, but who were told it by others who afterwards perished of hunger in the boats, and consequently whose testimony was never taken by disinterested parties. For our parts, we must decline giving the smallest credit to an anecdote so contrary to all experience of the habits of any class of whales—in short the story is worthy of Sinbad the Sailor, and we are sorry to find it in such good company.

On the 4th of December the *Blossom* came in sight of Pitcairn Island, the spot to which, as the public have for some years been aware, the Mutineers of the *Bounty* carried that ship, after they had deprived Captain Bligh of his command, and turned him adrift in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. They were unwilling, it would appear, to add the crime of deliberate murder to that of mutiny; but there can be little doubt that they hoped and trusted the waves would do that for them from which they shrunk themselves. Bligh, however, was an officer of great resource, and accomplished in the *Bounty's* launch one of the most remarkable voyages upon record. We think Capt. Beechey would have done well to have given a brief abstract of Bligh's interesting narrative; which, although familiar to professional men, is but little known in these days to the general reader. Surely, as he has given so minute and circumstantial an account of the proceedings of the mutineers, it would add to the value of the picture, as a whole, to introduce the story of those who, with all their faults, were true to their king and country; and when the small edition of this voyage appears, which, we are confident, will be exceedingly popular amongst young as well as old people, we trust we shall find that Captain Beechey has attended to our hint.

As the ship approached Pitcairn Island, a boat put off to her, under sail, and so well equipped, that she was supposed to belong to some whale-ship: for it had been understood that the natives possessed nothing but canoes. In this boat came old Adams, the only survivor of that portion of the mutineers who had landed on this island upwards of thirty-five years before (Jan., 1790). The young men in the boat, all descendants of Christian and his companions,

companions, partook of the European features of their fathers, with the Otaheitan complexion of their mothers,—a breed which, by Capt. Beechey's account, shews many very good points.

‘They sprang up the side, and shook every officer by the hand with undisguised feelings of gratification.

‘The activity of the young men outstripped that of old Adams, who was consequently almost the last to greet us. He was in his sixty-fifth year, and was unusually strong and active for his age, notwithstanding the inconvenience of considerable corpulency. He was dressed in a sailor's shirt and trowsers, and a low-crowned hat, which he instinctively held in his hand until desired to put it on. He still retained his sailor's gait, doffing his hat and smoothing down his bald forehead whenever he was addressed by the officers.

‘It was the first time he had been on board a ship of war since the mutiny, and his mind naturally reverted to scenes which could not fail to produce a temporary embarrassment, heightened, perhaps, by the familiarity with which he found himself addressed by persons of a class with those whom he had been accustomed to obey. Apprehension for his safety formed no part of his thoughts: he had received too many demonstrations of the good feeling that existed towards him, both on the part of the British government and of individuals, to entertain any alarm on that head; and as every person endeavoured to set his mind at rest, he very soon made himself at home.

‘The young men, ten in number, were tall, robust, and healthy, with good-natured countenances, which would anywhere have procured them a friendly reception; and with a simplicity of manner and a fear of doing wrong which at once prevented the possibility of giving offence. Unacquainted with the world, they asked a number of questions which would have applied better to persons with whom they had been intimate, and who had left them but a short time before, than to perfect strangers; and inquired after ships and people we had never heard of. Their dress, made up of the presents which had been given them by the masters and seamen of merchant ships, was a perfect caricature. Some had on long black coats without any other article of dress except trowsers, some shirts without coats, and others waistcoats without either; none had shoes or stockings, and only two possessed hats, neither of which seemed likely to hang long together.’  
—p. 50.

Captain Beechey proceeds, not to describe the state of manners amongst a people of such curious origin, but to tell us their history: in short, and here we think there is a good deal of address, he hardly says a word about their present condition, till our curiosity has been wound up to a high pitch, and we are ready to receive with gratitude every tittle of information he chooses to give us. Our author is not a practised writer, indeed, but he is a straightforward, totally unaffected, clear-headed, and observant man, who writes his narrative to be understood, and, leaving it to  
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take its chance for effect, without any cumbersome attempts at display, is sure to please. If our object were merely to make an amusing article, and no limitations were imposed upon us as to length, we could not serve our purpose better than by extracting the whole narrative of the mutiny drawn up by Captain Beechey from the statement of Adams, and signed by the old man himself.

His Majesty's ship *Bounty* left England in December, 1787, but owing to bad weather and other causes did not reach her destination (Otaheite) till October, 1788. The object of the voyage was to procure the bread-fruit of the South Seas, and to transplant it in the West Indies. The service was carried on, in those days, in a very different spirit from that which regulates its movements now, otherwise the *Bounty* would never have passed six whole months at one island 'stowing away the fruit, during which time the officers and seamen had free access to the shore.' (p. 52.) Under similar circumstances now-a-days, if the fruit happened not to be ready, the ship would have been off, after ten days' relaxation, to survey other islands, or speculate on coral reefs, or make astronomical observations; in short, to do something or other to keep the devil out of the heads of the crew. Instead of which, the *Bounty* lay, for a complete half year, at this voluptuous Paphos—the very beau ideal of a sensual Paradise—where the astonished seamen enjoyed, in almost total idleness, a delicious climate, abundance of fruit and food of all kinds, and the bewitching blandishments of the least strait-laced of woman-kind! When we come to contrast this period of luxurious ease with the hard work, the rugged fare, and the stern discipline of one of the sternest of his Majesty's commanders, we can easily imagine that a disturber, of Christian's address and talents, found inflammable materials to deal with. Yet, by Adams's own account, (p. 52) the company was, on the whole, a contented one, when this young man began to brew his mischief among them. He himself appears to have been worthy of a better fate, and, under more judicious management, might have become a distinguished officer. The mere fact of his being able to stimulate one half of such a crew on a sudden to assist him in seizing their captain and officers, and cast them adrift, implies a vigour of mind of which there are few examples. But what is still more curious, is the fact of this singular person's composure afterwards. Adams says, 'Christian was always cheerful, and his example was of the greatest service in exciting his companions to labour. He was naturally of a happy, ingenuous disposition, and won the good opinion and respect of all who served under him.' This cannot be better exemplified than by his maintaining, under circumstances of great perplexity, the respect and regard of all who were associated with him, up to the hour

hour of his death. 'Even at the present moment,' adds Captain Beechey, 'Adams, in speaking of him, never omits to say *Mr. Christian*.'—p. 69.

On the occasion of Christian's murder, two or three years after their occupation of Pitcairn Island, Captain Beechey makes the following remark:—

'Thus fell a man who, from being the reputed ringleader of the mutiny, has obtained an unenviable celebrity; and *whose crime may perhaps be considered as in some degree palliated by the tyranny which led to its commission*.'—p. 62.

Now, we cannot for an instant allow the propriety of this observation; and we are quite sure that upon reflection Captain Beechey will see it in the light we do, and exclude it from future editions of a work which is likely to be much read in his profession. It is quite clear that, according to the soundest principles of naval discipline, and we may add of common sense, no degree of tyranny can justify, or even in the slightest degree palliate, mutiny. Were there no recognised established method of correcting the evils of tyranny, and that officers and men were to be subjected, during all their lives, to the wanton cruelty of their commander, an excuse for insurrection might be found in the irremediable nature of the case; but, constituted as the navy now is, and even as it was in Bligh's time, it is easily demonstrable that the evils arising out of such a form of redress as that adopted by Christian, are a hundred-fold greater than any which could possibly arise from submitting to the tyranny till an appeal could be made to the proper authorities. Captain Beechey, of course, agrees to this doctrine in spirit and in letter; and we are sure he will thank us for this hint to expunge from his book the only sentence in it with which there is anything seriously to find fault.

On the day previous to the mutiny, a quarrel had occurred between Captain Bligh and his officers, and Christian, in particular, had fallen under his displeasure. During that evening, the evil designs which were floating about in his own brain appear to have been brought to a fixed purpose by the suggestion of another young officer. Christian had actually constructed a raft, on which he proposed to make his escape to Otaheite; but on communicating this wild project to his messmate, it was started by the other that it would be a more feasible scheme to take possession of the ship, by which all those who were disposed might return to the island. 'This daring proposition,' as Captain Beechey observes, 'is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion, and if true, certainly relieves Christian from part of the odium which has hitherto attached to him as sole instigator of the mutiny.'—p. 53. Be this as it may, the ship was

was taken from her officers, the launch hoisted out, and the captain, master, surgeon, a master's mate, two midshipmen, the botanist, three warrant officers, the clerk, and eight seamen—in all nineteen persons, set adrift about ten leagues from 'Tofoa. On board the *Bounty* there remained, besides Christian, who was the mate, Messrs. Heywood, Young, and Stewart, midshipmen; the master-at-arms, sixteen seamen, three artificers, and the gardener—in all twenty-five.

'Huzza for Otaheite!' was now the cry on board the *Bounty*; but in the first instance they made for the island of Tobouai, where they were not well received by the natives. Accordingly, they turned about, and in eight days reached Otaheite, where they laid in a stock of provisions, labourers, and wives, and again sailed off for Tobouai. But although they were now provided with interpreters, they failed to reconcile the natives to their project of forming an establishment; and after much wrangling amongst themselves, the mutineers, strongly against the wishes of Christian, returned once more to Otaheite.

Christian foresaw that if Bligh reached England, or even if he did not, ships of war would, in the course of time, be sent to look for the *Bounty*; and as Otaheite would of course be one of the first points they would make for, detection would be inevitable. Under these circumstances, he brooded over the plan of carrying off the ship to some unknown and uninhabited island, as the most likely means of escaping the vengeance of the law. Some of his associates in crime declined to accompany him, but made no objection to his taking the ship;\* so the cables were cut, and the ship drifted off to sea, before the land-wind, in the middle of the night. Eight persons of the *Bounty's* crew, and six natives, determined to follow the fate of Christian; and several of the women of Otaheite were also of the party.

The mutineers now bade adieu to all the world, save the few individuals associated with them in exile. But where that exile should be passed was yet undecided. The Marquesas Islands were first mentioned; but Christian, on reading Captain Carteret's account of Pitcairn Island, thought it better adapted to the purpose, and accordingly shaped a course thither. They reached it not many days afterwards; and Christian, with one of the seamen, landed in a little nook, which we afterwards found very convenient for disembarkation. They soon traversed the island sufficiently to be satisfied that it was exactly adapted to their wishes. It possessed water, wood, a good soil, and some fruits. The anchorage in the offing was very bad, and

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\* The greater part of those who remained behind were taken by his Majesty's ship *Pandora*, which was purposely sent out from England after Bligh's return. Some of these were drowned when that ship was wrecked: the rest, with a few exceptions, were executed.

landing for boats extremely hazardous. The mountains were so difficult of access, and the passes so narrow, that they might be maintained by a few persons against an army; and there were several caves, to which, in case of necessity, they could retreat, and where, as long as their provision lasted, they might bid defiance to their pursuers. With this intelligence they returned on board, and brought the ship to an anchor in a small bay on the northern side of the island, which I have in consequence named "Bounty Bay," where everything that could be of utility was landed, and where it was agreed to destroy the ship, either by running her on shore, or burning her. Christian, Adams, and the majority, were for the former expedient; but while they went to the fore part of the ship to execute this business, Matthew Quintal set fire to the carpenter's store-room. The vessel burnt to the water's edge, and then drifted upon the rocks, where the remainder of the wreck was burnt for fear of discovery. This occurred on the 23d of January, 1790.....

'A suitable spot of ground for a village was fixed upon, with the exception of which the island was divided into equal portions, but to the exclusion of the poor blacks, who being only friends of the seamen, were not considered as entitled to the same privileges. Obligated to lend their assistance to the others in order to procure a subsistence, they thus, from being their friends, in the course of time became their slaves. No discontent, however, was manifested, and they willingly assisted in the cultivation of the soil. In clearing the space that was allotted to the village, a row of trees was left between it and the sea, for the purpose of concealing the houses from the observation of any vessels that might be passing, and nothing was allowed to be erected that might in any way attract attention. Until these houses were finished, the sails of the *Bounty* were converted into tents, and when no longer required for that purpose, became very acceptable as clothing. Thus supplied with all the necessaries of life, and some of its luxuries, they felt their condition comfortable even beyond their most sanguine expectation, and everything went on peaceably and prosperously for about two years, at the expiration of which, Williams, who had the misfortune to lose his wife about a month after his arrival, by a fall from a precipice while collecting birds' eggs, became dissatisfied, and threatened to leave the island in one of the boats of the *Bounty*, unless he had another wife—an unreasonable request, as it could not be complied with, except at the expense of the happiness of one of his companions: but Williams, actuated by selfish considerations alone, persisted in his threat; and the Europeans, not willing to part with him, on account of his usefulness as an armourer, constrained one of the blacks to bestow his wife upon the applicant. The blacks, outrageous at this second act of flagrant injustice, made common cause with their companion, and matured a plan of revenge upon their aggressors.'—pp. 59, 60.

This plot of the Otaheitans was rashly revealed to the wives of the Europeans, and these ladies naturally, in such a desolate place,  
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set too much value on their husbands not to give them warning. The method in which they apprised these men of their danger is very characteristic and primitive, reminding us of a scene in the 'Lady of the Lake.' They introduced into one of their songs the following words:—'Why does black man sharpen axe? To kill white man.' Then commences a scene of treachery and murder, worthy of the source from whence the colony derived its origin. The account of these proceedings is drawn up with so much spirit, that we shall not mar it by abridgment, and it is too long to insert entire. In the end, only one white man, *Old Adams*, remained alive of the mutineers who had landed. Of these, only one died a natural death; another was killed by accident; six were murdered; and but one remained to tell the tale.

After the greater number of the party had been murdered off, things went on pretty smoothly, till one *M'Coy*, who had been employed in a distillery in Scotland, tried an experiment with the tea-root, and succeeded in producing a bottle of ardent spirits. This induced *Quintal* to 'alter his kettle into a still,' and the natural consequence ensued. Like the philosopher who destroyed himself with his own gunpowder, *M'Coy*, intoxicated to frenzy, threw himself from a cliff and was killed; and *Quintal* having lost his wife by accident, demanded the lady of one of his two remaining companions. This modest request being refused, he attempted to murder his countrymen; but they, having discovered his intention, agreed, that as *Quintal* was no longer a safe member of their community, the sooner he was put out of the way the better. Accordingly, they split his skull with an axe.

'Adams and Young were now the sole survivors out of the fifteen males that landed upon the island. They were both, and more particularly Young, of a serious turn of mind; and it would have been wonderful, after the many dreadful scenes at which they had assisted, if the solitude and tranquillity that ensued had not disposed them to repentance. During *Christian's* lifetime they only once read the church service, but since his decease this had been regularly done on every Sunday. They now, however, resolved to have morning and evening family prayers; to add afternoon service to the duty of the Sabbath; and to train up their own children, and those of their late unfortunate companions, in piety and virtue. In the execution of this resolution, Young's education enabled him to be of the greatest assistance; but he was not long suffered to survive his repentance.'—  
p. 69.

Adams was thus left the only Englishman on *Pitcairn Island*. Being thoroughly tired of mutiny, bloodshed, and irreligion, and deeply sensible of the extent of his own guilt, he resolutely set about the only sound course of repentance, by exhibiting an  
amended

amended life, and by training up in habits of virtue those helpless beings thrown upon his care for good or for evil.

'He had an arduous task to perform. Besides the children to be educated, the Otaheitan women were to be converted; and as the example of the parents had a powerful influence over their children, he resolved to make them his first care. His labours succeeded; the Otaheitans were naturally of a tractable disposition, and gave him less trouble than he anticipated. The children also acquired such a thirst after scriptural knowledge, that Adams in a short time had little else to do than to answer their interrogatories, and put them in the right way. As they grew up, they acquired fixed habits of morality and piety; their colony improved, and intermarriages occurred; and they now form a happy and well-regulated society, the merit of which, in a great degree, belongs to Adams, and tends to redeem the errors of his former life.'—p. 70.

After this account of the mutiny, and the settlement, and destruction of the mutineers, we come to an exceedingly lively account of the present habits of the descendants of those misguided men; but we must refer to the book itself for the details, which are almost all so interesting, that we know not how to condense them into any reasonable compass for a review.

The affection of these simple islanders for the venerable father of the colony is the best proof of the success which has attended his instructions; and it is really astonishing to observe how much has been accomplished by an illiterate seaman—strongly excited, indeed, and prompted to persevere in his course by motives which never err. When it was seen by these poor people that Adams did not immediately return from the Blossom, they took alarm lest he should be detained; and one of their party, a recent settler, and a sea-faring man, having discovered the ship to be a vessel of war, their fears redoubled. When, at last, the old man landed, his daughter, Hannah, hurried to the beach to kiss her father's cheek, with a fervency demonstrative of the warmest affection.—p. 72.

We have then an account of their dresses, occupations, and many of their domestic habits; all of which are curious, and many of them most amusing. It seems to have been a part of Adams's policy to make religious ceremonies an important part of their daily business, not merely an occasional duty. In describing a dinner scene, after stating that the knives and forks, though more abundant than he had expected to find in so remote a part of the world, were scarcely enough according to civilized notions, he goes on thus—

'The smoking pig, by a skilful dissection, was soon portioned to every guest, but no one ventured to put its excellent qualities to the test, until a lengthened *Amen*, pronounced by all the party, had succeeded an emphatic grace delivered by the village parson. "Turn to"

was

was then the signal for attack, and as it is convenient that all the party should finish their meal about the same time, in order that one grace might serve for all, each made the most of his time. In Pitcairn's Island it is not deemed proper to touch even a bit of bread without a grace before and after it, and a person is accused of inconsistency if he leaves off and begins again. So strict is their observance of this form, that we do not know of any instance in which it has been forgotten. On one occasion I had engaged Adams in conversation, and he incautiously took the first mouthful without having said his grace; but before he had swallowed it, he recollected himself, and feeling as if he had committed a crime, immediately put away what he had in his mouth, and commenced his prayer.—p. 75.

The 'village parson' above alluded to, is thus described by Captain Beechey:—

'They have very fortunately found an able and willing master in John Buffet, who belonged to a ship which visited the island, and was so infatuated with their behaviour, being himself naturally of a devout and serious turn of mind, that he resolved to remain among them; and in addition to the instruction of the children, has taken upon himself the duty of clergyman, and is the oracle of the community.'

Our gallant officers were not a little disappointed to find that the ladies were excluded from the table. Indeed the Pitcairn islanders appear to have adopted, though not in all its rigour, the South Sea prejudice against allowing a woman to eat in the presence of her husband. In some parts of the Archipelago this crime is punishable by death." The only thing like an argument by which the men defended this custom was, that as the male was made first, he ought on all occasions to be served first—a new reading of the saying 'first come first served.' The good-natured womankind of Pitcairn's Island, however, seemed far from considering themselves neglected or ill-used in this matter, for they remained behind the seats, flapping away the flies, and chatting with their guests.

The couches prepared for the strangers consisted of palm-leaves, covered with native cloth; the sheets were of the same material.

'The whole arrangement was extremely comfortable, and highly inviting to repose, which the freshness of the apartment, rendered cool by a free circulation of air through its sides, enabled us to enjoy without any annoyance from heat or insects. One interruption only disturbed our first sleep; it was the pleasing melody of the evening hymn, which, after the lights were put out, was chaunted by the whole family in the middle of the room. In the morning also we were awoke by their morning hymn, and family devotion.'—p. 76.

In speaking of the scenery of the island, Captain Beechey describes a singular spot set apart for himself by the ringleader of the mutiny.

'At

'At the northern extremity of this ridge is a cave of some interest; as being the intended retreat of Christian, in the event of a landing being effected by any ship sent in pursuit of him, and where he resolved to sell his life as dearly as he could. In this recess he always kept a store of provisions, and near it erected a small hut, well concealed by trees, which served the purpose of a watchhouse. So difficult was the approach to this cave, that even if the party were successful in crossing the ridge, as long as his ammunition lasted, he might have bid defiance to any force. An unfrequented and dangerous path leads from this place to a peak which commands a view of the western and southern coasts.'—p. 80.

In the account given by Adams, it is stated that Christian was uniformly cheerful; but, as he was a man of education, and by no means without feeling, we must suppose that this serene aspect was the result of effort; and we can readily conceive the bitterness with which, on retiring to this cave, like a hunted wild-beast, he gave way to the deep sense of shame and unavailing remorse, which must at all times have weighed on his mind.

The Pitcairn islanders are no great musicians, and sing all their songs to one air. Captain Beechey, with a laudable desire to improve and enlarge their taste in this matter, begged one of his officers, who played on the violin, to favour the natives with a tune; but though it was well executed, the new melody appeared to be wasted on the audience. None of them, he says, appeared to have the least ear for music.

'One of the officers took considerable pains to teach them the 100th psalm, that they might not chaunt all their psalms and hymns to the same air, but they did not evince the least aptitude or desire to learn it.'—p. 83.

These interesting people appear to be strongly possessed with the binding nature of a promise, however remote the period in which it was made, or however indiscreet in itself. Of this we have the following rather pathetic example:—

'Wives upon Pitcairn's Island, it may be imagined, are very scarce, as the same restrictions with regard to relationship exist as in England. George Adams, son of the Patriarch, in his early days, had fallen in love with Polly Young, a girl a little older than himself; but Polly, probably at that time liking some one else, and being at the age when young ladies' expectations are at the highest, had incautiously said, she *never would* give her hand to George Adams. He, nevertheless, indulged a hope that she would one day relent; and to this end was unremitting in his endeavours to please her. In this expectation he was not mistaken; his constancy and attentions, and, as he grew into manhood, his handsome form, which George took every opportunity of throwing into the most becoming attitudes before her, softened Polly's heart into a regard for him, and, had nothing passed before, she  
would

would willingly have given him her hand. But the vow of her youth was not to be got over, and the lovesick couple languished on from day to day, victims to the folly of early resolutions.

'The weighty case was referred for our consideration; and the fears of the party were in some measure relieved by the result, which was, that it would be much better to marry than to continue unhappy, in consequence of a hasty determination made before the judgment was matured; they could not, however, be prevailed on to yield to our decision, and we left them unmarried.'—p. 86.

It gives us particular pleasure to have it in our power to relieve the anxiety of our sentimental friends, who cannot bear that a romance should end unhappily, by quoting the following passage from a letter addressed from Pitcairn's Island to Captain Beechey, and dated 19th March, 1830:—'George Adams is married to Polly Young, and has two sons.'

The same communication, we are grieved to add, contains also this sentence:—'I am sorry to inform you that John Adams is no more; he departed this life March 5th, 1829, aged 65, after a short illness. His wife survived him but a few months.' His memory will not be so short-lived. Of all the repentant criminals we have read about, we think the most interesting is John Adams; nor do we know where to find a more beautiful example of the value of early good instruction than in the history of this man—who, having run the full career of most kinds of vice, was so effectually *pulled up* by an interval of leisurely reflection, and the sense of new duties awakened by the heaven-inspired power of natural affections.

This letter is from Mr. John Buffet, who still continues to officiate as clergyman of the colony. He describes the natives 'as being all satisfied at present with their little island, which they do not wish to leave;' which remark he thinks it right to make in consequence of his having received a letter from Mr. Nott, missionary, saying that a ship was coming to remove the inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island to Otaheite, or some other of the Friendly Islands. For our parts we trust this will not be attempted without much larger consideration than such a matter is likely to have met with, in the of late grievously over-worked state of our public offices—distracted as they have all been by incessant change of hands, to say nothing of systems. Should the population increase, as doubtless it will ere long, beyond the means of subsistence which so small a spot affords, there will never be wanting opportunities for the roving spirits amongst them, male and female, to emigrate to other parts of the world; but we confess we should witness with great regret the summary breaking up of so virtuous and happy a community. To hear of these innocent creatures being transplanted

planted *per saltum* into any of the sinks of wickedness in New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, would be utterly horrible. It would not be much better than leaving 'Sweet Auburn' for the hulks.

Captain Beechey winds up his account of these interesting people in the following words, with which, as they are calculated to leave a very pleasing, and we believe, a just impression on the reader's mind, we shall conclude our notice of this part of the voyage:—

'During the whole time I was with them, I never heard them indulge in a joke, or other levity, and the practice of it is apt to give offence: they are so accustomed to take what is said in its literal meaning, that irony was always considered a falsehood, in spite of explanation. They could not see the propriety of uttering what was not strictly true, for any purpose whatever.

'The Sabbath-day is devoted entirely to prayer, reading, and serious meditation. No boat is allowed to quit the shore, nor any work whatever to be done, cooking excepted, for which preparation is made the preceding evening. I attended their church on this day, and found the service well conducted; the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual, and in the children there was a seriousness unknown in the younger part of our communities at home. In the course of the Litany they prayed for their sovereign and all the royal family with much apparent loyalty and sincerity. Some family prayers, which were thought appropriate to their particular case, were added to the usual service; and Adams, fearful of leaving out any essential part, read in addition all those prayers which are intended only as substitutes for others. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; and lest any part of it should be forgotten or escape attention, it was read three times. The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and afterwards by the children. The service thus performed was very long; but the neat and cleanly appearance of the congregation, the devotion that animated every countenance, and the innocence and simplicity of the little children, prevented the attendance from becoming wearisome. In about half an hour afterwards we again assembled to prayers, and at sunset service was repeated; so that, with their morning and evening prayers, they may be said to have church five times on a Sunday.

'All which remains to be said of these excellent people is, that they appear to live together in perfect harmony and contentment; to be virtuous, religious, cheerful, and hospitable, beyond the limits of prudence; to be patterns of conjugal and parental affection; and to have very few vices. We remained with them many days, and their unreserved manners gave us the fullest opportunity of becoming acquainted with any faults they might have possessed.'—pp. 88, 89.

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The Blossom, after quitting Pitcairn Island, proceeded to the eastward, turning to the right and left, to examine every coral reef or island that lay near her track; and we recommend no one to skip these parts of our voyager's work, which, although they are more exclusively addressed to professional men, possess, in Captain Beechey's hands, a degree of variety and of popular interest which we had no idea belonged to such a topic. Sometimes we have an adventure of a boat swallowed up by the surf, and dashed to pieces—at others, we have the most luminous account of the rise and progress of a coral reef till it reaches the surface, and of its progress afterwards till it becomes an island capable of bearing trees and supporting inhabitants; or finally, we have theoretical speculations as to the causes of the circular shape of these curious formations, and all expressed with so much clearness and modesty, that whether we agree with the author or not, it is impossible to refuse him the most attentive hearing. But however great the importance may be which belongs to such subjects, there is no denying that the chief interest of every book of travels lies in those parts which relate to human beings; and as Captain Beechey's skill in condensing what he has to say, respecting the great variety of native tribes with which he communicated, never flags, we are certain to be amused at every new place where he lands.

On one hand we have the civilized, hospitable inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island, professing Christianity; and, in testimony of that good seed having taken root, practising every moral virtue; and in two or three days afterwards, we find ourselves at Gambier's Group, and in full communication with a set of naked savages—almost as ferocious, and quite as inhospitable, as any of which Cook has given us an account. These rude people, who appear to possess neither boats nor canoes, came towards the Blossom on catamarans or rafts. The captain approached them in his gig, and gave them several presents, for which, in return, they threw him some bundles of the most abominably stinking paste. This was but too just an omen of their future courtesy; and after many attempts to traffic with these savages, he was obliged to content himself with filling his water-casks, under the protection of a party of marines, with an occasional shot from a great gun on board. Passing over the usual details of thronging and thieving, and even a regular attempt at violence, in the course of which blood was spilt over-night, we come to the following sketch of a day-break scene:—

'The decks were soon crowded with delighted spectators, wondering at everything they beheld, and expressing their feeling by ludicrous gestures. They were pleased with many articles that were shown them; but nothing made them so completely happy as the sight  
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of two dogs that we had on board. The largest of these, of the Newfoundland breed, was big and surly enough to take care of himself; but the other, a terrier, was snatched up by one of the natives, and was so much the object of his solicitation, that it was only by force he was prevented carrying him away. To people who had never seen any quadruped before but a rat, so large an animal as a Newfoundland dog, and that perfectly domesticated and obedient to his master, naturally excited intense curiosity, and the great desire of these people to possess themselves of it is not to be wondered at. Had there been a female dog on board, they certainly should have had them both; but one would have been of no use, except, probably, to furnish a meal, which is the fate of all the rats they can catch.'

A theft having occurred on board, Captain Beechey was resolved to show his determination to resist all such depredations. One of the boats was accordingly manned, and sent after the thief. As soon as the boat shoved off, the alarm spread among the natives—every one of whom, as if by instinct, jumped overboard. The ship had been so inconveniently crowded by these people, that it was now resolved to confine them to the upper deck, and a marine was stationed at each of the ladders; but as the natives tried every method to elude the vigilance of these sentinels, disturbances must have ensued, had it not been for the powerful co-operation of the Newfoundland dog. It fortunately happened that Neptune had taken a particular dislike to the savages, and his bark, in conjunction with that of the little terrier, accomplished the object of clearing the main-deck, more effectually than could have been done by the whole party of jolly marines put together.

We must refer our readers to Captain Beechey's book for an account of his highly characteristic adventures with these islanders; on some of which occasions, we think, our countrymen were in great danger of being entrapped. The judgment and temper of all the officers saved them from this misfortune; but we drew our breath more freely when we saw our party fairly on board again. The following notice is interesting:—

'In features, language, and customs, the natives of Gambier Islands resemble the Society, Friendly, Marquesa, and Sandwich Islanders; but they differ from those tribes in one very important point—an exemption from those sensual habits and indecent exhibitions which there pervade all ranks. It may be said of the Gambier Islanders, what few can assert of any people inhabiting the same part of the globe—that during the whole of our intercourse with them we did not witness an indecent act or gesture. There is a great mixture of feature and of colour among them; and we should probably have found a difference of dialect also, could we have made ourselves masters of their language. It seems as if several tribes from remote

parts of the Pacific had here met and mingled their peculiarities. In complexion and feature we could trace resemblance even to the widely separated tribes of New Zealand, New Caledonia, and Malacca. Their mode of salutation is the same as that which existed at the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands: they resemble the inhabitants of the latter almost exclusively in tattooing the face, and the inhabitants of the former in staining their skin from the hips to the knees. Their huts, coral tables, and pavements, are nearly the same as at the Friendly Islands and Marquesas.

In passing from Gambier's Group to Otaheite, the Blossom visited many coral islands, and examined some of them with a minuteness and care productive of the most interesting results. Of these we shall speak presently; but in the first place, we must mention a very curious incident which befel our voyagers. They fell in with a small island not previously known, in lat.  $19^{\circ} 40' S.$ , and long.  $140^{\circ} 20' W.$ , which they named after that excellent public servant, Sir Byam Martin.

'As we neared the shore,' says Captain Beechey, 'the natives made several fires. Shortly afterwards three of them launched a canoe, and paddled fearlessly to the barge, which brought them to the ship. Instead of the deep-coloured uncivilized Indians inhabiting the coral islands in general, a tall well-made person, comparatively fair, and handsomely tattooed, ascended the side, and, to our surprise, familiarly accosted us in the Otaheitan manner.' The second had a hog and a cock tattooed upon his breast—animals almost unknown among the islands of Eastern Polynesia; and the third wore a turban of blue nankeen. Either of these were distinctions sufficient to excite considerable interest, as they convinced us they were not natives of the island before us, but had either been left there, or had drifted away from some other island: the latter supposition was the most probable, as they described themselves to have undergone great privation and suffering, by which many of their companions had lost their lives, and their canoe to have been wrecked upon the island; and that they and their friends on shore were anxious to embark in the ship, and return to Otaheite. A little suspicion was at first attached to this account, as it seemed impossible for a canoe to reach their present asylum without purposely paddling towards it; as Byam Martin Island, unlike Wateo, upon which Omai found his countrymen, is situated six hundred miles from Otaheite, in the direction of the trade wind. We could not doubt, however, that they were natives of that place, as they mentioned the names of the missionaries residing there, and proved that they could both read and write.'—p. 162.

These people were anxious to proceed to Otaheite in the ship; but as they were forty in number, this request could not be complied with. A passage was offered to one man, named Tuwarri, which he gladly accepted; and next morning he and his family came

came on board, leaving the rest to return in the same vessel which had carried them so far already.

'She was a double canoe, upwards of thirty feet long by nine broad, and three feet nine inches deep; each vessel having three feet three inches beam: one was partly decked, and the other provided with a thatched shed: they were sharp at both ends, each of which was fitted for a rudder, and the timbers were sewed together with strong plaited cord, after the manner of the canoes of Chain Island, where they are brought to great perfection.'—p. 164.

Tuwarri was not the principal person of this forlorn party. The chief himself, who was laid up with elephantiasis, and did not come on board, appears to have been a very able person. He directed their course, rebuilt their canoe when they were stranded, and was the protector-general of the party, from being the only one amongst them who possessed fire-arms. 'His importance in this respect was, however, a little diminished,' as Captain Beechey sily remarks, 'by the want of powder and shot, and by an accident which had deprived him of the hammer of his gun.' 'The armourer of the Blossom soon put his musket to rights, and the gunner provided him with ammunition.

Off they sailed, in quest of fresh adventures, but never dreaming of being able to discover more of this mysterious party, adrift on a desert island, at all events, till they reached Otaheite, where Tuwarri's story could be interpreted. The whole affair, however, was cleared up at the very next island, a very interesting place, already described by Cook, and by its discoverer, Bouganville. It is called Bow Island, from its shape, and has a narrow opening through its coral binding, barely wide enough to admit a ship. Of course, before so hazardous a navigation was attempted, a boat was despatched by Captain Beechey to examine the passage, and his guest Tuwarri sent in her to conciliate the natives.

'As she drew near the shore, several men were observed among the trees; and the officer in charge of the boat, acting under my general orders of being always prepared for an attack, desired the muskets to be loaded. Tuwarri, who had probably never possessed much courage, at the sight of these preparations wished himself anywhere else than in his present situation, and, to judge from his countenance, calculated at least upon being killed and eaten by cannibals: he was in the greatest agitation as the boat advanced, until she came within speaking distance of the strangers, when, instead of the supposed monsters ready to devour him, he recognised, to his surprise, his own brother and several friends whom he had left at Chain Island three years before, all of whom had long given him up as lost, and whom he never expected to see again.

'The two brothers met in a manner which did credit to their feelings, and after the first salutation sat down together upon the beach

with their hands firmly locked, and entered into serious conversation, consisting, no doubt, of mutual inquiries after friends and relations, and Tuwarri's account of his perilous adventure. They continued with their hands grasped until it was time for the boat to return to the ship, when they both came on board. This affecting interview increased our impatience to have the mystery which overhung the fate of our passenger cleared up, and an opportunity fortunately happened for doing so.

'The gig, on entering the lagoon, had been met by a boat from an English brig (the *Dart*, employed by the Australian Pearl Company) at anchor there, with a number of divers, natives of Chain Island, hired into her service: among these was a man who acted as interpreter, and who was immediately engaged to communicate to us the particulars of Tuwarri's adventures, which possess so much interest that the reader will not, I am sure, regret the relation of them.'—p. 168.

Captain Beechey is quite right—for nothing can be more interesting than the adventures of Tuwarri and his companions; and we regret exceedingly that our limits prevent the insertion of so curious and important a story. We call it important, because it shows the possibility of a voyage being made from west to east, amongst those groups of islands—which, from their lying in the latitude of the trade winds, has heretofore been considered out of the question. Hence, has arisen no small difficulty in deciding from what quarter the eastern islands of the range have been peopled. Every circumstance connected with their appearance and language, seems to be against the supposition of their being derived from the natives of the American continent; while everything respecting their dialect, worship, manners, customs, and traditions, belongs, more or less, to the Malay peninsula, the great islands of the Indian seas, and other countries, all lying to the westward—that is to say, according to the general idea of the trade winds, dead to leeward. The facts now brought so very distinctly and undeniably before us by Captain Beechey, show not only that a voyage of no less than six hundred miles may be made to the eastward, in the native canoes; but that a party, adverse to sailing in that course, may be forced to pursue it.

The truth is, that much misconception exists, even amongst professional men, as to the direction from which the trade winds blow. We talk of the north-east and south-east trade winds, till we fancy the wind within their limits blows steadily from those points. No position can be more contrary to fact. At every part of the line drawn from north to south, across the district in which these winds prevail ( $28^{\circ}$  N. to  $28^{\circ}$  S.), their direction is different; and it will likewise be found, that they vary in strength and in direction according to the season of the year. It is marvellous, indeed, to observe

observe how much, in navigation and in almost everything else, we are the slaves of mere names. Half the evils and fallacies of political discussion, for example, turn upon the misconception of words alone. The best possible results of machinery may be neglected in the disputes about the appellation of its parts. Because the crank is *crooked* (say the reformers of the steam-engine) it must be wrong—for how can anything *crooked* do straightforward work? And in like manner, say the parliamentary reformers, ‘How can a *rotten* borough do wholesome service to the state?’ But without wandering so far from our subject, we cannot let this opportunity slip of recommending to navigators to study more carefully this branch of their profession, and by no means to let pet theories interfere with attentive observation of facts. A certain friend of ours had once been misled by the *ignus fatuus* of words, to expect a steady trade wind from the north-east, in a certain latitude; but when he reached the spot (having mistaken the season), he found the wind blowing from north-west: so that, instead of being at the windward end of the coast, he was sixteen hundred miles to leeward; and it cost him a month to beat up what he might have run down in ten days!\*

We now come to our old and dear friend Otaheite, sacred to our earliest recollections, and always fertile in subjects of new and enduring interest. But before we proceed to notice what occurred to our voyagers at this island, we must express our cordial obligations to Captain Beechey for rescuing its name from the hands of some modern writers, who set themselves up for what are called in Spain ‘*Puristas*,’ or persons so very correct that they are unintelligible to ordinary capacities. Who, for instance, without consulting the map under the guidance of latitude and longitude, could guess that Tahiti meant Otaheite? or that Hawaii was Owyhee? Surely the names of these two well-known places are as firmly fixed in the English tongue as those of Rome, or Naples, or Lisbon,—are we to have Roma, and Napoli, and Lisboa, stuffed down our throats too by coxcombs? Captain Beechey says, modestly, in a note,

‘This word has since been spelled *Tahiti*, but as I have a veneration for the name as it is written in the celebrated Voyages of Captain Cook—a feeling in which I am sure I am not singular—I shall adhere to his orthography.’—p. 51.

So shall we.

Our readers will regret exceedingly to find such a shrewd and liberal observer as Captain Beechey distinctly of opinion that the cause of Christianity has not prospered in Otaheite to the extent

\* See a notice on the trade winds in the Appendix to the Second Edition of Daniell's Meteorological Essays.

we had been led to suppose by other accounts, and, in particular, by Mr. Ellis's delightful '*Polynesian Researches*.'

'Ignorance of the language (he says) prevented my obtaining any correct information as to the progress that had been made generally towards a knowledge of the Scriptures by those who were converted; but my impression was, and I find by the journals of the officers it was theirs also, that it was very limited, and but few understood the simplest parts of it. Many circumstances induced me to believe that they considered their religious books very much in the same light as they did their household gods; and in particular their conduct on the occasion of a disturbance which arose from some false reports at the time of the robbery on the stores of the ship, when they deposited these books in the mission, and declared themselves to be indifferent about their lives and property, so long as the sacred volume, which could be replaced at any time for a bamboo of oil, was in safety. In general those who were *missi-narees* had a proper respect for the book, but associating with it the suppression of their amusements, their dances, singing, and music, they read it with much less good will than if a system had been introduced which would have tempered religion with cheerfulness, and have instilled happiness into society.

'The Otaheitans, passionately fond of recreation, require more relaxation than other people; and though it might not have been possible at once to clear the dances from the immoralities attending them, still it would have been good policy to sanction these diversions under certain restrictions, until laws which were more important began to sit easy on the shoulders of the people. Without amusements, and excessively indolent, they now seek enjoyment in idleness and sensuality, and too much pains cannot be bestowed to arouse them from their apathy, and to induce them to emerge from their general state of indifference to those occupations which are most essential to their welfare. Looking only to the past, they at present seem to consider that they can proceed in the same easy manner they have hitherto done; forgetting that their wants, formerly gratified by the natural produce of the earth, have lately been supplied by foreign commodities, which, by indulgence, have become essential to their comfort; and that as their wants increase, as in all probability they will, they will find themselves at a loss to meet the expenses of the purchase; and that being dependant upon the casual arrival of merchant vessels, they are liable to be deprived of them suddenly by the occurrence of a war or of some other contingency, at a period perhaps when by disuse they will not have the power of falling back upon those which have been discontinued.

'The country is not deficient in productions adapted to commerce. It is not the poverty of the island from which they are likely to feel inconvenience, but from their neglect to avail themselves of its capabilities, and employ its productions to advantage. It seemed as if the people never had these things revealed to them, or had sunk into an apathy, and were discouraged at finding each year burthened with

with new restrictions upon their liberties and enjoyments, and nothing in return to sweeten the cup of life.'—p. 224. •

Some of the scenes which took place at Otaheite are very amusing, and others not a little instructive. We recommend any one desirous of comparing the present state of morals in that island with those in the days of Cook, to read the account of a visit which Captain Beechey paid to the Queen Regent's house at a very romantic spot about a mile from the place where the ship was anchored. We should be sorry to hurt such a story by abridgment, but it gives a strange picture of the manners of the higher classes since the introduction of Christianity. In speaking of the rest of the population Captain Beechey says,—

'Though their external deportment is certainly more guarded than formerly, in consequence of the severe penalties which their new laws attach to a breach of decorum, yet their morals have in reality undergone as little change as their costume. Notwithstanding all the restrictions imposed, I do not believe that I should exceed the bounds of truth in saying, that, if opportunity offered, there is no favour which might not be obtained from the females of Otaheite for the trifling consideration of a Jew's harp, a ring, or some other bauble.'—p. 212.

As to their habits in other respects, he remarks that

'Their occupations are few, and in general only such as are necessary to existence or to the gratification of vanity. In our repeated visits to their huts we found them engaged either in preparing their meals, plaiting straw-bonnets, stringing the smallest kinds of beads to make rings for the fingers or the ears, playing the Jew's harp, or lolling about upon their mats; the princess excepted, whose greatest amusement consisted in turning a hand-organ. The indolence of these people has ever been notorious, and has been a greater bar to the success of the missionaries than their previous faith.'—p. 213.

One of the most amusing passages in the book is an account of a trial of some thieves, under the modern constitution of the island.

'The aava-rai of the district took his place between the court and the prisoners, dressed in a long straw mat, finely plaited, and edged with fringe, with a slit cut in it for the head to pass through; a white oakum wig, which, in imitation of the gentlemen of our courts of law, flowed in long curls over his shoulders, and a tall cap surmounting it, curiously ornamented with red feathers, and with variously coloured tresses of human hair. His appearance without shoes, stockings, or trousers, the strange attire of the head, with the variegated tresses of hair mingling with the oakum curls upon his shoulders, produced, as may be imagined, a ludicrous effect.'

We shall only mention one more anecdote which relates to the court of Otaheite. The king, queen, and a numerous retinue, paid a visit to the Blossom one day, accompanied by Mr. Pritchard, the principal missionary on the island.

'Before

'Before we sat down to dinner, I was amused at Jim, the interpreter, bringing me the queen dowager's compliments, and "she would be much obliged by a little rum," to qualify a repast she had been making on raw fish, by way, I suppose, of provoking an appetite for dinner. We had missed her majesty a few minutes before from the cabin, and on looking over the stern of the ship, saw her seated in a native boat finishing her crude repast.'—p. 218.

We confess we are not so much horrified at all this as the Captain seems to have been. There is a luculent chapter even in the *Code Gastronomique* (the wittiest *jeu d'esprit*, by the bye, of recent years) on the praise of raw oysters; and what reader of Robinson Crusoe can have failed to imbibe respect for 'a dram of rum—exceeding comfortable'?

During the Blossom's stay at this island a whale ship arrived from New Zealand, from the master of which Captain Beechey obtained a curious piece of information. It is now well known that the ferocious savages of New Zealand have discovered a method of preparing human heads, after death, so that the features are preserved. These heads, tattooed all over, and of the colour of mahogany, are sold in most of the markets of the East as curiosities, and may, we should suppose, be bought in London—as what may not? Be this as it may—the whaler reported 'that Shoughi, the New Zealand chief who was educated in England, was availing himself of the superiority he had acquired, and was making terrible ravages amongst his countrymen, whose heads, when dried, furnished him with a lucrative trade.' (p. 222.) This is the schoolmaster abroad with a vengeance! and as a fair specimen of the march of intellect in the South Seas, will, we trust, not be lost on those well-intentioned benefactors of their species who hope to convert grown-up savages into civilized beings, and thus pass their time in the manufacture of silk purses out of a raw material which we avoid naming to 'ears polite.'

On entering Beering's Straits, Captain Beechey had an opportunity of setting at rest a geographical question of some importance, as connected with our immortal countryman, Captain Cook.

'That excellent navigator, in his discoveries of these seas, placed three islands in the middle of the strait—the Diomed Islands. Kotzebue, however, in passing them, fancied he saw a fourth, and conjectured that it must have been either overlooked by Cook and Clarke, or that it had been since raised by an earthquake. In the evening the fog cleared away, and our curiosity was at last satisfied. The extremities of the two great continents were distinctly seen (East Cape, on the Asiatic or western side, and Cape Prince of Wales, on the American or eastern side of Beering's Straits). The islands were clearly ascertained to be only three in number, and occupying nearly the  
same

same situations in which they were placed in the chart of Captain Cook.'—p. 246.

Captain Beechey, with singular good feeling, instead of triumphing as a weak man might have done, over his predecessor, steps forward to help him out of the scrape by saying, 'East Cape in almost every direction is so like an island, that I have no doubt it was the occasion of the mistake which the Russian navigator has committed.' With equal good taste, when he sets about naming these islands, he christens them after the very Krusensterns and Ratmanzoffs whose errors he has been correcting. We give this little anecdote for two reasons: it is right to do justice to the good sense and feeling of the voyager—and we also consider it of consequence to his authority in other and more important matters, to show the modest principles by which he is guided, even when there seemed a fair opportunity for display.

On the 25th of July, at four o'clock in the morning, the ship reached Chamisso Island, the point of rendezvous agreed upon with Captain Franklin, but of him there were no traces. Captain Beechey then decided upon availing himself of the latitude allowed him by his arrangement with Franklin, and proceeded in the Blossom to survey the coast of the Arctic Sea, as far as he could go without incurring the risk of leaving his ship wedged in by the ice. While the necessary preparations for this service were going on, Captain Beechey examined the extraordinary ice-formation in Escholtz Bay, mentioned by Kotzebue, and which has excited so much interest in the scientific world. The Russian voyager describes it as a cliff of ice, 'covered with a soil half a foot thick, producing the most luxuriant grass,' and containing abundance of mammoth bones; but our countrymen ascertained, beyond all doubt, that these cliffs were composed not of ice, but of frozen mud, covered with a coating of ice.

The following clear statement sets the matter at rest for ever:—

'Mr. Collie, on cutting through the ice in a horizontal direction, found that it formed only a casing to the cliff, which was composed of mud and gravel in a frozen state. On removing the earth above, it was also evident, by a decided line of separation between the ice and the cliff, that the Russians had been deceived by appearances. By cutting into the upper surface of the cliff, three feet from the edge, frozen earth, similar to that which formed the face of the cliff, was found at eleven inches' depth; and four yards further back, the same substance occurred at twenty-two inches' depth.

'This glacial facing we afterwards noticed in several parts of the sound; and it appears to me to be occasioned either by the snow being banked up against the cliff, or collected in its hollows in the winter, and converted into ice in the summer by partial thawings and freezings—or by the constant flow of water during the summer over  
the

the edges of the cliffs, on which the sun's rays operate less forcibly than on other parts, in consequence of their aspect. The streams thus become converted into ice, either while trickling down the still frozen surface of the cliffs, or after they reach the earth at their base, in which case the ice rises like a stalagmite, and in time reaches the surface. But before this is completed, the upper soil, loosened by the thaw, is itself projected over the cliff, and falls in a heap below, whence it is ultimately carried away by the tide. We visited this spot a month later in the season, and found a considerable alteration in its appearance, manifesting more clearly than before the deception under which Kotzebue laboured.—p. 257.

For a full and satisfactory statement of all the circumstances attendant upon the examination of these cliffs, a description of the bones found in them, together with some highly interesting theoretical views as to their history, we must refer our readers to the first article in the Appendix, drawn up by Dr. Buckland.

In pursuit of her object, the survey of the coast, the Blossom succeeded in reaching a point lying very little south of the parallel of 71° N. Beechey was now in great hopes that he might be able to reach the exact point of conjunction of the ice and the land; but unfortunately the wind fell light, and gradually drew to the north-westward; and as this change threatened to embay the ship between the land and the ice, it became the Captain's duty to haul off.

It may be right to explain, that, as it formed no part of the intention of Government to try the passage from the north-east, the Blossom was not fitted for being driven on shore, or being beset by the ice, without injury. It appears never for a moment to have been intended that she should get between the land and the ice, and proceed till she picked up Franklin and his party at some advanced station on the coast. The grand objects of the voyage were to receive Captain Franklin on board, should he succeed in reaching Kotzebue Sound, and to be ready to render assistance to Parry, should he force his way through the Arctic Sea. It was, therefore, necessary to bind Captain Beechey down, in the most positive manner, to keep in open water. The temptation to go on must have been very great; but Beechey was not a man to trifle with his instructions, so he turned about, after lingering to the last moment, and sent the barge, a very fine boat, under Mr. Elson the master, to follow up the service which he was compelled to relinquish.

This enterprising little party made out more than three additional degrees of longitude to the eastward, and although this be not more than seventy statute miles, it forms a considerable item in the account of Arctic discovery. Chapter XII. is principally occupied with the narrative of the barge; which is very well put together,

together, and does all parties great credit. As the sailors say, 'it was a very near squeak' with her; but Mr. Elson, and his gallant little party, dragged her through it all. Besides surveying the coast, and making many very interesting observations, they determined the latitude of the most northern point yet known, or that probably exists, of the continent of America. It lies in longitude  $156^{\circ} 21\frac{1}{2}'$  W., and latitude  $71^{\circ} 23\frac{1}{2}'$  N., and has been called, with propriety, and geographical justice, Point Barrow—after the Secretary of the Admiralty—mainly owing to whose unwearied recommendations the great problem of discovering the existence of a continuous sea from Baffin's Bay to Beering's Strait, has almost been worked out; and who, we trust, will yet live to hail America as an island: for surely, surely, the great object of Arctic discovery ought not to be dropped when so very near its accomplishment. The '*cui bono?*' has been answered a hundredfold, in the solid professional and even national renown which has attended the numerous expeditions having this discovery for their object; and this well-earned reputation will receive incalculable augmentation from the completion of the undertaking. The present moment, moreover, is obviously the most favourable one that ever can occur for completing this important service to the cause of science. We have now, 'cut and dry,' a stock of thoroughly bred officers and men, in every department, inured to the peculiar hardships of the service in question, familiar with the dangers and difficulties of its execution, but no less familiar with the management of those resources by which such obstacles are to be overcome. For fifteen or sixteen years we have been training men in this arduous course of combined land-surveying, hydrography, and navigation, and it will be a thousand pities if so much experience is to be let slip through our hands. Every one must grieve to see such men as Parry and Franklin dropping off into jog-trot employments, which ordinary men could execute nearly as well. But Beechey is, we trust, still available. He has now given public evidence of his capacity not only for executing, but for describing services of the highest order; and we think we could cut out a voyage of research for him, which would put his mettle to the proof.

Captain Beechey returned to Chamisso Island, where he was not idle, but went on surveying the coast and harbours, until, the symptoms of ice appearing earlier than he had been led to expect, it became necessary to hasten his departure. The case was the more necessary, as he had only five weeks' provisions on board for his crew, at full allowance, and the nearest place where he could replenish his stock was two thousand miles distant. Under these circumstances, the captain, being desirous of having the opinion of his

his officers, addressed an official letter to them, requesting them to take every circumstance into consideration, and to furnish him with their opinion on the propriety of remaining longer in those seas.—p. 335. Upon this we have only to remark, that we are very far from denying to any commander the privilege of consulting his officers, privately—but we cannot help questioning the expediency of ever doing so officially. Either the captain has the whole responsibility on his own shoulders, or he divides it with his officers. If he divides responsibility with them, it follows that they have a right to give their opinion, unasked, upon questionable points of service. But could the naval service go on for one day after the admission of such a principle? If, on the other hand, the official responsibility rests exclusively at all times, and under all possible circumstances, with the captain, he ought, as we conceive, to avoid every appearance of sharing it with persons, whose opinion in such a case, however valuable in point of fact, could never be allowed the smallest weight in exonerating the captain, if his conduct were not ultimately approved of by his superiors.

The best form of a council of war—proverbially bad things—which we remember to have heard of, was that of Tippoo Sultan, who, on a very trying occasion, sometimes assembled his officers round a large table, and having placed himself at one end, detailed all the circumstances of the case, but without betraying his own view of it. A sheet of paper was then placed before each person present, who was desired to write his opinion in silence, and without communicating in any way with the rest. Tippoo, in the meantime, kept his tiger eye glancing up and down the party, to prevent any signals; and as soon as the opinions were all written down, he dismissed the council, and perused the documents.

The winter, however, set in so soon at Kotzebue Sound, that there was no doubt in the case, and the Blossom had quite enough to do to get out on the 14th of October. Before leaving the bay, they buried some provisions upon the sandy point of Chamisso Island, and left ample directions for finding them, cut and painted on the rock, in the event of Captain Franklin's arriving. From Beering's Straits the ship proceeded to San Francisco, in California, where the health of the crew was soon re-established under the influence of fresh meat, fruit, vegetables, horse exercise, and so forth. Unfortunately, however, there were no adequate means of supplying the ship with provisions at any part in California, which obliged Captain Beechey to proceed first to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to China.

We regret that our limits prevent our giving any account of San Francisco, as it is a country very little known, but full of interest

interest from its situation, the excellence of its port, and the fertility of the soil, circumstances which will one day render it a place of importance. The colonial misgovernment of the old Spaniards, and the neglect of the revolutionised government of Mexico (we really forget whether the last 'quotation' from that country made it a republic or a monarchy), are stale topics, and we quit them without much regret for a more interesting subject. Captain Beechey, after leaving China on his return to Beering's Straits, in the summer of 1827, intended to explore the sea to the southward of Japan; but, owing to light winds and contrary currents, his progress was so extremely slow, that, on the 15th of May, he found himself not far from the great Loo Choo Island, with a contrary wind. The temptation to visit a spot which has of late years become so familiar to our thoughts, was heightened by discovering that the water in their casks was extremely bad. Accordingly, in they went, and anchored off Napakiang, on the spot where the *Alceste* and *Lyra* lay ten years before.

The reception which Captain Beechey received from the inhabitants of Loo Choo was exactly the same as that experienced by Sir Murray Maxwell and his companions. He was supplied with provisions, for which the natives would take no payment; and although, after a good deal of trouble, he was permitted to land, his excursions were limited to a few walks near the town of Napa, and neither he nor his officers succeeded in reaching what was supposed to be the capital, though in sight and close at hand. On the whole, the statements published by Captain Hall and Dr. M'Leod appear to harmonize with Beechey's observations. The only points of difference between them relate to the use of money, of arms, and of the bamboo as an instrument of punishment. The interpreters did all they could to mystify the present voyagers on the first of these points, but *par hazard* they met a man with a whole string of the copper coin used in China, and afterwards succeeded in obtaining a few of these pieces (p. 469). As to the stories of their severest punishment being 'a tap with a fan—' read what follows:—

'A trusty little man was sent on board the *Blossom*, with a disproportionably long bamboo cane, to keep order, and who was in consequence named master-at-arms by the seamen. This little man took care that the importance of his office should not escape notice, and occasionally exercised his baton of authority in a manner which seemed to me too severe for the occasion.'—p. 459.

As to the grand question of *arms* or *no arms*—which Buona-parte considered as such a joke, and which we confess always struck us in the same light—seeing that Loo, Choo is known to be a dependent state under the imperial flag of China, and sending tribute

tribute every other year to Pekin—Captain Beechey deals with it more gingerly than we should have expected.

‘ We never saw any weapon whatever; and the supposition of their existence rests entirely upon the authority of the natives, and upon circumstantial evidence. Ching-oong-choo, and several other persons, declared there were both cannon and muskets in the island; and An-yah distinctly stated there were twenty-six of the former distributed among their junks. We were disposed to believe this statement, from seeing the fishermen, and all classes at Napa, so familiar with the use and exercise of our cannon, and particularly so from their appreciating the improvement of the flint-lock upon that of the match-lock, which I understood from the natives to be in use in Loo Choo; and unless they possessed these locks it is difficult to imagine from whence they could have derived their knowledge. The figures drawn upon the panels of the joshouse, seated upon broadswords and bows and arrows, may be adduced as further evidence of their possessing weapons; and this is materially strengthened (!) by the fact of their harbour being defended by three square stone forts, one on each side of the entrance, and the other upon a small island, so situated within the harbour, that it would present a raking fire to a vessel entering the port; and these forts having a number of loop-holes in them, and a platform and parapet formed above with stone steps leading up to it in several places. This platform would not have been wide enough for our cannon, it is true; but unless it were built for the reception of those weapons, there is apparently no other use for which it could have been designed. I presented the mandarin with a pair of pistols, which he thankfully accepted, and they were taken charge of by his domestics without exciting any unusual degree of curiosity. Upon questioning An-yah where his government procured its powder, he immediately replied from Fochien.’—p. 484.

Really this hubbub of logic about such a mere chimera is unworthy of Captain Beechey’s good sense.

Some little distrust is here and there thrown upon the honesty of these people, but upon a careful examination of the whole account we think there is no bad case made out against them. They certainly deceived Captain Beechey, as they deceived Captain Maxwell.

Very soon after their arrival, one of the natives came on board who spoke a little English, and brought a vocabulary in his pocket. He proved to be that An-yah, of whom frequent mention was made in the former accounts.—

‘ I was very anxious to find out who my guest with the vocabulary was, as it at first occurred to me that it might be Madera, of whom Captain Hall so frequently speaks in his delightful publication on Loo Choo; but then he did not seem to be so well acquainted with the English language as Madera appears to have been, and, besides, he must have been much younger. His objection to answering our inquiries

ries on this head, and disclaiming all knowledge of any vessel having ever been at Loo Choo before, put it out of my power at first to inform myself on the point, and had not his own curiosity overcome his prudence, it would perhaps have long remained a secret.

'The manner in which the discovery was made is curious: after the sackee had gone round a few times, An-yah inquired if "ship got womans?" and being answered in the negative, he replied, somewhat surprised, "other ships got womans, handsome womans!" alluding to Mrs. Loy, with whom the Loo Chooans were so much captivated, that, it is thought, she had an offer from a person of high authority in the island. I then taxed him with having a knowledge of other ships, and when he found he had betrayed himself, he laughed heartily, and acknowledged that he recollected the visit of the *Alceste* and *Lyra*, which he correctly said was one hundred and forty-four moons ago.

'I was a little vexed to find that neither An-yah nor Isaacha-Sandoo, who was also of our party, and is mentioned by Captain Hall, made the slightest inquiry after any of the officers of the *Alceste* or *Lyra*, by whom they had been treated in the most friendly manner, and for whom it might have been inferred, from the tears that were shed by the Loo Chooans on the departure of those ships, that the greatest regard had been entertained. The only time they alluded to them was when Mrs. Loy recurred to their imagination.'—p. 456.

If Mrs. Loy ever tries her hand in the *Annals*, she owes these constant admirers a tender stanza or two; but to proceed—Captain Beechey enjoyed one material advantage over his predecessors, in having better means of interpretation, and accordingly he has brought us considerably more information respecting the state of Loo Choo. Dr. Morrison, of the British Factory, at Canton, had written a number of sentences in the Chinese character, at Beechey's request, and as these related to many interesting points of inquiry, he was enabled to ask questions without the chance of misinterpretation. Dr. Morrison was well aware that the Chinese character would be quite intelligible to the literati, although the spoken languages are very different.

'The Loo Choo words for the same things are very different from those of the Chinese, the one being often a monosyllable, and the other a polysyllable; as in the instance of *charcoal*, the Chinese word for it being *tan*, and the Loo Chooan *chú-chec-jing*, and yet the people use precisely the same character as the Chinese to express this word; and so far from its being necessary to be familiar with the language to understand the characters, many did not know the Chinese words for them. Their language throughout is very different from that of the Chinese, and much more nearly allied to the Japanese.'—p. 482.

We have left ourselves no room for the concluding parts of the voyage, which, however, are not less interesting than the rest. Captain Beechey returned to his old rendezvous off Chamisso Island on the 5th of August, 1827, within five days of the time appointed.

appointed. The season was not nearly so open as that of the preceding year, so that no farther advance was made along the coast. The barge unfortunately was wrecked, and several men drowned, which stopped the proceedings along shore. The Blossom, upon this occasion, was obliged to retreat from the Polar Sea so early as the 6th of October, without having heard a word of either Franklin or Parry.

There is perhaps no person alive who is more competent than Captain Beechey to give an opinion upon the practicability of completing the object for which so many expeditions have been fitted out. He has entered the Polar Sea from the eastward with Parry, and penetrated as far as man has yet gone; while, in his own ship, he has sailed into the same passage from the westward, considerably farther than Captain Cook; besides which, he has made a voyage with Franklin towards the North Pole, and is therefore not only familiarly acquainted with all that is known upon the subject, but has in his own person grappled with and overcome most of the difficulties; moreover he has upon this voyage shown resources of the highest order under circumstances of considerable variety. His opinion, therefore, on the important question in what direction future efforts should be made, must command great respect in every quarter.

‘The extent of land now left unexplored between Point Turnagain and Icy Cape, is comparatively so insignificant, that, as regards the question of the north-west passage, it may be considered to be known; and in this point of view both expeditions, though they did not meet, may be said to have been fully successful. From the nature and similarity of the coast at Return Reef and Point Barrow, it is very probable that the land from Franklin Extreme trends gradually to the eastward to Return Reef, leaving Point Barrow in latitude  $71^{\circ} 23' 30''$  N., the northern limit of the continent of America.

‘The determination of this great geographical question is undoubtedly important; but though it sets a boundary to the new continent, and so far diminishes the difficulties attending an attempt to effect a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic, yet it leaves the practicability of the north-west passage nearly as doubtful as ever; and it is evident that it cannot be otherwise, until the obstructions set forth in Captain Parry's voyage are removed, as it would avail little to be able to reach Hecla and Fury Strait, provided that channel were always impassable.

‘I can see no insurmountable obstacle to the exploit. In this attempt, however, it is evident that a vessel must be prepared to encounter very heavy pressure from the ice, and must expect, on the ice closing the coast to the westward of Point Barrow, which it unquestionably would with every strong westerly wind, to be driven on shore in the manner in which our boat was in 1826.

‘As regards the question, whether it be advisable to attempt the passage from the Atlantic or the Pacific, the advantage of being able  
to

to pursue the main land with certainty from Icy Cape is unquestionably great; and the recollection that in that route every foot gained to the eastward is an advance toward the point whence supplies and succour may be obtained, is a cheering prospect to those who are engaged in such an expedition. But while I so far advocate an attempt from this quarter, it must not be overlooked that the length of the voyage round Cape Horn, and the vicissitudes of climate to be endured, present material objections to prosecuting the enterprise by that course. . . . Upon the whole, I am disposed to favour the western route, and am of opinion that could steam-vessels properly fitted, and adapted to the service, arrive in good condition in Kotzebue Sound, by the beginning of one summer, they would with care and patience succeed in reaching the western shore of Melville Peninsula in the next.—p. 564.

It is proper to observe, before we bid Captain Beechey farewell, that he bestows high and generous praise on all his officers without exception. The narrative and appendix contain ample evidence that they formed a most able and accomplished society; and we trust many of them will yet act together again in services of as great importance as that which has now been so well performed, and so elegantly recorded. We may say so elegantly illustrated too—for the engravings in this book are admirable things.

- ART. III.—1. *Two Lectures on Population, delivered before the University of Oxford.* By Nassau William Senior, Professor of Political Economy. To which is added a Correspondence between the Author and the Rev. T. R. Malthus. 1831.
2. *The Law of Population.\* A Treatise in Six Books, in disproof of the Superfecundity of Human Beings, and developing the Real Principle of their Increase.* By Michael Thomas Sadler, M.P. Vols. I and II. 1830.
3. *Mr. Sadler's Reply to an Article in the Edinburgh Review, &c.* 1831.
4. *Letters on Systematic Colonization and the Bill now before Parliament, &c.* By Charles Tennant, Esq., M.P. London, 1831.

**I**F there ever was a subject exceeding all others in general importance, and in which a right or a wrong conclusion may most materially influence the destinies of mankind—if there ever was a question demanding for its discussion, beyond all others, the most calm and candid deliberation, the completest freedom from all party or personal feelings, and an earnest and philosophical desire to search after Truth, and truth exclusively—this is that subject—this is that question. Has it been hitherto approached in such

spirit and temper? We fear we must answer in the negative. And in so doing we shall, perhaps, afford a clue to the enigma, that the opinions broached upon this great, and, in our view of it, simple question, have run into the most opposite and violent extremes; equally repugnant to common sense and experience, equally mischievous in their effects, whenever successfully propagated, and equally distant from the plain, intelligible, and useful truth, to which a more dispassionate and impartial inquiry must have led by a straight and easy route.

The question at issue may be simply stated thus:—Is there any natural tendency in the numbers of mankind to increase faster than their power of providing themselves with food? And if so, is this tendency an evil or a good? and can it be so regulated or modified, as to avert the evil, or augment the good it is calculated to produce?

How grossly this plain question has been mystified by the use, and as frequent abuse, of high-sounding scientific terms, such as superfecundity, law of population, geometrical and arithmetical ratios, inverse variation, and a hundred others—terms which obscure the argument they are intended to illustrate, unless previously defined, and which, if previously defined, would assuredly never have been employed as we find them—we need not attempt to prove to such of our readers as have paid any attention to the controversy which the doctrines on population have excited since the beginning of the present century; if, indeed, that can be called a controversy in which one party alone has been heard throughout in the tone of triumphant dogmatism, and but a few faint and feeble voices were raised in unsuccessful opposition.

The history of that controversy is shortly as follows. It is an ancient and popular, as it is likewise an obvious notion,—one of those old-fashioned opinions which, of course, one should be ashamed of wearing in the present day,—that the strength of a state lies in its numbers—that the numerical increase of a nation is an increase of its means for acquiring wealth, and for defending it when obtained, and, consequently, an increase of its aggregate strength and happiness. Hence, the respect and honours which, throughout ancient history, sacred as well as profane, seems to have been uniformly paid to the progenitors of a numerous offspring. Hence, in some instances, direct premiums have been held out for the encouragement of matrimony and the increase of families.

The scourges of war and pestilence have more or less depopulated states at various periods in the gloomy annals of mankind; but, in addition to the pangs they occasioned to their immediate victims, the rending of the ties of affection or relationship, and the destruction

destruction of property, the actual loss of lives *had* been invariably lamented as a grievous injury to the suffering nations, up to the close of the last century. Then, for the first time, we believe, the opinion was propagated, that these calamitous events have their favourable side—that the evils of battle and of plague are partly compensated by the diminution of numbers they occasion—that population is always and everywhere pressing up to the limits of possible subsistence, and struggling against the inadequacy of the food that can be provided for its support—that the mass of mankind are, in consequence, necessarily in a state of extreme want, and that every check to their increase or direct diminution of their absolute numbers, is, *pro tanto*, a reprieve to the survivors, who, in the general scramble for the necessities of life, divide more amongst themselves; until the continued increase, accelerated as it is by the formation of a temporary vacuum, once more brings their numbers closely up to the barrier against which they are fated to be eternally pressing, and restores the misery and extreme want which, under this theory, is, in the long run, the natural and necessary condition of human existence.

This is a gloomy and heart-withering picture; but it is a true representation of the doctrine promulgated, and with the utmost success, towards the close of the last century. When we call it the Malthusian theory, we do so only in compliance with popular authority, which has stamped it with that appellation. We are well aware that Mr. Malthus has no claim to the credit or the blame, whichever posterity may think right to award (and of both he has had his full share already) to the originator of this doctrine. There can be no doubt that he adopted, not merely its substance, but most of its details, and even the terms in which they are enounced, from the works of Townsend, Wallace, and other preceding writers. Though not original, these opinions were, however, brought forward by him in so striking and authoritative a manner, with the advantages of a polished style and eloquent language, a tone of philosophical inquiry, and the justificatory evidence of statistical details, as to attract far more attention than they had previously obtained, and irrevocably couple the name of Malthus with the theory they comprehend.

In describing that theory, we have had in view its character, as it appeared in the first edition of Mr. Malthus's Essay on Population, in 1798. We well know that in subsequent editions it has been greatly modified; some of its most objectionable portions removed, others softened off or explained away, and new portions introduced, till, like the silk stockings of the Vicar of Wakefield that had been so often mended with worsted, it is now become extremely difficult to say what the Malthusian theory is,

or what it is not, or whether any such theory remains at all in existence.

When the opinions of Mr. Malthus have been attacked, his friends have habitually exclaimed that his meaning was misrepresented or misunderstood,—that the apostle is not to be made answerable for the exaggeration of his doctrines by his blundering disciples, and the master's fame and system, it was asserted, stood ever uninjured and invulnerable. But it will not be denied that from 1798, when the *Essay on Population* first appeared, to the publication in 1803 of the second edition, where the 'preventive check,' which, like Aaron's serpent, has since swallowed up the rest of its species, was first introduced, the Malthusian theory consisted of the broad and naked proposition, that the increase of population is, as well in fact as by necessity, everywhere kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the checks of *vice and misery alone*.

With what views or motives Mr. Malthus's *Essay* was penned, it is scarcely fair, nor is it worth while to inquire; but politicians saw in it an excuse for the evils, under which the lower classes might at any time be suffering, fully sufficient to be an answer to all reproaches on their score, and to exculpate every government from the blame of causing the misery of the people under their sway. It was exceedingly convenient to an ignorant or idle statesman to be able to *prove*, philosophically and statistically, that poverty and extreme misery are irremediable,—the necessary condition of the lower classes in every country under the sun—and thus to reconcile his conscience to the spectacle of their existence in that over whose destinies he presided. Nay, to many private individuals, rolling in wealth, and environed by starving fellow-creatures, it was not disagreeable to be assured, on high authority, that even though they should literally obey the divine precept, 'to sell all their goods, and give to the poor,' they could in no way reduce the sum of human calamity, which would increase upon them faster than by any efforts of charity and benevolence it could be diminished. Under this persuasion, they might continue their career of selfish indulgence and wanton luxury, undisturbed by the visitings of self-reproach for their neglect of the wretched victims of famine, to whom the crumbs from their overloaded tables would be as manna from heaven. In one word, the Malthusian theory absolves wealth and power from all responsibility for the misery which may surround them. No wonder, then, that it was favourably received, made many converts, and took its post as the reigning philosophy of the day.

It was this doctrine, we repeat, as enounced in the *Quarto* of 1798, which gained Mr. Malthus his great European reputation.

But

But in 1803 appeared a second edition of the *Essay*, which the author himself calls, in his preface, 'a New Work, retaining but few parts of the former;' and in which he introduces another, and a completely new, check to the increase of population, which he had discovered in the interval—viz., 'the preventive check' of moral or prudential restraint upon the indulgence of the sexual appetite, at least in the way of marriage. We need not say that this new light was wholly destructive of the main principle established, as it was thought, conclusively, in the first essay, of the inevitable poverty of the lower classes; since a due cultivation of the prudential check, which is described as involving no evil in itself, may be not only supposed, but proved, it was said, by the experience of many countries, wholly to prevent any sufferings from too near an approach of population to the limits of subsistence. With whatever inconsistency, however, and, as if not thoroughly satisfied of the efficacy of his last-invented and favourite panacea—the preventive check—Mr. Malthus continued, throughout successive editions of his work, to consider the tendency of population to increase with extreme rapidity, as a source of misery difficult, if not impossible, to be successfully counteracted, and the one great, full, and sufficient cause of all the poverty to be met with on the face of the globe. In every version of the '*Principle of Population*,' down to the very latest, its essence has always been, that population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and is only limited by positive famine, disease, the consequence of famine, vice, or moral restraint, that is, the exercise of a prudential abstinence from marriage.

Now we own that few things have ever appeared to us so unaccountable as that this proposition should have been so long received with implicit faith, as an established and incontrovertible 'principle' of science; when there are numberless facts, obvious to the most cursory observation, which completely and directly falsify it. We will not speak of Poland, Prussia, and parts of Russia, because, from the peculiar relations of society in those states, the very lowest class, we believe, may suffer from insufficiency of food, at times when the country as a whole is glutted with provisions. But we ask, if the situation of almost every colony that has been settled in America or Australia, during the last two or three centuries, does not offer an unanswerable refutation to this principle? Is not the great drawback to all such establishments the want of a market for their surplus provisions? And is not this want felt for years together in every colony settled in fertile land and a favourable climate? So far from their numbers being limited by the want of subsistence, their only difficulty arises

arises from its superabundance. Flocks and herds multiply till meat becomes a drug, and the carcasses of oxen, killed for the sake of their tallow and hides, are habitually left to the vultures. Fat sheep, if we are to believe a recent traveller in the Brazils, are actually used as fuel to feed their limekilns! Why, then, it is clear that, throughout a very considerable part of the globe, namely, all America and our Australian colonies at least, there is an evident tendency in subsistence to increase in a much faster ratio than population. The very reverse of the Malthusian axiom prevails *there*. And why has not this opposite state of things, characterizing as it does one half of the habitable globe, as good a title to be considered '*the Principle of Population*,' as that which has acquired such general acquiescence?

But Mr. Malthus is not content with laying down the axiom, that population tends constantly to increase in a faster ratio than food—he goes further, and asserts that the former tends to increase in a geometrical, and the latter only in an arithmetical, ratio:—the human species, as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, 512, &c.;—subsistence, in the same times, but as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. So that if both were, supposing an evident impossibility, to continue unchecked at their utmost speed, and taking the population of the globe at 1000 millions at present, when these had increased to 500,000 millions, there could be food enough only for 10,000 millions, or the fiftieth part of the number! This is very frightful indeed; and may well have alarmed the imaginations of those who gave credit to it—on the authority of Mr. Malthus; for it is brought forward in his Essay on no other foundation than his bare opinion. Those who were taken in by the show of figures, and pretence of mathematical accuracy, to swallow this most extraordinary proposition, might well be excused ever after for running wild in admiration of the '*preventive check*,' or of those other numerous, and occasionally singular and disgusting specifics for stopping the increase of human life and happiness by some less disagreeable processes than famine, throat-cutting, or pestilence, with which we have been pestered, for years past, by every tyro in political economy. But the wonder is—if in these days we can wonder at anything—that such a notion should ever have obtained a single believer. We have already shown that the evidence of facts is quite as much in favour of subsistence outrunning population, as population subsistence; and, indeed, it would be easy to prove from history that the balance decidedly inclines towards the first of these propositions, since the average share of food which falls to the lot of every human being is certainly more, and of a better quality, now, than it was in the earlier stages of human existence. But that, in the face of these facts,

facts, it should have been asserted and believed, not only that the rate, at which population tends to increase, is universally greater than that of subsistence, but that it exceeds it, in the proportion of a geometrical to a simple arithmetical ratio, is an instance of credulity as great as, in this world of quacks and gulls, we have ever had the opportunity of observing.

For, if we analyze this fearful geometrical swelling of population, we find its meaning to be that it increases by multiplication, not by mere addition. This is a simple consequence from the law that all animated nature generates itself, so that the powers of increase are augmented exactly in the ratio of the positive increase of numbers. But if the reproductive powers of the human species follow this law, so also do those of the animal and vegetable species upon which we feed. If men tend to increase in a geometrical ratio, so also do sheep, and oxen, and hogs. There is, however, this difference in their ratios, all geometrical as they are, that whereas man is capable of procreating his species only at the end of sixteen or seventeen years, and breeds, on the average, but once in two years, and produces generally but one at a birth,—these edible animals begin to breed at one year old or less, and some, as the swine, poultry, &c., produce very many at a time, and that many times within a year. So that their possible multiplication infinitely exceeds that of man: the two last, for instance, might double themselves perhaps a million of times while a human couple could do so but once. If we look to the vegetable food of man, its tendency to increase is still more remarkably rapid, and, indeed, at the end of a very few years, leaves all attempt to pursue it by calculation far behind. Wheat, in fertile soils, will often return from ten to twenty-fold in *one year*, and Indian wheat from one hundred to two hundred-fold. But supposing its annual power of reproduction to be only six for one, the produce of a single acre of wheat might cover the whole globe in fourteen years. Mr. Sadler has worked this part of the question with a skill and force that leave nothing to desire.\* In truth, the tendency to increase of the animal and vegetable food of man so infinitely exceeds his own, that the converse of Mr. Malthus's proposition, though not strictly correct, would be a pardonable mode of attempting to convey an idea of the fact.

But the 'Political Economists,' quitting, with some sense of shame, we must charitably suppose, the argument upon 'tendencies,' return to the question of possibilities, and resort to the aid of their favourite position, of the diminishing fertility of soils augmenting the costs of cultivation, and therefore leaving less and less surplus for the labourer, till at last the produce will not sup-

\* See an Essay in his Appendix—much better written than any part of his text.

port him and provide for the next year's harvest. Thus Mr. Senior, in his 'Lecture on Population,' says—

'We have seen that, as a general rule, additional labour, employed in the cultivation of the land *within a given district*, produces a less proportionate return. And we have seen that such is the power of reproduction and duration of life in mankind, that the population of a given district is capable of doubling itself, at least, every twenty-five years. It is clear, therefore, that the rate at which the production of food is capable of being increased, and that at which population, if unchecked, would increase, are totally different. Every addition made to the quantity of food produced, makes, in general, a further addition more difficult. (?) Every addition to the existing population diffuses wider the means of still further addition. If neither evil, nor the fear of evil, checked the population of England, it would amount, in a century, to above two hundred millions. . . . It is clear, however, that long before the first century had elapsed, no excellence in our institutions, or salubrity of climate, or unremitting industry, could have saved us from being arrested in our progress by a constantly-increasing want of subsistence. If all other moral and physical checks could be got rid of,—if we had neither wars nor libertinism,—if our habitations, and employments, and habits were all wholesome, and no fears of indigence or loss of station prevented or retarded our marriages, famine would soon exercise her prerogative of controuling, in the last resort, the multiplication of mankind' \*

He thence concludes, *secundum morem*, for the excellence of the 'preventive check.'

Now we have two answers to 'put in to this reasoning. First, as to the supposed inferior productiveness of the soils taken successively into cultivation as the population increases. The relative fertility of soils has no bearing on the question: their positive unfitness to repay the costs of cultivation—in other words, to support the labourers engaged in their tillage—is counteracted, we must recollect, by every improvement in agriculture, communications, the mechanical arts, and the division of labour; the effect of which is to increase the productiveness of *all* soils, and, therefore, render the best still better, and the inferior soils capable of profitable cultivation which were not previously so. It is notorious that at least four times as much produce is now raised from off the first soils of England as in the thirteenth century, and that millions of acres which were then esteemed unfit for tillage are now made to produce much more than the richest lands did at that time. What the economists call 'the decreasing fertility of soils' would, therefore, be more justly designated as *the increasing productive powers of agriculture*, and the arts auxiliary to it.

But, secondly, even if we concede that, *in a limited district*, the

\* Lectures, pp. 12, 13,

population might increase faster than these improvements add to the supplies of food, by augmenting the productiveness of soils, and calling fresh land into profitable cultivation, we still ask, as in a former Number, where we exposed the absurdity of this grand bugbear of the 'Political Economists,' *Why* are we to consider any population to be confined to a limited district? It is this miserable and baseless assumption that is at the bottom of all the fallacies which have hitherto vitiated and confused the doctrines of population, and of the laws which have been supposed to determine the condition of the lower classes of any society.

So long as any soils of superior quality, in accessible situations, remain unappropriated and untilled, the cultivation of inferior soils is adopted, not, as the economists argue, out of necessity, but from choice, as being superior,—by reason of neighbourhood to markets, &c.—to the richer soils at a distance. But when we are discussing the possibility of escaping *famine*, it is no longer a question of more or less profit, and of the distance or vicinity of markets. Under these circumstances every man carries his market for food about with him; and surely it is self-evident that there can be no risk of men starving for want of the means of obtaining food, (except through their own folly and improvidence, or the combined folly and selfishness of their rulers,) so long as there exist numerous tracts of uncultivated soil, placed in genial climates, and fertile enough to produce ten times more than the subsistence of the cultivators. When the soils of any country are, or are supposed to be, so fully cultivated, that any attempt to increase its produce would fail in repaying the cost,—why should not the inhabitants of that country carry the excess of their numbers, with a certain supply of tools, food, and stock, to some of the rich wastes which count their occupation in other parts of the world?

Will it be said that the tools, food, and stock, or capital, required by emigrants, are not possessed by the persons who are in danger of starving at home? But if *they* are unable to free themselves from the grasp of misery, is it not the duty and the interest of others to free them? For what are governments appointed but to do that for the mass of the people which they are unable to do for themselves?—to prevent or to relieve general suffering? To argue that a community, increasing beyond their supplies of food, must submit to be famished, because, *when famine is upon them*, they will not have the means of reaching other countries where plenty would await them, seems to us as reasonable as to say that man is necessarily exposed to starvation because corn ripens but once a-year. Surely it only requires a moderate extension of the same sagacity and providence which stores up the annual harvest, so as to make it last out the demand until the ensuing crop is ready for the sickle,

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to anticipate the pressure of an increasing population, and provide the means of transplanting its excess, beyond the numbers which can be easily supported at home, to other unoccupied countries where their labour will shortly produce a surplus far more than sufficient to repay the cost of its removal. The economists suppose man to be able to foresee the pressure of increasing numbers, and have the prudence to refrain from marriage in order to retard that increase; and will they deny him the power of exercising the same prudential foresight in widening the range from which he may draw subsistence? Will they maintain that it is easier for him to limit his numbers, in opposition to an almost uncontrollable instinct, than to enlarge the field of his supply of food, in obedience to an equally strong natural impulse, and when he has only to cross a sea or a range of mountains to do so?

We will not descend to examine in detail all the features of the 'preventive check of moral restraint'—its justly imputed immorality and cruelty—its partiality, as pressing solely on the poorer classes, to whom celibacy is a far greater privation than to the rich—its impiety, as opposing the laws of Nature and of God. For these we refer to Mr. Sadler, who, with some exaggerations, into which he has been led by the warmth of his feelings on a topic so closely connected with the dearest interests of humanity, has painted this contrivance in its true colours. It is sufficient for us to be able to show, first, its utter inadequacy for the proposed end of checking the increase of population; and next, that, supposing, for the sake of argument, it were adequate to this, and, further, that its operation were free from all the evils hinted at above as justly chargeable on it, even then, with all these favourable concessions, not only is it not wanted, and, therefore, like all needless privations, to be avoided; but it must, as far as it went, counteract the benevolent designs of Providence, and put a stop to the increase of human happiness.

First, for the *inadequacy* of the 'preventive check,' that crowning invention of the Malthusian theory, which is ascertained to be 'the *only* source of an essential and permanent improvement in the condition of the great mass of the labouring class,'\* the only bulwark which can protect them against the hot pursuit of vice and misery in their most hideous forms, plague, famine, and mutual murder—what are Mr. Malthus's own expectations of its success, as given in the correspondence just published between himself and Mr. Senior? Why, that—

'As a voluntary retardation of their own increase on the part of the mass of the people cannot be effected without restraint and self-denial, to which there is certainly a much less tendency than to marriage,'

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\* Correspondence with Mr. Senior, p. 86.

(can there be *any tendency* to restraint and self-denial?) 'the practical result is such as might be expected, namely, that although this restraint and self-denial may prevent more misery and vice at one period than at another; though they are often more efficient in civilized and populous countries than in ignorant and thinly-peopled countries; and though we may hope that they will become still more efficient as knowledge advances, yet, as far as we can judge from history, there never has been a period of any considerable length, when premature mortality and vice, specifically arising from the pressure of population against food, has not prevailed to a considerable extent; nor, admitting the possibility, or even the probability, of those evils being diminished, is there any rational prospect of a near approach to their entire removal.'

So that, after all the praises which have been bestowed upon it, we have 'the preventive check' acknowledged by Mr. Malthus himself to be practically little, if at all, less than nugatory. We agree fully with Mr. Malthus in the sentence he thus pronounces on its miserable insufficiency; and we are only surprised that his conviction of this did not lead him to discharge it from service altogether, and to look out for some more promising mode of effecting the desirable object of lessening the pressure of population upon food.

But, secondly, let us conceive 'the preventive check' of moral restraint to be in truth all that its most ardent supporters could wish it. Let us imagine, that by placing a Malthus in every pulpit in the land, to inculcate lessons of prudential abstinence from marriage, and educate the lower orders in the belief that 'their happiness or misery is in their own power,' according as they adopt or neglect this means of keeping their numbers within the demand for their labour—and that these efforts were successful in overcoming nature, and trimming and squaring the population according to rule—what would humanity gain by this, or rather what would she not lose? Where would then be the stimulus which should drive man to people the wide wastes of the earth—to spread industry, civilization, and happiness, over the whole face of the habitable globe? Granting the possibility (though we know it to be impossible) of preserving a nice balance of population and food within the territorial limit, which, like a necromantic spell, is to prevent the overflow of life into other spaces, where all the elements of its enjoyment are wasting themselves in the silence of the desert—to what purpose this restriction? And why is there to be any self-imposed check on the increase of the numbers of happy human beings?

The Malthusians are ready with an answer to this too—but let us pause and admire their succession of shifts!—They first declare for an absolute physical necessity of the constant struggle of mankind

kind against the want of food. Driven from this post by fact and argument, they aver that this struggle is only to be obviated by the efforts of prudence in limiting the number of feeders to the supply of food. When they are met here again, and forced to own that it would be as easy, to say the least of it, to increase the supply of food as to stop the increase of feeders, they tell us, ‘Oh, but that increased supply can only go on for a *limited time*,—*only till the whole world is fully peopled, and cultivated like a garden, and when that time arrives* the pressure of population on subsistence can no longer be averted by increasing the supply of food.’ The answer is obvious. *When that time arrives*, of when we have made something like an approach to it, it may be prudent to take precautions for checking the increase of feeders; but at *this* early period, when not one-hundredth part of the cultivable soils of the globe are probably yet under tillage, and not one-hundredth part of that quantity tilled in a scientific manner, according only to our present knowledge of the art of culture—to attempt *now* to check the increase of population, that is of human happiness, and of the number of candidates for immortality!—and this, lest the forebodings of a fallible reasoner should be eventually realized—lest, at the end of centuries, subsistence should run short for mankind, and Eternal Wisdom be at last found wanting in means for rescuing the then existing myriads of human beings from misery—for a cabinet philosopher thus to hold his farthing candle to the sun—to take it upon himself thus to improve on the scheme of Providence, by thwarting the increase which it was evidently intended should take place, and which is expressly commanded in the Scriptural exhortation, ‘*Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth,*’—this indeed amounts, in our eyes, to a degree of presumption, combined with folly, which we know not whether most to wonder at or condemn.

We need not be scared at the long array of figures which the anti-populationists marshal to affright us. Mr. Malthus considers the rate of human increase, under the most favourable circumstances, such as prevail in the United States, to amount to a doubling in twenty-five years. Mr. Sadler, however, reduces this estimate, after an elaborate examination of its grounds, to thirty-five years. Truth most probably lies between them. But, on the former supposition of a doubling every twenty-five years, Mr. Senior tells us—‘The inhabitants of every country would, in the course of five centuries, increase to above a million times their present number. At this rate the population of England would, in five hundred years, exceed twelve millions of millions,—a population which would approach the proportion of a family to every square inch of ground.’\*

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\* Lectures on Population, p. 9.

This prospect of millions upon millions at the end of five centuries is appalling, no doubt, to those who allow their imaginations to be run away with by a trick of arithmetic, about as rational as Dr. Franklin's idea of paying off the national debt by a farthing placed out at compound interest. But when we reflect that mankind have been nearly six thousand years in arriving at their present numbers, which is, in all probability, not a thousandth part of the population which the globe could support under our improved systems of agriculture; and that, though we may hope the progress of civilization will diminish the force of some of the worst 'positive checks'—war, pestilence, and famine, yet it is useless to expect that for ages to come these will be banished from among the great majority of nations—it does appear somewhat absurd to suppose there is any such risk of population taking a sudden start, and so soon reaching that ultimate barrier, as to make it prudent for us *now, hoc statu*, to begin to exert ourselves for placing artificial barriers in the way of its increase. What necessity is there for our looking forward to the end of five hundred years, for squaring our conduct at present so as to avoid the possible occurrence of a pressure at that distant period, or for checking the multiplication of human enjoyment in the year 1831, because it can be 'arithmetically and geometrically' demonstrated that, upon the imaginary hypothesis of all the nations of the globe starting off at a rate of increase equal to that of the most highly favoured country on the earth, North America, and continuing the same rate, unaffected by war, pestilence, or famine, for five centuries, the world will then, in the year 2331, be overpeopled?

The bountiful Author of Nature no doubt created this world in order that it might be inhabited by mankind; and this great object can only be accomplished in its fulness by the continued increase of the human race, and its gradual dispersion over different regions of the earth. Is it of no consequence whether the gift of nature be limited to a small, or extended to a great, number of inhabitants? The late Dr. Hamilton well says:—

'Although we should be of opinion that a time must come when the increase of population will be checked for want of subsistence, if other checks be not interposed, yet so long as there are the means of increasing the quantity of food to meet the additional demand of mankind for a very considerable number of years, without any diminution of comfort, there is no occasion to have recourse to contrivances for checking the progress of population. We see but little into what lies in the recesses of futurity, and should not adopt measures to impair present happiness, from the apprehension of remote consequences, which

which may never occur, being intercepted by other causes at present beyond our view.\*

When, instead of one part out of a hundred only of the cultivable soils of the globe being duly cultivated, it is only one out of the hundred that is *not* reduced to tillage, *then* will be the time for bringing 'the preventive check' into play. Then may Mr. Malthus's lectures and sermons against marriage be brought to the aid of a rational prospect of impending want. But to preach celibacy now to Harry and Jane, because, though there is room enough, and plenty, in the world for all the offspring they can have, there is a possibility of the failure of room for their descendants in the tenth or hundredth generation,—is a most useless waste of breath, if you tell them the truth, and an unwarrantable injury to them and theirs, if you persuade them into abstaining from the gratification of their innocent natural affections, by the *false* assertion that it is for *their* interest, remote or immediate, or that of their children, to obey your injunction.

In considering this question, it may be as well to recall the fact that agriculture itself, practically speaking, is but an invention belonging to a certain era in the history of the human race. Had man remained a mere hunter of wild beasts, like the savage tribes of America, the whole globe would probably not have afforded game enough to support the hundredth part of its present population. Had invention stopped at the pastoral art, as with the nomade tribes, the possible increase of mankind would have been limited, perhaps, to little more than their actual numbers; and as the discovery of agriculture, and its successive improvements up to the present day, have enlarged the powers of man for producing food from the earth to such an extent as will admit of his numbers being multiplied, perhaps, a thousand-fold before he reaches the *apparent* limit of possible subsistence, why may we not anticipate that, previous to that time, some future discoveries may spring from his inventive faculties, aided by those wonderful auxiliaries, the press, and the increasing means of communication, capable of removing the limit yet farther, and enlarging the existing powers of drawing subsistence from the soil in as great, if not an immeasurably greater degree, than they were successively enlarged by the previous inventions of domesticating animals and of agriculture? Why should we take it for granted that the limit will ever be reached? The means of procuring subsistence *have* hitherto enlarged themselves with the increase of population.

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\* Hamilton's *Progress of Society*. We shall take an early opportunity of noticing this valuable posthumous work.

Why are we to presume to determine that, under the eye of an all beneficent deity, they will not continue to do so?

But whether ingenious gentlemen, who amuse themselves by pursuing this subject as a mere abstract speculation, come to the opinion that there will, or will not, be a time when man must be called on to exercise his faculties of sagacity and foresight in the prudential limitation of his numbers, lest the earth should fail to supply them with a sufficiency of food,—surely none but a philosopher of Laputa would urge such an opinion as a motive for self-sacrifice *in the present day*, as a reason for enjoining mankind to deny themselves the greatest gratifications within the reach of the most numerous classes of society—those that spring from the exercise of the domestic affections, and, by much privation and self-denial, studiously to prevent that increase of the population of civilized nations which, under proper regulations, would enable them to discharge their excess upon other regions, and spread the blessings of industry, art, and science over those parts of the globe which they have not yet reached. The overflow of the population of civilized states is, in truth, the best and most perfect instrument in the hands of Providence for peopling the earth in the most desirable manner, and we are astonished that this view of the subject has not presented itself to the minds of the numerous writers who have treated the question of population. Mr. Malthus, for instance, should have been directly led into it, from the moment that he found it necessary to admit the existence of occasional exceptions to his once exclusive rule of ‘population pressing against food.’ These exceptions, it is clear, utterly overthrow the pretended necessity of checks, and open the prospect of preserving the balance of population and food, *not by retarding the increase of population, but by accelerating that of food.* When it was admitted that the inhabitants of some countries are wholly relieved from the pressure of want, and may increase, therefore, as quickly as nature will permit, unchecked by ‘vice, misery, or moral restraint,’ the question ought to have suggested itself,—What are the peculiar circumstances which produce so happy a result? and is it impossible to place other countries in similar circumstances?—for, if so, they likewise will be relieved from the real or anticipated pressure of population against food, and the ‘checks’ of every sort may be banished altogether from the face of the globe.

The countries particularly mentioned by Mr. Malthus embrace all those ‘*in which the knowledge of an old state is applied to the comparatively unoccupied lands of a new one*’;\* no inconsiderable

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\* Lectures on Population, p. 66.

portion of the civilized world, since it will comprehend the whole of the two continents of America, Australia, and our other colonial possessions. Why, then, even if it were admitted that the populations of old states are necessarily subjected to the opposite fate of numbers increasing faster than food, and obliged to undergo the tyranny of 'the checks,' here is one resource, at least, open to them for escaping that fate. So long as such a vast extent of the habitable globe is untenanted, they may remove themselves to the unoccupied wastes, and, exchanging the position of inhabitants of an *old* for that of denizens of a *new* state, enter into that happy condition, admitted even by Mr. Malthus, where neither want, nor the anticipation of it, checks the enjoyment of life and of its domestic affections.

But it is not necessary for this end that the whole population of the old states should migrate to the new. The migration of a fractional portion of their numbers,—of that small annual excess by which the increase of population outstrips that of food,—will so far reduce the redundancy, as to leave the remainder also in the happy position of the inhabitants of the new states. There can be no good reason given why the migration should stop till it arrives at the desirable point of relieving the pressure of population against food in the old state; or why it should not be systematically and permanently carried on in every old country under such circumstances, so as to establish and maintain a constant and wholesome balance of numbers and food. In the new states, the balance will always be in favour of the increase of food beyond the wants of the population; so that there will be a certainty of a sufficient supply prepared beforehand, under proper regulations, for the wants of the emigrants introduced from the old states.

Let us, then, hope we shall hear no more of the lying necessity of 'checks, positive or prudential.' It is evident that, by a wisely-conducted scheme of emigration, the superfluous numbers may be safely and happily dratted off as fast as they appear, and the possibility of pressure from an over-crowded population wholly avoided. And once more we repeat our opinion given in a former number, that the furtherance of such a systematic removal of the excess of numbers, is as essential a branch of the duties of every government, as any other institution established for the common benefit, at the common expense. The neglect of this important duty, and it has been hitherto most grievously neglected in all old states, is *misgovernment*, and misgovernment of the worst kind; since its effects fall immediately, and with most severity, on the poor, the labouring classes, the bulk of the people, for whose especial protection from suffering, governments ought to consider themselves constituted.

But

But such is the delusion which the theory of the anti-populationists has spread,—such the wonderful success with which it has been propagated,—that, at the risk of being tedious, and of repeating arguments already perhaps more than sufficient for the purpose, we must continue our exposure of this portentous fallacy.

If we only look a little closely into the celebrated principle of population, and without allowing ourselves to be carried away by the false impression created by the abuse of terms, put it to the test of common sense in simple language, it will not need the ponderous hammer of Mr. Sadler to destroy it, but will be found to fall to pieces of its own accord. For what is the proposition when stripped of the mysticism in which pedantry and pseudo-science have shrouded it? ‘That the population of certain countries increases as fast, and tends to increase faster than it can be supplied with food.’ Now had Mr. Malthus (who, by the bye, has himself published a volume on the abuse of terms in political economy, and the necessity of clear definitions preceding their use),—had he but attempted to define, or form a clear conception of the meaning of the word ‘country,’ in this phrase—had he examined into the idea of *locality*, as included in his ‘Principle,’ he would have seen the whole fabric of his system crumble at once into ruin. ‘Take any definite area,—people it with human beings till they require for their consumption all the means of subsistence *procurable within its limits*—and, unless the inventions for augmenting these means increase in as fast a ratio as Nature has allowed to the multiplication of man, under the most favourable circumstances,—why the population *will* be kept down by a deficiency, real or anticipated, of the means of subsistence;—and Mr. Malthus’s notion of the necessary condition of human existence will, *then* and there, be realized;—the checks must be brought into play, positive or preventive;—vice and misery, or the prudential anticipations of the disagreeable consequences of a large family, ‘in the last resort,’ must, as Mr. Senior says, be the agents in limiting the increase of mankind within that definite area.

But—and well may we wonder that it is reserved to us to put the question—for what conceivable reason are we to circumscribe the population or resources of any given body of mankind within a fixed area? Why may we not allow them in theory, or presume that they will be inclined in practice, either to spread more widely over the earth’s surface, or, at least, draw their food from a wider range, as they increase in numbers, and so soon as the area from which they are from time to time supported becomes inadequate to maintain them? It does seem to us, that had this simple idea entered into the heads of the various anti-population writers,

the scales would have dropped from their eyes, and they would no more have perplexed themselves and their readers with their lucubrations on the means of maintaining the balance between food and numbers, than Columbus's learned friends would have continued to make vain efforts at balancing the egg on its point, had they hit upon the simple expedient of knocking it in upon the table. This then is the radical error of the theory which goes by the name of Mr. Malthus. The unhappy misdirection in which he has all along proceeded, in search of what really lay under his nose, is owing to the unaccountable oversight made by him in the outset of his work, when he assumes that 'Man is necessarily confined in room ;'\* and goes on, throughout the whole Essay, applying all the conclusions which he draws from consideration of the possible increase of numbers, in a *necessarily limited* territory (a purely hypothetical case), to the increase of the numbers of existing populations which never have yet, nor, for aught we know, ever can be limited by any physical impossibility of enlarging the area whence they can obtain supplies of food. Building on this false assumption, Mr. Malthus's deductions are no more applicable to the real conditions of human societies, no more *true*, than are the mathematician's theorems on the velocity of projectiles, when he assumes the absence of a resisting medium.

In a work, consisting of two or three thick octavo volumes, upon the circumstances which determine the condition of the population of different countries, it would be impossible that not one word should be said on the subject of emigration ; but it is certainly surprising, that it should have been hastily passed over in a short chapter of twelve or thirteen pages. Since the creation of the first pair, or the exodus from the ark, the world has unquestionably been peopled, to whatever extent population has reached, by emigration ; therefore, in an elaborate work on population, it might have been expected, that the process by which population *has* extended itself would have been considered in detail. But as Mr. Malthus began his speculations on the assumption of a limited extent of territory to an increasing number, so he has continued them, without ever overstepping the imaginary circle, within which he unnecessarily restricted his argument, and which, as it has no existence *de facto*, vitiates the utility and real bearing on the condition and prospects of mankind of all his conclusions and inferences.

It is a pity he overlooked the consideration, that if Noah and his family had never emigrated from the ark, that limited territory would soon have been over-peopled ; the system of checks would have come into play ; and as Noah's wisdom would doubtless

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\* Essay on Population, Book I., Chap. i., p. 7.

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(according to his view of the subject) have inculcated the prudential one, mankind might have continued, up to this day, exhibiting a perfect example of the Malthusian policy, restricted in numbers to a single family, and in subsistence, to what could be grown on the decks of a large boat.

But let us see how our author, when once he is led to look at the subject of emigration, contrives to avoid discovering that it offers the clue to the enigma he has been laboriously framing—the simple and obvious resource at the disposal of mankind, for the relief of a population bordering on the limits of subsistence. He first dwells on the hardships to which infant colonies are frequently subject. Doubtless, they are so; but it is for want of the old state taking the preparatory measures which prudence would suggest for the gradual and systematic colonization of the new. Emigration has hitherto been pursued, on the pressure of the moment, by fits and starts, and by individual and ill-planned efforts. The difficulties which have attended *such* emigrations are no argument against the establishment of a cautious and well-regulated scheme. He next admits, that ‘when new colonies have been once established, the difficulty of emigration is indeed very considerably diminished,’ and that the process would be still more facilitated by its being taken up as a branch of the duties of government. But after touching on the ‘anxiety and uncertainty which must attend all distant emigrations’ (but which a permanent and well-conducted system would wholly remove) and the pain of breaking the natural ties of kindred and country (as if this was to be weighed in the scale against starvation, or *non-existence* anywhere, *which* is his substitute), he returns to the standard argument, already exposed, of the inadequacy of emigration—of its being but a *temporary* expedient. In short, that though there may be room on the globe for a thousand times its present population, there is not, as *he* thinks, room for a million times that number; and *therefore* we had better pinch our appetites, and restrict our most innocent and virtuous gratifications, in order to remain where we are, at the proportion of one to a thousand of the number of happy beings whom the earth would maintain, if we were not to take pains to prevent it.

It is clear this sapient argument, drawn from the limited extent of the earth, as affording a prospect of some future indefinite limitation to the increase of mankind, if good to prevent our continuing to increase as far as we safely may, would be equally good to prevent our doing any one thing which we could not expect to do for ever. Thus, life will sooner or later have an end, and therefore, by this rule, we should not attempt to prolong it. Our food will be digested and pass away; why then partake of it? Man

can never be made perfect; how absurd, therefore, every attempt at his improvement! Happiness, like population, has an ultimate limit; let us then be content with misery! A fiftieth edition of the 'Essay on Population' will never be called for—then why should a sensible author trouble himself about bringing out a fifth?

The question of 'superfecundity' once freed from the unnecessary and false assumption of a limited space, becomes a simple question as to whether population ever can or does increase in a faster ratio than food can be produced for its support, by any means, including either the removal of the redundancy to other countries, or the introduction from other countries of the necessary food. And, viewed in this light, we think there could hardly have been two opinions upon it. For should the soil of a country, occupied by any given population, be unable to support additional numbers, and the means of importing additional food in exchange for the other products of the soil and of their labour be equally wanting, at least there remains the resource of transplanting the excess to some of the rich virgin soils which abound in the unpeopled deserts of the globe, where their labour is sure to procure them an abundance of the prime necessities of subsistence. Bearing in mind this resource, inexhaustible as it unquestionably is for an indefinite time, the pretended evil principle of the law of population disappears—the necessity of any checks, positive or preventive, vanishes;—and the rapid *tendency* of population to increase, with its occasional *local* pressure against the means of subsistence, instead of a source of misery, as it has been described, appears in its true light, as one of the most beneficent provisions of the Divine Author of all good, whereby man is urged, through the stimulus of necessity, both to invent improvements in the arts by which he can provide himself with increased food, and also to overspread the habitable globe, and avail himself of its inexhaustible resources, instead of confining his habitation to one limited spot, and his numbers to those which can be maintained on its spontaneous produce—a contrivance for peopling and civilizing the earth, which places the sum of human happiness in a continual course of progressive augmentation. *This* is the character and tendency of the much-abused law of population, as we interpret it. To call such a tendency an evil, and to attempt to counteract it, is to abuse and oppose the great principle, the *primum mobile* of animated nature, the rule that exertion shall be the condition of existence, the dread of privation the stimulus to improvement, and labour in some shape the *sine quâ non* of life.

Man, depending for life and enjoyment, in common with other animals, on a due supply of food—and gifted by Nature, far beyond them, with varied capacities, ingenuity, contrivance, and sagacity,  
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for obtaining that supply from the fertile and open field which Nature prodigally offers to his exertions—under these circumstances, and abstracting the effects of miscalculation, error, or the misdirection of his efforts by knavery or ignorance—man supplies himself with food up to the limit of his wants. If his numbers increase, so do his powers of production, in an equal, at least, if not in a much greater ratio. But those powers would not be called into existence or exercise, were it not for the impulse of *necessity*, that is, the near approach and imminent prospect of suffering from a deficiency of the means of subsistence. It is his own idleness, neglect, mismanagement, or misconduct—speaking of communities, not, of course, of individuals—that can alone occasion any real permanent deficiency of subsistence. *There* is the fertile soil—*there* the seeds and prolific animals which he has only to multiply at will by his labour directed by his sagacity. Circumstances tending to debase and brutify his nature may in some places lead him to prefer misery, filth, and sloth, to comfort and abundance procured through labour and foresight. But this is the morbid, not the healthy and natural, condition of man. Other circumstances, of the nature of a moral disease, such as ill-contrived institutions, or the tyranny of the powerful, may confine masses of society to limits within which they cannot, by their own exertions, escape poverty and want. But a wise government, bearing in mind that its first duty is to *prevent misery*, will always provide some contrivance, some *population safety-valve*, for permitting and regulating the easy and beneficial discharge of superfluous numbers, before their mutual pressure has been productive of mischief. If the increasing people, as a whole, possess the will and the desire, there is always at hand the rich field for the exercise of their labour and ingenuity; whence they may extract subsistence, not barely adequate to sustain their growing numbers, but twice, nay ten times as much, as those numbers can consume. Industry, and the desire to avoid suffering, and to rise in the scale of civilization, may, as in the instance of the Netherlands, so conquer the sterility of Nature, as to pour over a country where they long operate, a plenty and profusion wholly unknown in more favoured regions. So, on the other hand, the absence of the excitement of imminent want may retain the inhabitants of a country, pre-eminently rich and fertile, in a state of misery and degradation.\* Surely we have not now to learn that Necessity, that is, the dread of want, is the mother of Invention.

The attempt, therefore, to blunt the spur of that most valuable stimulant, and to keep down the natural increase of population by any artificial means whatever, is in our eyes a crime and a sin of the

‘all parish assistance should be most rigidly denied, and if the hand of private charity be stretched forth in his relief, the interests of humanity’ (!) imperiously require that it should be administered very sparingly.’

These are his words ;—it is evident, however, that a tenderness for the ‘prejudices’ of his readers, as to what ‘the interests of humanity require,’ has here led Mr. Malthus to desert his own principle, upon which the poor man ought not to be relieved at all, but put out of his misery as speedily as possible,—since to keep him alive is to cause the death of some one else. Nature, he says, sets us the example of what we should do. ‘She tells him to begone, and will quickly execute her own orders.’

‘He should be taught to know that the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, had doomed him and his family to starve, for disobeying their repeated admonitions ; that he had no claim of right on society to the smallest portion of food, beyond that which his labour would fairly purchase.’\*

Who can think the eloquent burst of indignation which this passage has called forth from Mr. Sadler too strongly worded ?

‘Such (he exclaims) are the practical deductions from the system of population now generally embraced—and they are worthy of it ; but to say that they have the sanction of God and Nature, is an insult upon both.

“Impostor ! do not charge most innocent Nature.”

The wretch, whom this theory has described as a moral criminal, is innocent in the sight of God, in whose presence he would have been, in all probability, guilty, if he had not done that which political economy imputes to him as “his inextinguishable” sin. He has been deprived of that right to subsistence which is as legal and as sacred as the one by which the proudest among us holds his estates, or the benevolent Monarch of the British Empire wears his crown. He may be incapacitated for labour by lingering disease, or sudden accident, or sickness,—he may be thrown out of his employment by those changes and fluctuations in its demand, over which he has no controul, and by which the wealthy alone are benefited ; but the moment he becomes in want he is to be robbed of his natural and legal right, branded as a criminal, insultingly pronounced to be deserving of starvation, and private benevolence is warned to assist him sparingly, if at all ; and if his life is preserved, (is life, thus circumstanced, worth preserving ?) he is to be overwhelmed with the deepest gratitude : in a word, as far as the once benevolent but abrogated institutions of his country are concerned, he must, like another Ugolino, be left to starve in his cottage, surrounded by the clamorous objects of his affection, whom it would have been more humane in the country to have at once despatched, than thus to have deserted. And

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\* Essay on Population, p. 539, 4to. edition.

such must be the condition of all the poor when it may please their employers to dispense with their labours, or the political economists to pronounce them redundant. The recommendation, it may be assuredly asserted, has no parallel in moral literature, sacred or profane. It springs from a system false in itself, and the consequences of which neither God nor man would endure; it is sufficiently repulsive and disgusting to contemplate such a state of things, even in imagination,—the reality would be horrible!

In this determined opposition to the poor-laws, which, for the last thirty years, he and all his numerous disciples have taken every opportunity of urging the legislature to repeal, Mr. Malthus was no more original than in any other part of his work, having taken it, with the theory from which it flows, out of Mr. Townsend's previous publication. But we have no room to dwell on such points; they are abundantly, and more than abundantly, exposed by Mr. Sadler.

Another equally injurious effect of the Malthusian doctrine has been its success in withdrawing the attention of governments, and of the friends of humanity, from the only real methods by which the condition of the lower classes can be improved. Had the true principle which determines the condition of the great mass of mankind, namely, the supply of the primary necessities of subsistence, been correctly investigated and pursued to its consequences, some years back, in place of the Malthusian philosophy;—had the great truth been acknowledged, which it is wonderful that any writer on population should have overlooked, that redundancy can only, in the present state of the world, be *local*, not *general*—the consequence of imperfect social arrangements, not of any law of Nature;—we should not be *now* suffering, as we are, from a local derangement of the balance of food and numbers, which that philosophy has done its best to perpetuate by declaring it to be necessarily perpetual. How much of obscurity has not this false doctrine introduced into those endless discussions on the poor-laws and the condition of the working classes, which have for years past been carried on—from this cause alone, as we believe—without any practical result! How easy would it have been, at the close of the late war, to have anticipated the mutual pressure of our working population, whose numbers were augmented by the disbanding of the army and navy, at the same time that the reduction of the national expenditure greatly lessened the demand for their labour! How easy, by means of a simple, permanent, and well-regulated system for removing whatever redundancy manifested itself into our fertile colonies, to have obviated all the evil that has, during many years of severe trial, resulted from that unmitigated pressure!

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It is, however, fruitless to look back to what might have been done, or what avoided. Be it our aim to show what steps can and ought to be taken still.

But, first, we must dispose of Mr. Sadler, the protagonist in the population controversy of the present day, the author of two very bulky volumes on this subject, containing a number of valuable statistical tables, many of them original calculations, and the remainder apparently collected with much care and trouble. Of the book itself we cannot say the same. (Gifted, as the author is known to be, with great fluency and oratorical powers, we cannot but believe the body of his work to have been taken down in short-hand from his rapid dictation, and published without the ceremony of revision. Some such supposition is necessary to account for the deficiency of arrangement, condensation, and good taste, throughout the book, which, though containing many fervid and eloquent passages, full of force, feeling, and truth, is disfigured by endless repetitions, much vague and frothy declamation, tiresome reiterated railings against Mr. Malthus, and no small degree of assumption on the author's own part of exclusive piety and benevolence, of an infallibility approaching to inspiration, and of the character of sole vindicator and interpreter of the designs of Almighty Providence.

We regret to be obliged to make such remarks on a writer whose very errors spring from a noble source—the over-zealous warmth of his benevolence. But Mr. Sadler should have made the same allowance for good intentions to his antagonist, Mr. Malthus, of which he stands in such need himself. The former had, doubtless, in his researches, the same end in view with Mr. Sadler, the discovery, namely, of truth, and of the means of diminishing vice and misery, and of increasing happiness and virtue. If he was mistaken in his mode of treating the subject; if his views were, as is but too true, fraught with danger and mischief to the welfare of mankind, yet, surely, some personal respect was due to so eminent an author; and though it is well to express an abhorrence of his doctrines, it is unfair to refuse him the credit of the purest motives. Least of all should Mr. Sadler be the person to treat errors on this subject with harshness; for, as we shall proceed to show, he has by no means escaped them himself; but, while avoiding the Malthusian Charybdis, has foundered on a Scylla of his own,—has put forth, in short, a theory to the full as unfounded in fact, as false in argument, as injurious in its practical consequences, and as unworthy of the Divine Benevolence, as that upon which he pours forth, not unjustly, but somewhat too contemptuously, the vials of his wrath.

Of Mr. Sadler's two volumes, (a third is promised, but not yet published,)

published,) the first, and a large proportion of the second, consist of a refutation of the arguments of Mr. Malthus, in the greater part of which, as will be seen from what precedes, we go along with the author. We do not, however, think the subject well treated. Besides the verbosity of the style, there is a want of distinctness in the steps of the reasoning; and many of the principal objections to which Mr. Malthus lays himself open are omitted altogether. The best chapters in the work are those which contain the refutation of Mr. Malthus's erroneous statements on the extraordinary increase of population in North America, and its excessive redundancy in China. But the battle is, on the whole, fought too much in detail for effect, and is protracted till it becomes tiresome to the spectators. Mr. Sadler, too, knocks down Mr. Malthus so many times, exclaiming at every blow that he has demolished him for ever, and then continuing the attack with unremitting vehemence, that, in the end, we begin to suspect an antagonist who requires so much 'milling' must, after all, be a more formidable one than his assailant would have us believe. The truth is, though he sees instinctively that Mr. Malthus must be wrong, and though he detects him in a great many individual errors, yet he fails in grasping the one radical fallacy which vitiates the whole of Mr. Malthus's theory of population; and this for a very good reason, namely, that he, Mr. Sadler, as we shall shortly see, shares it himself, and makes it the foundation of a rival superstructure of his own.

This gentleman, having concluded, in the first three books of the work, his argument against the Malthusian theory, proceeds, in the fourth, to construct another upon its ruins, remarkable certainly for its originality, and which he considers himself to have established 'beyond the reach of doubt or contradiction, by a series of proofs amounting to demonstration.' And it must be acknowledged in the outset that Mr. Sadler is at least not wanting in performing his duties to himself as his own trumpeter. The flourishes of all kinds with which his new 'principle' is ushered in exceed, indeed, all we ever heard beyond the precincts of Bartholomew fair. His book is entitled, 'The Law of Population; his motto is

'That to the height of this great argument,  
I may assert Eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to Man;'

and after exulting in the triumphant overthrow of the rival 'principle,' he continues in no slight tone of confidence thus:—

'It now remains that the true law of population, a law of a directly contrary kind, both as to its nature and effects, and which it is the main purpose of this work to establish, should be unfolded, and the

the proofs on which it rests submitted to particular and direct consideration. And this is the more necessary as, being a principle perfectly distinct from the various suppositions which have been hitherto advanced on the subject, and substantiated, it is hoped, in a dissimilar manner, it will undoubtedly have to encounter that distrust and opposition with which, happily for the cause of truth, all original propositions are invariably received.\*

After two more chapters given up to 'anticipatory computations and reflections,' supposed to be necessary for introducing the main proposition with becoming dignity, we at length arrive at the grand axiom which is for ever to settle the opinions of mankind upon the principle that regulates their increase.

'No one fact relative to the human species is more clearly ascertained, whether by general observation or actual proof, than that their fecundity varies in different communities and countries. The principle which effects this variation, without the necessity of those cruel and unnatural expedients so often adverted to, constitutes what I presume to call *THE LAW OF POPULATION*, and that law may be thus briefly enunciated:

'*THE PROLIFICNESS OF HUMAN BEINGS, OTHERWISE SIMILARLY CIRCUMSTANCED, VARIES INVERSELY AS THEIR NUMBERS.*'

And here we must advert to the remarkable alteration which Mr. Sadler has thought fit to make in his *Law of Population* since he first announced it, as the marrow of his forthcoming *magnum opus*, in the appendix to his excellent practical book upon Ireland. It is there set forth in these terms, 'The fecundity of human beings varies inversely as their numbers on a given space.' There was then no mention whatever made of 'other circumstances' besides space, as having any influence on fecundity. On the contrary all other circumstances were, by the terms of the proposition, negatively excluded. But this novel and startling dictum naturally called forth many objectors; and Mr. Sadler, in the interval between the announcement of his 'principle' and the publication of the work in which it was to be proved, seems to have found it prudent to alter it by the admission of 'other circumstances' as influencing fecundity besides 'space.' We are afraid that this afterthought came somewhat too late, and that, like the Abbé Vertot's *Siege of Venice*, Mr. Sadler's book was written before the discovery was made which would otherwise have materially altered its complexion. For is it possible to conceive two propositions more completely dissimilar and contradictory than the two distinct *Laws of Population* at different times enunciated by Mr. Sadler—each as the one great, true, and newly discovered principle, which is to vindicate Divine Providence, and for

\* Book iv. chap. 1.

ever settle the question of human increase? The first declared the area or space occupied by any given population, that is, its greater or less condensation, to be the sole governing principle of its increase. The latter admits, in addition to area, all the various circumstances by which it is possible to conceive fecundity affected; such as the endless variations of climate, high or low level, drainage, soil, abundance or nature of food, fuel, clothing, and shelter, disposition and character of the people, nature of their employments, of their government, institutions, manners, and customs,—circumstances, all of which may be expected to bear more or less directly upon the habits and health, and consequently on the prolificness of the population.

Why then, it is evident that Mr. Sadler has deserted his own great 'principle,' in the interval between the first announcement of its discovery and the publication of his book; just as Mr. Malthus found himself obliged, in the second edition of his celebrated Essay, to introduce an amendment that entirely overthrew all the conclusions of his first. We say, without fear of contradiction, that Mr. Sadler's book was written in support of his 'principle,' as first announced, of that principle which has been since withdrawn—and for this very convincing reason, that, throughout all his tables, and the arguments built upon them, with the exception of one or two passages which have all the appearance of interpolations, the density of the population, and that alone, is referred to and compared with the fecundity or number of births to a marriage. No mention is made of any of the 'other circumstances' which are now allowed to influence fecundity. So that it was only when Mr. Sadler, as he, indeed, says himself, 'was disappointed in finding that his general law of nature, as regulated by space only, failed, when applied to equal populations and areas in mountainous as compared with champaign countries, and in frigid as compared with temperate regions,' and that, therefore, 'Room was not the sole governing principle,'—it was only after this disappointing discovery, that he found himself obliged to throw overboard this his great principle, as originally enounced, and admit the influence of other circumstances besides space. These, to be sure, he says, 'though they may seem to divest the argument of somewhat of its mathematical precision, yet, when duly considered, they add to it a moral demonstration of incalculable weight, in proving that the prolificness of human beings is regulated by the space they occupy, with a further reference to its potential produce, or, in other words, to the means of their subsistence.'\*

It is difficult to comprehend how facts which prove space not to be the determining principle of human increase, but something

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\* p. 355.

else, should thereby ‘morally demonstrate’ the argument which declares that space is the determining principle. We do not envy the sensations of Mr. Sadler when writing this passage. He must have felt his ‘great principle’ slipping from under him, and must have had strange misgivings that the whole immortal fabric built upon it was not worth five minutes purchase, and was likely to fall quickly about his ears if he did not get out of its way. If he finds out at last that the prolificness of human beings is ‘regulated by the potential produce of the space they occupy, in other words, by the means of their subsistence,’ he is not far from the discovery that it is *not* regulated by space *as space*. The ‘potential produce,’ to use our author’s somewhat affected term, of one acre near London, is greater than that of one hundred acres on Dartmoor; and, therefore, by his own corrected theory, the fecundity of human beings on the acre near London may be just as great as on a hundred acres in Devonshire. What then becomes of the mysterious connexion of space *per se* and fecundity, which is the essence of Mr. Sadler’s principle, the only part of it to which he can lay claim? He has clearly renounced it in this passage altogether; or, at least, he allows it to be subject to such enormous derangement from the influence of ‘other causes,’ and particularly of the means of subsistence, that all possibility of drawing any conclusions as to the law of human increase, from a mere comparison of the numbers on a given space, and their prolificness, without any reference to the fertility of that space, its climate, the means of subsistence at the disposal of its inhabitants, or the other various, almost endless, circumstances of admitted influence, must utterly fail. If one class of circumstances alone, namely, variety of soil, may amount to a difference in the causes of fecundity equalling the ratio of one to one hundred, is it possible to draw any general conclusions as to those causes from fractional differences in the registered fecundity of France and England, or of one English county and another, without having any information on the ‘other circumstances’ which may occasion these differences, besides the comparative density of the population? We put it to Mr. Sadler himself, whether this admission of other circumstances besides space, as determining fecundity, does not completely overthrow the theory he has founded on tables which contain no ‘other’ points of comparison whatever but those of space and fecundity!

How, for instance, upon this *new* principle, is any just inference to be drawn from a comparison of the number of births on a square mile in Turkey, Holland, or Switzerland, in the absence of all details as to the comparative advantages of either country in climate, soil, minerals, habits, &c.? And where do we find in

Mr.

Mr. Sadler's tables any allowance for variations in this respect, or any notice whatever taken of them? It is rather too bad that he should compile tables of population and area as compared with fecundity, and of these elements alone, and build upon their minutest results a new and extraordinary theory, which he declares is to 'vindicate the ways of God to man;' and then, upon being shown that his own tables, when examined according to any other process of arrangement than that he has chosen to adopt, tell as often against as in favour of his theory—it is rather too bad that he should, at the eleventh hour, turn round upon his own tables, and say, 'Oh, but it is not by a comparison of population and area alone that the question is to be argued, but you must take into consideration also all the other collateral circumstances which may affect fecundity.' We ask, where, throughout all his work, has he taken these circumstances into consideration, except in those cases where the facts could not be made to fit his theory without their assistance? And if such 'other circumstances' are to be presumed to account for all the deviations from that theory, why should they not be equally admitted to explain the apparent coincidences with it? For our part, now that these collateral circumstances are brought into the field as accessories, we are inclined to regard them as the real principals; and instead of supposing *area* to be the main determining cause of the prolificness of a population, and the circumstances of soil, climate, natural and artificial resources, moral and physical capacity, &c. to be mere collateral influences hardly worth taking into account, unless for the purpose of explaining away awkward exceptions to the grand rule, we are content to throw *area* entirely overboard, and to take the string of 'collateral circumstances' to be the true and only causes of the variations in fecundity of the inhabitants of different districts. And in this 'theory of our own' we have one advantage over Mr. Sadler, which he may underrate, but which we are not at all ashamed of—namely, that the circumstances in question are intelligible causes, palpably fitted for producing the effect ascribed to them; whereas, his notion of *area per se*, either alone, or in part, determining fecundity or the rate of increase of a population, is utterly inexplicable on any plain principle of common sense, supposes a miraculous interference of Providence, uncalled for, removed from all analogy, and savouring of a relationship to that mysterious and apocryphal process by which sunbeams are said to be manufactured out of cucumbers.

We have heard of a difficult senate-house problem, 'Given the length of the vessel, and the number of her crew, to find the captain's name?' This, however puzzling to freshmen, would be easy work for Mr. Sadler's mathematical skill; accustomed as he is to problems

problems of equal knottiness, such as ‘ Given the population and area of the parish in which John Stiles lives, to find when Betty, his wife, may be expected to leave off breeding ? ’

Is there any known analogy in nature to this hypothetical principle ? Has any similar law ever been supposed to prevail in the animal or vegetable world ? The fecundity of a large flock of sheep is not, as far as we have ever heard, less than that of a small one. Is an apple-tree, standing singly, more fruitful than one in a well-planted orchard ? We all know that both animals and vegetables, when so closely crowded as to rob one another of sustenance, or injure the air for purposes of respiration, must check their mutual growth and health, and consequently their prolificness. But this is no novel discovery. Mr. Malthus, and all who have ever written on population, not only admit, but argue upon the well known fact, that the population of towns and cities, crowded beyond a certain point, is less healthy, and consequently less prolific, than that of rural districts. But Mr. Sadler scorns these old-fashioned modes of accounting for the greater number of births in the country than in crowded towns. All that we can see of novel in his doctrine (and he triumphs in its novelty as an *eureka* which can only find a parallel in Newton’s discovery of gravitation), are, the reference to *mere space* as determining fecundity abstractedly from all secondary causes, and the resorting to a primary fiat, a direct interposition of the Deity, with a view to proportion population to the means of subsistence. In the attempt to establish these, the only theories to which he can lay claim, and which contradict each other, he fails, we think, entirely.

But this brings us to inquire of Mr. Sadler what relation he really conceives to exist between area and the means of subsistence ; and whether it is *area*, after all, or the means of procuring subsistence, that we are seriously to take as the last edition of the new law of population ? If the latter, it differs in no respect that we can see from Mr. Malthus’s proposition that the increase of population is limited by that of food, unless by substituting the hypothesis of a direct regulating interference of almighty Providence, for the ‘ checks ’ of a palpable and visible nature which Mr. Malthus had traced out. If the former is Mr. Sadler’s last decision, then we ask for his proofs ; and if he points to his tables, we proceed to show him that they tell against his theory quite as much as in favour of it.

The proposition is, that the fecundity of human beings varies inversely with their numbers on an equal space. If Mr. Sadler had begun by defining the sense in which he meant to use the words fecundity and space, we think it may be easily proved he would never have written his book.

First,

First, what does he understand by fecundity? If he means the power of increase of any given population by procreation, it can be ascertained only by comparing the excess of births over deaths, in a given period, to the mean population of that period. But this Mr. Sadler has not done in any of his tables; and if we do it ourselves, we find the result contradicts, instead of supporting, his theory. \*Or, does he mean by fecundity the average fruitfulness of each female? Because, if so, this is not to be ascertained by comparing the births with the *marriages*, since the habits and morals of the country may render marriage more or less dispensed with as a preliminary to fruitfulness—but, by comparing the births with the population, half of which, or nearly so, are, of course, females. This also Mr. Sadler has neglected to do; and had he done it, we should have been spared his theory, and his triumphant exultations over its mathematical proofs. Or, finally, does Mr. Sadler mean by fecundity the actual rate of increase of a population by any or all causes combined? For this, after all, is the real question bearing on the redundancy of numbers. But, if so, it is to be ascertained from the registered increase of numbers at equidistant periods; and this is likewise what Mr. Sadler has avoided doing, as if he was aware of the fact that the results would be completely destructive of his theory. But, no: Mr. Sadler has, throughout his whole work, assumed that the prolificness of *marriages* is identical with the prolificness or fecundity (for he uses these words indifferently) of the *population*, and, moreover, the sole determining element of its rate of increase.

Now, in the first place, the fruitfulness of each marriage will not give that of the population, because there are the illegitimate births to be taken into the calculation. Were there no such births, the whole increase would take place by marriage, whilst, if a fourth or a third of the births are illegitimate, the ratio of the births to the marriages is proportionably altered. If the ratio of legitimate to illegitimate births were equal in every country, we might leave the latter out of our calculation, and the proportions of the results would remain the same. But is this the case? We are, unfortunately, in England, through the shameful deficiency of our registers, without the means of ascertaining the numbers of illegitimate births; but, in France, they are found to vary in the different departments from one in twenty-four to one in three of the whole number! And this variation, as we shall shortly show, accounts, 'without a miracle,' for the facts which Mr. Sadler has adduced as 'demonstrating' a special regulating interposition of the Almighty.

Secondly, the number of births to a marriage, even if we were

to suppose the proportion of illegitimates invariable, is perfectly fallacious as a test of the rate of increase of a population. Both the average duration, or what is called 'the expectation' of life, and the average age at which marriages take place, materially influence the rate of increase. The former Mr. Sadler allows, *in his text*, but he has made no allowance for it in his tables—those tables on which he nevertheless draws so authoritatively for proofs of his theory. As for the second influential cause, he denies that it operates at all on the rate of increase, and founds his opinion upon some tables of Dr. Granville, calculated on some 876 cases of parturition in some lying-in hospitals of London—after studying which, we are told, no man can doubt that 'the annual fecundity of marriages increases in proportion as the period at which they are contracted is postponed.' Now, in the first place, these tables are acknowledged to be imperfect, since they do not profess to give the whole number of births to the marriages they record, but only such as had taken place up to a particular period; and if we add to this imperfection, the smallness of the number of cases on which they are calculated, we think it would be premature to assume the remarkable law they seem to indicate to be proved. But, secondly, supposing it to be as completely demonstrated as Mr. Sadler would have it, because he thinks it suits his purpose, what is the law indicated? That, whether women marry early or late in life, they have about the same number of children in the long run. But would this, as Mr. Sadler takes for granted, prevent the rate at which population advances from being materially influenced by the average age of persons marrying? Quite the contrary. Suppose the prolificness of females of two countries to be equal, but that in the one they begin to breed at fifteen, in the other at thirty years. Is it not clear that the movement of the one population would, *cæteris paribus*, be just twice as fast as that of the other? If the one doubled itself in fifty years, the other would double itself in twenty-five. The number of births to a marriage is but the multiplier, the interval between each successive generation, supposing the expectation of life fixed, is the multiplicand, whose product gives the rate of advance of the population. But Mr. Sadler, wholly omitting this essential element likewise from his calculations, pretends to draw from them infallible 'mathematical' proofs of a wonderful theory got up to account for facts which, properly examined into, are found to have no existence.

We will not repeat the evidence already abundantly given in publications which are in every body's hands, of the complete refutation which Mr. Sadler's tables afford to Mr. Sadler's theory, and that the *primâ facie* support they give to it is the consequence

sequence of their peculiar arrangement. We will even suppose them to be fairly and impartially classified, and the results to be that regularly descending series of numbers which our author produces with such an air of triumph. We ask, even with this concession, what do they prove? Not Mr. Sadler's theory, as surely—not that population increases slower as it becomes more condensed—not that it exhibits a natural and mysterious tendency to do so, by a diminishing fruitfulness of the females,—but only that the number of births in proportion to the number of marriages diminishes in the ratio of condensation of the population, or *vice versâ*, that the number of marriages increases in proportion to the births. But what, if it were proved, has the greater or less disuse of marriage to do with the rate of increase of the population? We must evidently look for this to the number of births as compared to the population, not to the marriages; and if we do so, what is the result?

In the English counties (Table LXII. of Mr. Sadler) we find the proportion of births to population actually *greater* in the three most peopled counties, Surrey, Lancashire, and Middlesex, including the metropolis, where there are from five hundred to four thousand one hundred and fifty persons on every square mile, than in the two least populous counties at the opposite extremity of Mr. Sadler's list, Westmoreland, and the West Riding of York, where there are but seventy-nine persons on the same space. But we will give Mr. Sadler's own divisions of the English counties, and the proportion of births in each.

In the 11 counties, containing under 150 on the square mile,			
	the proportion of births to numbers is	1	to 33
16	from 150 to 200	it is	1 — 32
4	200 — 250		1 — 33
5	250 — 300		1 — 31
3	300 — 350		1 — 31
3	500 — 4150		1 — 32

Can anything more clearly show, that the condensation of a people, and the number of births amongst them, bear no definite ratio to each other? Let us try another table.

In the divisions of Mr. Sadler's seventy-eighth table, of the population of the different towns in England, the proportion of births to the population is found uniformly to *increase*, instead of diminishing, with the number of inhabitants, until the towns arrive at that degree of population which may naturally be expected to prejudice health, namely, those of one hundred thousand inhabitants and upwards. This table, therefore, as he has himself arranged it, goes to prove, as far as it proves anything, the precise converse of Mr. Sadler's inference from it, that the fecundity of large towns

is less than that of the small ; though that inference, if it had been established, instead of overthrown, by his table, would be clearly no advantage to the theory it is brought to support ; since there is no reason for attributing a greater condensation *on equal spaces* to the population of great cities as compared with that of small towns. Mr. Sadler is peculiarly unhappy both in his facts and his inferences from them. His facts will not bear out his inferences ; and his inferences, if correct, would overset, instead of supporting, his theory.

But let us look at his French table, which is collected from more accurate registers than ours, and from which he draws the most unanswerable demonstrations of his 'law.' Now it does so happen that this table of the population of France, taking it just as he has given it, affords us the means of accounting for whatever apparent corroboration it may at first sight afford to his theory. It contains a column giving the proportion of legitimate to the illegitimate births (by an error at the head of the column, miscalled the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate) ; from which we learn, that in every one of Mr. Sadler's divisions of the departments of France, the decreasing numbers of *legitimate* births to a marriage, as the population condenses, are compensated by the increasing numbers of births *not* preceded by the ceremony of marriage. To show this, we give his own summary of the facts, adding only the column of corresponding illegitimate births.

Hectares to each inhabitant.	No. of Departments.	Legitimate births to each marriage, from the Bull. Univ.	Proportion of illegitimate to legitimate omitting fractions.
4 to 5	2	497	1 to 23
3 — 4	3	439	1 — 20
2 — 3	30	424	1 — 19
1 — 2	44	420	1 — 19
under 1	5	415	1 — 12
and .06	1	263	1 — 2½

Now, is it not clear that, had Mr. Sadler compared the *total* number of births to the marriages, instead of selecting merely the *legitimate*, he would have obtained very different proportions ; and that the reason why the proportion of *legitimate* births to marriages is least in the more densely-peopled districts of France, is not that in these departments the fecundity of the population is less, but that the number of illegitimate births is greatest ? In the two departments at the head of Mr. Sadler's list, which, he thinks, are shown to be infinitely the most fruitful, because they have the greater number of legitimate births to every marriage, the cause of this appears, from his own tables, to be, that twenty-three children are there born in wedlock for one bastard. Whereas in the Seine, which, by the same proof, he argues to be comparatively barren,

it

it happens that the apparent paucity of births is owing to his having left out of his calculation the illegitimate, which amount to *nearly half the number* of legitimate, births.

But this is not all : there is another column in this same table of Mr. Sadler, which, though equally neglected by him, he must allow us to make use of, as affording far better data for ascertaining the real fecundity of the population of France than those to which he has confined his attention ; we mean the proportion of the total of births to the population. On looking down this column, we see at once that its contents bear no discoverable relation to the density of the population. Thus in the three departments where there are from three to four hectares to each inhabitant, the proportion of births to population varies from one in twenty-six to one in thirty-five. In the thirty departments, which have from two to three hectares to each soul, it is sometimes as high as one in twenty-five, sometimes as low as one in thirty-nine. In the forty-four departments, with one to two hectares to each person, the proportion ranges from one in twenty to one in forty ; and in the five, under one hectare to each, its variations are from one in twenty-five to one in thirty-seven. Whilst, if we take the average of Mr. Sadler's own masses, in the last five departments, the most thickly peopled in France (except Seine), the proportion of births to the population is actually *greater* than in the three least populous departments, except two, of that country.

Upon the production of his French tables, Mr. Sadler asks, 'Is there any possibility of gainsaying the conclusion these facts force on us, namely, that the fecundity of a population is regulated by its condensation, and inversely to it?' We ask, in return,—Can any facts more clearly show that the condensation of a population has nothing whatever to do with its fecundity ; and that Mr. Sadler is utterly incapable of making a correct use of his own tables, which totally contradict the extraordinary conclusions he avers that they 'demonstrate beyond the possibility of cavil'?

Lastly, if we look at the actual registered increase of the population, we shall see that neither is Mr. Sadler's principle at all supported in this view of it, by his tables. Thus, the registered increase of the population, in twenty years from 1800 to 1821, was,

In the county of Middlesex . . . . .	38 per cent. on the whole.
In Lancashire and Surrey . . . . .	52 per cent.
In Westmoreland, where, if the Sadlerian theory has any truth, it ought to be the greatest . . . . .	21 per cent.

But, as he will probably attribute this difference to the immigration of persons from the country into the towns and manufacturing districts,

districts, to which it is no doubt partly owing, we will look at the excess of births beyond the deaths in these counties, in order to acquire the rate of increase of the population *by procreation only*.

The proportion of the excess of births over deaths, in the ten years from 1810 to 1820, to the population of the last year, was,—

In Westmoreland . . . . . 11 per cent.

In Surrey and Lancashire very nearly as much, viz. • 10 per cent.

And in the three next most populous counties in the list,

namely, the West Riding of York, Warwick, and

Stafford, quite as much . . . . . 11 per cent.

We need not go on, as it is perfectly evident that the density of population does not influence its increase, as calculated in this manner, any more than by the proportion of births to the population.

Having, we trust, satisfactorily shown that Mr. Sadler has wholly misapplied the term ‘fecundity’ of population, and misconceived the elements of its increase, we proceed to inquire whether he has been more happy in the ideas he has attached to the term ‘space’ in his peculiar proposition. And in so doing we think it will be evident at once that he has in truth foundered on the self-same rock which shipwrecked the rival theory of his predecessor, Mr. Malthus,—the want of a clear understanding of the relations of area, or geographical surface, to population.

When Mr. Malthus asserts that the means of subsistence cannot be made to increase as fast as can population, he fancies some ideal limitation to the surface from which the increasing population draw their subsistence, and in the course of his argument forgets that, by overstepping this purely imaginary boundary, the means of subsistence may be made to increase with the population. Blindly adopting the same error, Mr. Sadler, in imagination, equally restricts the population he contemplates to a fixed area, and being unable, on this supposition, and that of an uniform fruitfulness, to deny that their numbers might increase faster than it would be possible to supply them with food from the limited space, (since they might increase till not even standing room was left,) he sees no other way of vindicating the benevolent intentions of God, but to invent a miraculous and anomalous law of nature, as he calls it, to counteract this apparent tendency to evil, by regulating the numbers on a limited territory, precisely in proportion to its capacity for maintaining them. And thus was the grand principle of population engendered in his ‘prolific’ brain.

Now, had Mr. Sadler but descended a very little from his heroics, and attempted to form anything like a definite idea of what he meant, or could be understood to mean, by *space* as connected with population, in his immortal axiom, he would probably

bably have avoided falling into an absurdity as deep as that which smothered the faculties of his great rival Malthus, and over the same identical stumbling block. The question of the possible maintenance of any extent of population always relates to the quantity of food available for the support of man, and to that alone. Food being present in sufficient abundance, the other necessities of life will not be long wanting; and with all the population writers, from Malthus to Sadler, it has never been viewed in any other light than as a question of food. The relation, therefore, of population to geographical area with regard to subsistence, solely refers to that portion of the earth's surface from which food is, or may be, obtained for the support of the population. It is no question as to the more or less close packing of human bodies in houses of thirteen stories, as in Edinburgh, or of one only, as in Timbuctoo,—it can make no difference in the proportions between the numbers of a population and their supply of food, whether they are condensed in a town containing ten thousand to every square mile, or dispersed over a thinly peopled district in the proportion of a square mile to every family. The question relates solely to the size of the population as compared with the soils whence they derive their supplies of food, and not even to the *extent* of these, but to their *productiveness*. Whether these soils are remote or close at hand,—whether the population is spread uniformly over their surface, or concentrated into towns,—whether even it is actually resident upon them, or resides on the other side of the globe, drawing thence its supplies of food by exchange of its labour in producing goods of other kinds—all these alternatives evidently exercise no influence on the question as to the means of subsistence at the disposal of a population. But how does this position correspond with Mr. Sadler's theory? And how are his laboriously calculated tables affected by it?

When he talks of fecundity varying inversely as the numbers on a given space, does he mean by space that geographical portion of the earth's surface on which the particular people he has in view *sleep*, or that on which they practise their daily avocations?—that within whose limits they are confined all the six working days, or that which embraces their hebdomadal excursions on the seventh?—that for which they pay local rates and taxes, or the wider range for whose government they pay the tax-gatherer and exciseman?—that which supplies them with wheat, barley, beef, and mutton, or that more extended area whence they derive tea, sugar, rice, and the plums for their puddings? In short, does he mean by area in relation to any individual, the spot of ground on which he stands, or the surface whence his supplies of food are drawn?

drawn? or any other medium between these two extremes? or, finally, what does he understand by that relation?

He has evidently lost himself by the same blunder which led Mr. Malthus into his fatal error,—the want of a clear idea on the relation of population to space, with a view to its sustentation; which can only consist in its capacity for procuring food, directly or indirectly, from such geographical area. Thus, with regard to the population of different districts, whether large, as England, France, Prussia, the United States,—or smaller, as the counties of England, or departments of France,—all equally brought forward in Mr. Sadler's tables, as the foundation of his argument, it is clear that the relations of their numbers, as ascertained with more or less accuracy from the national registers, to the territorial area on which they are domiciliated, have no conceivable bearing on the question as to the extent of population which a given space can maintain,—*unless* the inhabitants of each separate district are ascertained to be strictly supported on the food produced within that district, and on that alone, without addition or subtraction! A condition, we may assert, not applicable to any one district in all the multitudinous compartments of Mr. Sadler's tables. Failing this indispensable condition, all argument drawn from a comparison of area with population falls to the ground. What light, for instance, can be thrown on the relations of numbers to subsistence, by comparing the number of inhabitants on a square mile in Lancashire and Devonshire, Holland and Russia? If the inhabitants of the square mile of Lancashire or Holland happen to have ingenuity, skill, or natural resources, such as coal and iron mines, harbours, fisheries, &c. superior to those possessed by the inhabitants of other countries, they may continue to maintain an increasing population by exchanging the produce of their labour for food raised on extensive areas in Poland or Canada, until there is not room enough in the square mile left for them to work or rest;—while the inhabitants of a square mile in Devonshire or Russia, if it happen to be a barren moor without natural resources, may be unable to find the means of supporting a single family. Why, therefore, Providence is to be expected to quit the whole analogy of the works of nature, in order to establish a mysterious law by which the fecundity of the inhabitants of the thinly-peopled square mile should be made to exceed that of those of the thickly-peopled square mile, in the inverse proportion of their respective populations, is what, not being gifted with any supernatural lights on the subject, we must pronounce it impossible for a humble mortal to comprehend. It does appear, however, to our limited capacity, that were Providence to act in the way Mr. Sadler is condescending  
enough

enough to direct, the result would be anything but in harmony with the Divine benevolence or wisdom, and the precise reverse of what Mr. Sadler contemplates as desirable. The population in the thinly-peopled waste mile, increasing very rapidly, must be starved in great numbers, while its slow advance in the populous district would preclude a great possible increase of human happiness. Providence, in our view of the case, needs not such auxiliaries as Mr. Sadler's theory.

But we have still stronger reasons for denying this new hypothetical law of population to justify in any manner, or, indeed, to be at all compatible with, the Divine wisdom and benevolence. For surely it is only consistent with both to suppose it to be the intention of the creator of man, and the world on which he is placed, that he should increase and multiply and replenish that earth,—that the rich profusion of soil and climate, of vegetable and animal productions, poured over nearly the whole surface of the globe, was not meant to be for ever unenjoyed by that rational being whose wants they are so aptly contrived to meet. Now, Mr. Sadler's law, if true, would wholly prevent any migrations, the formation of colonies, or the gradual peopling of the earth. He considers it expressly intended to prevent the pressure of a redundant population, and to keep the numbers of the inhabitants of any territory always within the limits of the means of their subsistence. It is evident, that had this 'law of nature' been really in operation from the beginning of the history of mankind, the same consequences would have flowed from it as from the 'prudential check' of Mr. Malthus. Whatever territory was, in truth, the cradle of our infant species, the limits of that territory would have remained those of man's dominion over the earth. The pinching pressure of population against food would never have forced him to cross its craggy and bristling mountain-barriers, or tempt in frail bark the yet more perilous ocean. The balance of food and numbers being happily preserved by the mysterious adjustment of their fecundity to the resources of the limited space they occupied, the whole human race would have continued to this day dwelling in some 'happy valley,'—a realization of the domain of Rasselas—a sort of eternal Pitcairn's Island—the special object of the regard of Mr. Sadler's Lucina-like Providence—while the monkeys or the mastodons held undisputed sway over the remainder of the globe.

It is true, that there are passages in Mr. Sadler's chapter on ancient migrations\* from which it would seem, that a few glimpses of the truth had penetrated the caliginous mist in which an enthusiastic imagination has been able to wrap this excellent and eloquent man's perceptions. But these were either written

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\* Vol. i, p. 133.

before his grand 'discovery' had blinded him to everything that could oppose it, or they are only one of the inconsistencies which a false system cannot escape. At all events, they are forgotten and deserted as soon as penned. In conformity with the only inference which can be drawn on this subject from his supposed 'law,' Mr. Sadler expressly, and in the strongest terms, deprecates emigration in his work; and is well known to be its most virulent and uncompromising opponent in his parliamentary conduct. After calling such remedies for a condition of redundancy, '*cruel and unnatural*,' (notwithstanding his having just before described them as the '*natural*,' mode by which the earth has been hitherto peopled,) he says,—

'But in the divine economy no such remedy is contemplated, and the desire of wandering and the necessity for it, except under the pressure of perverse mismanagement, gradually cease altogether.' . . . 'The subject of emigration was intended to be treated more distinctly, and somewhat more at large, in the present work; but, on further consideration, it seems unnecessary to do so. [*Further consideration on this subject would perhaps have endangered 'the principle,' nay, the work itself.*] *The principle opposed, and that meant to be established, equally reject it*—either as a proper or an efficacious means of adjusting the numbers of mankind to their subsistence.\*

We think therefore it is now made perfectly clear, that Mr. Sadler's fundamental error is precisely the same into which Mr. Malthus fell from the first, and which we have already exposed, with this difference only, that Mr. Malthus supposes the limitation of numbers in proportion to food to be preserved by 'checks,' positive or preventive; Mr. Sadler, by the regulating interference of Providence: but both insist on the fact, and the advantage of the limitation.

We deny both the fact of the limitation, and also its advantage, did it exist. On the contrary, we are convinced that there never was yet a population, and we believe there never will be one, limited in the range from whence its food could, by a proper exercise of foresight, be obtained. And sure we are such limitation would be a mischief instead of an advantage. But if not so limited, how can there be any constant or necessary balance, other than that self-imposed by the community, who will naturally not supply themselves with food beyond their wants? If the soils from which a given population can draw its subsistence, and the inventive ingenuity which it may apply to the task, directly or indirectly, are not limited, why should the increase of the population be limited by any real or anticipated deficiency of food; and why is such limitation to be brought about, either by human prudence or

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\* Vol. i, p. 144.

divine interference? The only ultimate difference we can discover between Mr. Sadler and Mr. Malthus is, that the former makes the Deity perform the injurious office, which the latter gives to man himself; namely, to restrain the increase of the species, from prudential anticipations of the misery that must otherwise result from it.

We take the liberty of differing from both these improvers of the great scheme of creation, self-appointed correctors of the mighty statutes of Nature.

• ‘Et vigilâ tu dignus, et hic.’ •

Mr. Sadler seems to us like the waggoner calling down Jupiter to lift his wheel out of the rut; Mr. Malthus like the fine gentleman thrown on a desert island, who sat wringing his hands, and submitting to starvation, because loaves and joints were not found hanging upon the bushes. We deny altogether that any misery must necessarily follow from the increase of the numbers of mankind, and that any ‘checks’ are required to it, human or divine. What! are we to be told, when not a hundredth part of the globe is cultivated, that it is over-peopled, and that either God or man must stop the rate of increase, or universal famine must be the speedy result?

We have already dwelt at length—too great length we should fear, but for the importance of the subject—on the facility of preventing all local pressure of numbers upon food, by precautionary measures for removing the excess as it shows itself. That the government of a country can alone carry such measures into effect with the desirable security, economy, and caution, so as to equalize the supply of labour to the demand for it, both in the old country and the colony, is as clear, as that it is one of the foremost duties of every government to establish a systematic issue of this nature for preventing the misery, discontent, and danger, which redundancy occasions. And happy are we to perceive that our own government has at length made a first step in this long-neglected path. The bill for facilitating emigration to the colonies, lately introduced to the House of Commons, appears to us a most valuable one—perhaps the very best measure of the kind that could be adopted at the present moment.

There is an acknowledged redundancy of labourers throughout England, causing a severe and increasing pressure upon the parishes which are bound in law to support them. This redundancy is likely even to be increased by the steps which, we cannot but believe, will be very shortly taken, in spite of the pressure of far less important business, to reform the grievous mal-administration of the poor-laws. A bill, drawn up under such circumstances, gives to parishes overburthened with poor, the power,  
by

by consent of a certain large majority of the vestry, to effect the removal of a pauper *willing to emigrate*, with his family, to the colonies, through the aid of commissioners, acting under the colonial office; the parish undertaking to pay off the cost of such removal within ten years at farthest; and the government ensuring to the emigrant a certainty of his employment, at good wages, on his arrival in the colony. It would, at first sight, be difficult to conceive what objections could be raised to such a proposal. But so impossible is it to please every body, and so difficult to teach people what is their true interest, that considerable opposition has been already expressed to this most humane, wise, and well-considered provision. In short, there are three classes of objectors, who all combine to decry the proposed measure, but would separate wide as the poles asunder, if they were called on to substitute one of their own. We will take them separately.

1. Certain country gentlemen have expressed a needless alarm at the idea of mortgaging the poor-rate to government for the expenses of emigration. The very word 'mortgage' galls the soreness of many, and excites a degree of repugnance, which closes their ears to any reasoning on the subject. The cry has been raised, that a *parochial debt* is about to be entered on, which, like the national, may lead to endless embarrassments! Now, in the first place, the debt for which alone parishes will, under this bill, be enabled to pledge themselves to government, must extinguish itself, at farthest, in ten years; and we see no reason why even this term should not be shortened to six or five. Had the national debt been incurred upon any similar terms, who would be found to complain of it? It would have ceased to exist many years ago. Secondly, the charge upon the parish for the few years during which it can remain, will be but a third, at all events less than half, of what they must otherwise continue to pay to the pauper, if he remains at home, with a prospect of its continued increase, instead of its immediate diminution and speedy extinction. And this brings us to another objection which landlords have been heard to urge. They are afraid that tenants at will may, under this bill, attempt to get rid of a temporary pressure on the poor-rate by making a permanent charge on the estate they occupy, which, if they choose, they may leave at a year's notice. But the bill, so far from allowing estates to be permanently charged, only admits of the substitution of a temporary charge, extinguishing itself in a few years, for a much greater annual burthen, which has every prospect not only of being permanent, but of increasing rapidly; namely, that of supporting a pauper family in idleness. How it can be possible for the tenant at will to avail himself of this bill, to do anything which shall not be as much, or a great deal

deal more, for the interest of the landlord than for his own, we cannot discover. That such tenants may be slow to embrace the offer thus made to them by government, we can easily imagine, arguing, as they would, that they have but a temporary interest in the greater or less amount of poor-rate—that its reduction would only be followed by a demand of more rent from the landlord, and that they can escape its increase by calling for a proportionate reduction in rent, or by a removal. The bill is evidently a boon to landowners, not to tenants at will; and the latter, we suspect, far from eagerly rushing into unnecessary engagements, will require to be excited by their landlords to make a proper use of it for the benefit of the estate they occupy. But in order to quiet the fears of landowners on this point, and also to prevent yearly tenants who may intend leaving their farms, from *purposely*, and through malicious feelings, burdening the property, it may be well to make it necessary that yearly tenants, or such tenants for longer terms as are under notice to quit, should produce the consent of their landlords to their pledging the rate to the government commissioners, for the expense of removing redundant poor.

2. The next class of objectors comprehend Mr. Sadler and a few other well-meaning persons, who are so strongly prejudiced in favour of some crotchety theory of their own for curing all the ills that can afflict humanity, as to look at this measure through a distempered medium, and oppose it with a vehement hostility, which nothing but mental delusion can excuse or indeed account for. They exclaim against it as cruel and inhuman! Yes! the offer by government of means whereby the poor labourers, who are now suffering extreme distress in this country, and are driven into the commission of crime from the impossibility of obtaining work, and the scantiness of parish relief, may, if they choose, be carried, gratuitously, and with the most attentive precautions for their proper treatment, to a land peopled by their own countrymen, under the same government, where probably many of their friends will have preceded them, and where they will be certain of earning wages of from three to nine shillings a day; and be enabled, from the savings of a year or two's industry, to set up as independent farmers on a lot of land given to them for the purpose—*this* offer is stigmatised as *unheard of barbarity* by gentlemen walking about without keepers,—nay, actually arrogating to themselves the almost exclusive character of philanthropists! Their talk is of 'expatriation,' 'banishment,' 'the severing of ties,' and other sentimental phrases. Surely this is either very childish, or something much worse. It is enough to say, in reply, that the emigration must be voluntary on the part of the pauper—that it is for his vast and permanent benefit—that, if he has a family, he will

will take it with him—and that his separation from his native home and country, is only what thousands of professional persons in the higher ranks of life are constantly undergoing for the same all-sufficient reason, namely, to better their fortunes.

Mr. Sadler—who believes that there *can* be no redundancy, because people will *breed down to the level of food*—is only consistent in his opposition to a plan, which, distrusting his miraculous machinery for contracting the number of consumers, has for its object the widening of the range whence they can supply themselves with food. But there are other gentlemen who, without looking for miracles, believe that by strictly domestic steps, such as the cultivation of our home wastes, or the allotting garden land to labourers, the pressure of a redundant population may be entirely obviated without having recourse to emigration. The wisdom and expediency of the domestic efforts thus alluded to have been nowhere more vigorously enforced than in this journal; but it is our duty to put it to these most excellent persons, whether it is not possible to carry on such modes of affording relief and employment to some of the labourers who cannot obtain work, contemporaneously with emigration; whether it is not fair, and would not be also wise, to allow a trial, at least, of both experiments; and, in one word, whether it is possible, in the present state of the country, to open *too many* avenues for the employment or disposal of the excess of our labourers? What is to prevent their bringing forward any measures they may think likely to aid this desirable object, and carrying them into practice, without, at the same time, thwarting other plans having the same end in view, and which, far from interfering, will co-operate and harmonize with their own? We have all along strenuously advocated the scheme which they patronize—but we have never been able to see why the Bishop of Bath and Wells and Lord Braybrooke should refuse to hail and sympathize with the brotherly efforts, in another style, but with the same great object in view, of Mr. Wilmot Horton.

3. Lastly, there are some individuals, at the head of whom Mr. Tennant, the member for St. Alban's, has ranged himself, who virulently oppose the bill brought forward by government, because they are desirous of driving them to adopt a rival colonization scheme of their own concoction. Mr. Tennant has published a pamphlet on this subject, the title of which stands at the head of our article, and from which we collect that he is desirous that government should place a very high price on all its colonial lands, and carry on emigration only by means of the funds obtained from their sale.

We have canvassed this proposal in a former number, and the  
opinion

opinion we then gave has been confirmed, not altered, since that time, by the further facts that have come to our knowledge, and even by Mr. Tennant's new publication. We then showed, that if emigration is only to be carried on upon funds raised in this manner, it will be in all probability never begun; for the only consequence of placing a high minimum price of 2*l.* or 3*l.* per acre on government land, must be, either the diverting the stream of colonization to the United States, Mexico, and South America, where rich land is to be had for next to nothing—or, at least, the giving a complete monopoly of the market to the owners of the millions of acres of land already prodigally lavished upon landjobbers and speculating companies, the enabling these persons to undersell the government, and dispose of every acre of their enormous grants at high prices, before a single pound can be raised by government from any fresh sales. If the members of the 'National Colonization Society,' whose scheme this is, are owners of some of the three millions of acres of waste land already granted away to individuals in New South Wales, or of the two and a half millions of acres similarly appropriated in the Canadas, we can understand their eagerness to push forward this plan, even to the extent of opposing the present emigration bill, which is so certain to benefit them in an extraordinary degree, by causing a great and continually increasing demand for land in the colonies. If Mr. Tennant and his friends have *not* a pecuniary interest in raising the price of colonial land, we are at a loss to understand the motives of their opposition to a system of emigration, of the general principle of which they profess themselves such anxious advocates.

We have ourselves, before this, expressed an opinion that a great and permanent scheme of colonization, worthy of this enlightened country, whose resources for the purpose so greatly exceed those heretofore enjoyed by any, might be founded on the principle of removing annually the excess of labourers which may show itself here, by means of a fund raised through a duty on the employment of these same labourers in the colony—thus taking the cost of the supply of labour where it is so much wanted directly out of the profits made upon its use, and so avoiding all expense whatever to the mother country. This, however, is applicable only to Australia and the Cape, not to the Canadas; and anxious as we are that such a scheme should be eventually adopted, and confident of its success, we yet consider the bill now before parliament the fit and proper step to be taken at the present moment. The pressure of the actual redundancy is severe, and requires an immediate remedy; and the relief afforded to parishes by this bill will be great and effectual, notwithstanding their being  
subjected

subjected to the full expense of the removal of their paupers. This plan will afford a fair trial of the principle of emigration, and pave the way for its future extension, if it be found to produce the advantages which we anticipate from it.

We do, therefore, earnestly hope, that neither prejudice nor party spirit will throw impediments in the way of this most benevolent measure. The evils under which the labouring classes have long been suffering, are acknowledged by all; and here is a practical proposal for affording them relief, which can do harm to no one, since it is left to the option of all the parties concerned to avail themselves of the facilities it affords; and which must, as far as it is possible to anticipate its consequences, be beneficial to all: to the parishes and landowners, who will be enabled by it to reduce their rates, and get rid of a great and increasing burden; to the colonies, which will gain an accession of the article they so much require—labour; to the emigrants themselves, who will exchange pauperism and want for high wages and independence; and to the labourers remaining at home, whose condition will be improved by the removal of that excess, which, by its competition, now keeps wages permanently below the fair remuneration for a life of toil. That the country generally will also gain by an improvement in the morals of the lower classes, by the diminution of crime, and the greater security of internal tranquillity, seems equally certain.

Finally, to those persons who oppose emigration upon general principles, whether as tainted with the gloomy doctrine of Malthus, that to enlarge the sphere of human happiness is only to superinduce a greater accumulation of ultimate misery; or as disciples of the more cheering, but equally visionary theory of Sadler, that local superfecundity is impossible, for that a mysterious law of nature cuts down the population of every square mile to fit its resources; or under the influence of any other phantasy more peculiarly their own;—we beseech them, by the ardour they profess in the cause of humanity, to contemplate the happy, industrious, and flourishing condition of more than twelve millions of their fellowmen in the United States of America, *the result of emigration alone*. We ask them if it be possible, not only at no sacrifice to the mother country, but to her great relief and continued benefit, to raise up two, or three, or more, similar nations, by the regulated discharge of our redundant and suffering population upon the fertile soils of Canada, the Cape, Van Diemen's Land, and New South Wales,—to create, in parts of the globe now inhabited but by brutes, or by a hundred or two of half-starved savages approaching to brutes, several populous, wealthy, and civilized communities, Englishmen in race, language, laws, habits, morals, and

and religion ; and united to England, for years to come, in colonial dependency, and for ever by the ties of a common origin, tongue, and literature, of commercial intercourse and mutual benefit—if experience unites with argument to prove that this is possible, easy, certain—can they reconcile it to their reason or their consciences to throw any obstacles in the way of the realization of a prospect so gratifying to humanity, of such an extension of the empire of civilization over the globe, of such an immense accession to the aggregate of human happiness and virtue, and of the multiplication of mankind in that form which must be most pleasing to the contemplation of the Creator, and which, of all the world has yet witnessed, appears least unworthy of representing the high and mysterious character of *His Image*?

ART. IV.—*Fragments of Voyages and Travels, including Anecdotes of a Naval Life ; chiefly for the use of young persons.*

By Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S. 3 vols. 12mo. Edinburgh, 1831.

THE merits and demerits of this writer are so generally understood and acknowledged, that we feel no temptation to introduce these little volumes with the pomp and circumstance of a regular critique. Captain Hall has lived in this world some forty years, and during eight-and-twenty of them he has been performing voyages and travels, keeping all the while copious journals, and therein recording his impressions fresh as they were stamped ; and his method of working up these materials for the press is familiar to us all. That he has a keen, quick eye, voracious curiosity, restless activity, a gay temperament, and an upright, virtuous mind—no man who has perused his previous lucubrations can doubt. That he is apt to see one side of a thing so vividly as to forget that there is another side at all—that his complete satisfaction with himself and everything about him, though unaccompanied with the slightest shade of cynicism, is too prominent not to move now and then a passing smile—and that his sincerity cannot always excuse his dogmatism—are facts which his warmest admirers seem to admit. That he tells a story with clearness and energy—describes manners and scenery with very considerable skill and effect—seizes the strong points of a moral or political question, in general, with ready shrewdness, and delivers his opinions on all subjects fairly and frankly—writes in a manly, unaffected style, rough but racy—and makes us feel throughout that we are in the hands of a practical man, clever, humorous, kind-hearted, who has read much, seen more, studied and enjoyed life

in a hundred spheres and shapes, a staunch and ardent lover of his country, and in all respects a gentleman—these are statements to which we presume the Captain's bitterest political opponent would hardly refuse his *imprimatur*. He has been for some time past, on the whole, the most popular writer of travels in England; and we have no sort of doubt that his present work will find even wider acceptance than the last and best of its predecessors. The field is wider, the interest more various, and the execution, we think, even more lively. Here is, in truth, a fragment of a thing which has never before been attempted—and which we hope the gallant author will live to complete—a straightforward autobiography of a thorough-bred British sea-officer. Never did good book hang out a worse concocted title-page—but such is the fact.

Captain Hall entered the navy, quite a boy, in 1803, and these three volumes bring down his career to the close of 1810, being, in short, the cream of seven years' letters and diaries of a midshipman and young lieutenant, who seems never to have been three days off duty all the while, and saw in the course of it almost every possible variety of service. The words on the title-page—'chiefly for the use of young persons,' are, perhaps, meant to apologise for the minuteness with which things, familiar to grown persons in the Captain's profession, are occasionally explained: but, judging from ourselves, it is exactly this minuteness that will give the book its chief value in the eyes of grown landmen. The actual details of what passes on board a man-of-war were never described with half so much clearness as in these pages; and the man who has read them, before he opens Lord Collingwood's letters, Southey's *Life of Nelson*, or Beechey's *Voyage*, will have as essential an advantage over him who has not, as the student of one of Buonaparte's campaigns owes to the possession of a good map. The whole existence of the midshipman, in particular, is painted with exquisite truth, pith, and drollery;—honest Jack himself is exhibited in many an attitude, equally graphic and grotesque; and the different methods and systems adopted by superior officers, of different characters and dispositions, to maintain order and discipline, are touched to the life, and illustrated and commented on with a breadth and freedom of handling, which, delighting the uninitiated, will, peradventure, here and there startle and confound the adept.

The Captain is, we need hardly tell any of our readers, an optimist—a veritable optimist, diametrically opposed in all his views and opinions to him whose creed is summed up in the famous 'conclusion,' *que l'homme est fait pour vivre dans les convulsions de l'inquietude, ou dans la lethargie de l'ennui*. Though he exposes and dissects, cruelly enough, certain errors into which naval commanders

commanders are apt to fall, and severely criticises (of course without naming names) various Admiralty appointments of his time—he professes a thoroughgoing admiration of the general system on which our naval service has been conducted; and his enthusiasm about the charms of sea-life, in every rank, and in all sorts of duty, is supreme. According to him, there is no profession in which a man may, if he pleases, find more uniformly and constantly the means of keeping his mind active—and his heart contented. Three things only are necessary—that he should enter the service very early, and bring a boy's indifference as to what is called *roughing it* into those mysterious regions, redolent of mutton-fat and salmagundi, which still continue to be as they were in the days of Dr. Morgan:—that he should form a distinct resolution to understand his business, in which case he will always have more than enough of reading to occupy the hours he is not on duty: and thirdly, which is the captain's own golden rule, that he should consider it as a point of real obligation, 'very stuff o' the conscience,' to carry with him, wherever he goes, a predisposition to see things on the fair side. Captain Hall frankly confesses, that this last rule is easier of observance when one has been successful at the outset—and gives us to understand that he attributes the better part of his own philosophy in manhood to a single happy accident that befel him, the first year he was afloat; but he is nevertheless of opinion, that contentment is a virtue, which ought to be, and may be cultivated, under all circumstances; and delivers it, as the result of thirty years experience among naval men, that he who, being in quest of Dame Fortune's favour, wears a frown on his brow, has a sorry chance.

The answer that will be given to the philosophical post-captain from many quarters is obvious enough. *L'homme riche, quand il à bien diné, voit tout le monde heureux.* It is all very natural in Captain Hall to speak thus—it would be wonderful if he spoke otherwise. He was the son of a wealthy baronet, M.P., P.R.S.E., &c., &c., and the nephew of a peer who filled a large space in the eye of the country—he entered the navy under the best possible auspices, and succeeded accordingly—that is to say, better than ninety-nine men out of one hundred, endowed with equal talents and industry, could ever have had much chance of doing. This sounds well—but look to facts. Of the names that have actually won high distinction, either personal or official, in these days, in the British navy, how many belong, after all, to what you call the aristocracy? Who was Nelson, or Duncan, or Jervis?—who was Collingwood—who was Hardy—who were Parry, Franklin, Beechey? But Captain Hall takes the ball by the horns in a

style so characteristically open and uncompromising, that we must let him speak for himself.

‘It is perhaps no paradox to assert, that the more an officer depends upon pure favour for his early advancement, if he be a right-minded person, the more strongly will he feel the necessity of shewing, by his future exertions, that such patronage has not been ill bestowed. Generally speaking, I think it is observable in the service, that officers who are the most certain of getting on, are also among the most earnest in their endeavours to justify, as far as depends upon themselves, those acts of distinction by which they have been, and are still to be put before older men, perhaps no less worthy of promotion.

‘The opinion will hardly be contraverted, that persons who are the most gentlemanlike in their habits of thought, in sentiment, and in manners—supposing their talents and opportunities alike—generally speaking, make the best officers; and it is this, amongst many other reasons, which renders it of so much consequence to the well-being of the navy, and to the maintenance of its high tone both of feeling and of action—that we should encourage men of family to enter the navy. Quite as good blood, for the ordinary purposes of daily business, might be found in profusion in the other walks of society. But what is indispensably required in the naval profession, above all others,—if its present lofty station is to be preserved,—is not alone great mental powers, or zeal, or industry, or experience, or even all these combined to any conceivable amount, but the essential spirit, if I may so term it, of a gentleman. This quality must, by some means or other, be made to predominate. . . . Many of the most important duties of a naval officer are, and ever must be, performed without witnesses, and often beyond the reach of scrutiny. Besides, the power necessarily placed in an officer’s hands—particularly in the higher walks—is of such a nature, that unless it be regulated by the principles which form the distinguishing features in the character of a gentleman, it is apt to degenerate into tyranny. It would be easy to point out innumerable occasions upon which, unless officers were controlled by this curious and almost magical influence, this innate sense of honour, which is equally true to every climate, and to every possible variety of incident that can arise, in the endless complications and embarrassments of a naval life,—this service, now so elevated in its rank in the world, would inevitably decline. The country would discover the evils of this fatal deterioration in its moments of need, but, probably, not till it was too late for reparation.

‘I have often heard it scornfully asked, when these views have been advanced, “Are no gentlemen to be found beyond the pale of the higher classes? and if they are, why push men of rank forward in the service, as we see done every day, with such manifest injustice to older officers, and equally good men?” I think the answer most easy. There are, no doubt, to be found many gentlemen as sound and true out of the aristocracy, as if their blood were derived from that of “all the Howards;” but it becomes a question, bearing directly upon the  
purpose

purpose in hand, to determine in what proportion, and for how long a time, the true gentlemanlike spirit above alluded to, actually existing in the country in those ranks of society which are not of the aristocracy, would continue to exist in its genuine and practically useful purity, if the aristocratical classes of the community were destroyed, or their means of influencing the rest of the nation essentially diminished? It is they, and they alone, who can give a right tone to manners, by setting the fashion in everything which is true in principle, or practically wise in morals and in politics, and by encouraging science, letters, and the fine arts, or otherwise contributing to soften the asperities of vulgar life. This is the true intent and purpose of a powerful aristocracy; and if its obligations be duly fulfilled, its members execute a task not only of the highest possible utility to the country, but one which, for many reasons, no other class has the means even of attempting to perform; and I am persuaded, that precisely what the aristocracy does, on the great scale, for the community at large, in maintaining at a high level the pure standard of national manners, the introduction of a proportionate number of persons of good family into the Navy does for that service in particular.

“But,” I have heard it said, “why not put matters in this respect on a fair and equitable footing? If this sprinkling of the aristocracy do good, as you say it does, to the spirit of the navy, why not let men of family enter the field on equal terms with the rest, and so take their chance along with men of humbler birth?” The simplest answer to this appears to be, that as there is no method by which such persons can be impressed into the service, we must of necessity enter into some tacit kind of compromise, and agree to take them upon the best terms for which we can enlist them as volunteers. It seems clear that unless they were certain, or next to certain, of getting on, shortly after becoming eligible to the different ranks, such persons would speedily cease to exist in the navy at all.

“Those who object to this system are very much mistaken, however, if they suppose that, because the young men in question are promoted sooner than their companions, they are, at any stage of the profession, exempted, even in the slightest degree, from all its pains and penalties in the event of error, or that they are permitted to do their duty one whit more negligently than their less fortunate companions. There is no such thing as a privileged class in the navy; all ranks and orders are alike in respect to the discipline. It certainly is true, and most important to remark, that, in practice, these gentlemen get into fewer scrapes than others. This, however, I have always considered to arise from the extreme pain which a well-bred man feels on receiving just censure, and also from that habitual delicacy of mind, which it is one of the chief points of good manners to teach.

“It may be said that men of family enter the navy, like others, at so young an age, that they cannot have acquired those manners and habits of thought which give to their class on shore the useful ascendancy it has acquired in such matters. That this is a mistake, I think all who have

have had an opportunity of observing the fact will cheerfully testify; nor can there be, I suppose, even on land, a more striking difference between the manners of any two classes, than I have witnessed between two different midshipmen's berths, in one of which there existed this admixture of rank, and in the other there happened to be none of it. . . . 'The sailors, who are very quick-sighted to the merits and faults of their officers, and form critics of great correctness, understand the distinction perfectly between a well-bred or high-caste officer, and one who, not having been born in a class where good manners are an essential characteristic, has not contrived to adopt them from others. Above all things, a ship's company like to be commanded by gentlemen; and there is nothing they hate or despise in an officer so much as that coarseness of thought and behaviour which belongs to their own class.'—vol. ii. pp. 151—166.

This is a long extract, but it is the only specimen of the gravely argumentative part of these pages which we shall meddle with. The book is, nine parts in ten, a book of anecdote and description, and we shall keep the rest of our space for its staple material. The chapter on 'Schoolmasters afloat' tempts us strongly—its strain will be as universally popular as its subject is important: and we might say the same of sundry dissertations on the theory of naval discipline, in all of which the author takes the gentle side. But, we believe, the thorough humanity of his disposition will be sufficiently indicated in the lightest passages we may happen to draw our pencil alongside of. So we proceed at once in *medias res* :—

'On Sunday, the captain always dines with the officers in the ward-room; and although "shore-going people" sometimes take upon themselves to quiz these periodical, and, Heaven knows! often formal, dinner parties, there can be no doubt that they do contribute, and that in a most essential degree, to the maintenance of strict discipline on board ship. Indeed, I believe it is now generally admitted, that it would be next to impossible to preserve good order in a man-of-war, for any length of time, without this weekly ceremonial, coupled, of course, with that of the officers' dining, in turn, with their captain. . . . I can compare the harsh and grating state of affairs on board ship, when, unhappily, there exists bad blood between the captain and officers, to nothing so well as to an engine, amongst the machinery of which a handful of gravel has been cast. But it may be asked, how can the simple operation of dining together once or twice a week stave off so great an evil? .

'Suppose, in the first place, that the captain comes upon deck just before noon, and, on seeing something wrong—the main-yard not braced up enough, the lee foretop-gallant sheet not home, or the jib not quite hoisted up; and suppose that, as these are points upon which, whether whimsically or not, he is very particular, he expresses himself to the officer in terms rather too strong for the occasion.

Without

Without reflecting upon the injustice he is guilty of, the captain may perhaps, in this way, be punishing a zealous and hard-working man, for a mere trifle, almost as severely as if he had been found sleeping on his watch.

'The officer who can say nothing, bows and submits. In a few minutes, the sun comes to the meridian, and it is made twelve o'clock. The boatswain pipes to dinner, the deck is relieved, and the lieutenant of the forenoon watch goes down below, in a high state of irritation with his captain, at what he conceives the undue severity of the reprimand. The first thing he does, on entering the ward-room door, is to fling his hat the whole length of the apartment; so that, unless it be adroitly caught by the marine officer, who is generally playing the flute on the lockers abaft, it would stand a chance of going out of the stern windows. The soldier, of course, thus called upon to look up, stops in the middle of the second bar of "God save the King," or "Robin Adair," at which he has been hammering, in company with the master of the band, for the last three months, and says, "Holla! man—what's the matter?"

Matter!" cries the other. "I'll be shot if it is not enough to make a man run stark staring mad!" "What is the matter, I ask you?" begs the marine, preparing to recommence the eternal tune. "Why, there have I been working, and slaving, and wearing my life and soul out all the forenoon, to please that ill-tempered, snappish, ill-to-please knob of a skipper of ours; and what do I get? Why, he takes a mighty good care to shut his eyes to all the good a fellow does, but catches hold eagerly enough of the smallest omission in his thousand-and-one whims (none of which are of any consequence!) in order to indulge himself in one of his reprimands. It's quite clear," adds the officer, warmed by this explosion of his own passion, "that the captain has a spite at me, and is determined to drive me out of the ship, to make way for some follower of his own." "Stuff and nonsense!" exclaims the peace-making man of war; "the captain is the best friend you have." "Friend!" roars the other; "I tell you what —" But just at this moment the captain's steward enters the ward-room, and going up to the enraged officer of the forenoon watch, says mechanically to him—"The captain's compliments, sir, and will be glad of your company to dinner." To which the officer replies, quite as mechanically—"My compliments, and I'll wait on him." But as soon as the door is shut, he turns again to the marine, and says—"I'm deucedly sorry, now, that I did not refuse." "Are you?" says the soldier, relapsing into his loyal tune again. By and by, however, comes two o'clock; the ward-room dinner is placed on the table; the drum beats the "Roast Beef;" the officer of the forenoon watch is sent for, as usual, to relieve his messmate on deck; and, in due course, after strutting and fretting his hour upon the stage, in "full togs," nursing his anger, in order to let the captain see that he is hurt, he is told that dinner is ready in the cabin. In he marches, accordingly, and there takes his appointed seat

seat as doggedly as if he were nailed to the chair. The pea-soup is discussed in pretty solemn silence; but while the remove is under adjustment, the captain says to his offended officer, "Come, Mr. Haultight, shall you and I have a glass of wine? What shall it be?" By these few magical words, and in this single glass of sherry, is forgotten, for ever and ever, all the previous irritation. It is not by the words, so much as by the tone and manner of saying them, that the captain makes the officer feel how anxious he is to have the good understanding restored, or that he regrets what has passed. Of course, if the officer be not one of those pig-headed and inflexible fellows, upon whom all sense of kindness is wasted, he seizes the bottle, and filling his glass, replies, "With all my heart, sir." And there, in all probability, is an end of a matter.

'The above example is one in which the superior is supposed to have been in the wrong; but, as may be imagined, the opposite case will often happen likewise. I have seen an officer go on, for several days together, purposely teasing his captain, but all the time taking the greatest possible care to keep within the law. Who, I may ask, that has had to do with command of any kind, whether afloat or on shore, in the navy or in the nursery, has not felt the provocation of such petty hostility? For my part, I can compare it to nothing but the stinging of a mosquito, which you spend half the night in trying to catch, losing your rest and your temper to no purpose, owing to the dexterity of your antagonist, who thus shews that, though he be small, he is far from insignificant. But if, while this sort of snapping and snarling is going on, Sunday comes about, all is settled. On this day the captain invariably dines in the ward-room; and when once there, he is received, as a matter of course, with attention by all—Mr. Mosquito inclusive. It is the general custom, on these occasions, to unbend a little of the straight-lacedness of our discipline, so that a kind of regulated, starched familiarity is permitted to appear above the surface. This the captain rather encourages, though, of course, in a cautious way, but more than he ever permits himself to allow at his own table. During dinner, all the officers drink wine with their guest; and when this office of hospitality is performed by the tormenting officer, above alluded to, the captain, if he be a man of sense, will not fail to play off a little of his agreeableness upon the person who has been buzzing round him during the preceding week. By this means or some one of the numberless little devices which people who are met together professedly to be social always know how to hit upon, all such scores as this, and many others, may be wiped off. Without some safety-valve of this kind to the high pressure of naval discipline, I really do not know how so enormous and complicated a contrivance could go on at all.'—vol. i., pp. 242-244.

Since we are on the business of dinners, we beg leave to invite attention to part of Captain Hall's chapter, entitled 'on Jack's allowance.' After describing at length the general muster of officers

officers and midshipmen on deck—brass sextant or wooden quadrant in hand, as the case may be—at ‘seven bells,’ *Anglice*, half-past eleven o’clock, A.M., to look out for the sun, and bear a part in the solemn operation of taking the latitude and correcting the time-pieces—the author proceeds to the various demonstrations of good humour which diffuse themselves over all on board, as the happy hour allotted for ‘the great business of every Englishman’s day,’ as Dr. Johnson calls it, approaches—and many a sharp eye watches the motions of the ship-cook (who it seems has seldom two arms, and, in that rare case is sure not to have two legs) while he ‘goes through some of the most important steps preliminary to that ceremony;’—*e. g.* ‘Empties the coppers by means of a monstrous fork called his tormentors, of the beef or pork which has been in preparation—allows the peas-soup to run off by a cock into a huge tub, &c.’ The sequel of this delicate scene is thus given :—

‘Now the cooks of the messes may be seen coming up the fore and main hatchways, with their mess-kids in their hands, the hoops of which are kept as bright as silver, and the wood-work as neat and as clean as the pail of the most tidy dairy-maid. The grog, also, is now mixed in a large tub, under the half-deck, by the quarter-masters of the watch below, assisted by other leading and responsible men amongst the ship’s company, closely superintended, of course, by the mate of the hold, to see that no liquor is abstracted, and also by the purser’s steward, who regulates the exact quantity of spirits and of water to be measured out. Long before twelve o’clock, all these, and various other minor preparations, have been so completely made, that there is generally a remarkable stillness over the whole ship just before the important moment of noon arrives. The boatswain stands near the break of the fore-castle, with his bright silver call, or whistle, in his hand, which ever and anon he places just at the tip of his lips, to blow out any crumbs which threaten to interfere with its melody, or to give a faint “too-weet! too-weet!” as a preparatory note, to fix the attention of the boatswain’s mates, who being, like their chief, provided with calls, station themselves at intervals along the main-deck, ready to give due accompaniment to their leader’s tune.

‘The boatswain keeps his eye on the group of observers, and well knows when the “sun is up,” by the stir which takes place amongst the astronomers, or by noticing the master working out his latitude with a pencil, on the ebony bar of his quadrant, or on the edge of the hammock-railing; though, if he be one of your modern, neat-handed navigators, he carries his little book for this purpose. In one way or other the latitude is computed, as soon as the master is satisfied the sun has reached his highest altitude in the heavens. He then walks aft to the officer of the watch, and reports twelve o’clock, communicating also the degrees and minutes of the latitude observed.

observed. The lieutenant proceeds to the captain, wherever he may be, and repeats that it is twelve, and that so and so is the latitude. The same formal round of reports is gone through, even if the captain be on deck, and has heard every word spoken by the master, or even if he have himself assisted in making the observation. The captain now says to the officer of the watch, "Make it twelve!" The officer calls out to the mate of the watch, "Make it twelve!" The mate—ready primed—sings out to the quarter-master, "Strike eight bells!" And lastly, the hard-a-weather old quarter-master, stepping down the ladder, grunts out to the sentry at the cabin-door, "Turn the glass, and strike the bell!" By this time the boatswain's call has been in his mouth for several minutes, his elbow in the air, and his little finger on the stop, ready to send forth the glad tidings of a hearty meal. Not less ready or less eager are the groups of listeners seated at their snow-white deal tables below, or the crowd surrounding the coppers, with their mess-kids acting the part of drums to their impatient knuckles. At the first stroke of the bell, which, at this particular hour, is always sounded with peculiar vivacity, the officer of the watch exclaims to the boatswain, "Pipe to dinner!" These words, followed by a glorious burst of shrill sounds, "long drawn out," are hailed with a murmur of delight by many a hungry tar and many a jolly marine. The merry notes are nearly drowned next instant in the rattle of tubs and kettles, the voice of the ship's cook and his mates bawling out the numbers of the messes, as well as by the sound of feet tramping along the decks and down the ladders, with the steaming, ample store of provisions—such as set up and brace the seaman's frame, and give it vigour for any amount of physical action.

'Then comes the joyous grog!—that nautical nectar, so dear to the lips of every true-hearted sailor, with which he washes down his Majesty's junk, as he roughly but good-humouredly styles the government allowance of beef; and while he quaffs off his portion, or his whack, as he calls it, he envies no man alive, and laughs to scorn those party philanthropists, who describe his life as one of unhappy servitude. The real truth is, there are no set of men in the world, in their condition of life—I believe I might say in any class of life—who are better taken care of than the sailors and marines of the navy, or who, upon the whole, are more happy than they.'—vol. ii. p. 144—148.

There are various admirable descriptions of chases, captures, and escapes, in these volumes; but we shall be satisfied with appropriating one specimen. It is as spirited a bit of narrative as we have met with, and concludes, as usual, with a good moral *envoy*.

'Towards evening (11th November, 1810), it fell dead calm, at which time there were two strange sails in sight; one of them a ship, which we "calculated" was an American, from the whiteness of his sails—the other a very suspicious, roguish-looking brig; but as both of them were hull down, much of this was guess-work. As the night fell, a light breeze sprung up, and we made all sail in the direction of the brig,

brig, though she was no longer visible. In the course of the middle watch we fortunately got sight of her with our night-glasses, and by two in the morning were near enough to give her a shot. The brig was then standing on a wind; while we were coming down upon her, right before it, or nearly so. The sound of our bow-chaser could hardly have reached the vessel before her helm was up: the most crack ship in his Majesty's service could hardly have made sail more smartly. The two fore-castle guns, long nine-pounders, were now brought to bear; but as we made quite sure of catching her, and did not wish needlessly to injure our prize or to hurt her people, orders were given to fire at the sails, which, expanded as they now were before us, like the tail of a peacock in his fullest pride, offered a mark which could not well be missed. Nevertheless, the little fellow would not heave to, for all we could do with our fore-castle guns. At four o'clock, therefore, we managed to get one of the long eighteen-pounders on the main-deck to bear upon him from the bridle-port. Still we could not stop him, though it was now bright moonlight, and there was no longer any tenderness about hurting his people or injuring his hull. The vessel, however, at which we were now peppering away with round and grape-shot, as hard as we could discharge them from three good smart guns, was so low in the water, that she offered, when seen end on, scarcely any mark. How it happened that none of her yards or masts came rattling down, and that none of her sails flew away, under the influence of our fire, was quite inexplicable.

'The water still continued quite smooth, though the breeze had freshened, till we went along at the rate of six or seven knots. When the privateer got the wind, which we had brought up with us, she almost kept her own, and it became evident that she was one of that light and airy description of vessels which have generally an advantage over larger ships when there is but little wind. We therefore observed, with much anxiety, that about half-past four the breeze began, gradually, to die away, after which the chase rather gained than lost distance. By this time, of course, every man and boy in the ship was on deck, whether it was his watch or not; even the marine officer, the purser, and the doctor, left their beds—a rare phenomenon. Every one was giving his opinion to his neighbour; some said the shot went over her, some that they fell short; and the opinion that she was a witch, or the Flying Dutchman, or some other phantom, was current amongst the sailors, whilst the marines were clicking their flints, and preparing to give our little gentleman a taste of the small arms when within their reach.

'While things were in this anxious but very pleasurable state, our foresail flapped slowly against the mast—a sure indication that the breeze was lulling. The quadruple rows of reef points were next heard to rattle along the topsails—sounds too well known to every ear as symptoms of an approaching calm. The studding-sails were still full, and so were the royals; but, by and by, even their light canvass refused to belly out, so faint was the air which still carried us, but very gently,

gently, along the water, on the surface of which not a ripple was now to be seen in any direction. As the ship, however, still answered her helm, we kept the guns to bear on the chase without intermission, and with this degree of effect, that all her sails, both low and aloft, were soon completely riddled, and some of them were seen hanging in such absolute rags, that the slightest puff of wind must have blown them away like so many cobwebs. By five o'clock it was almost entirely calm, and we had the mortification to observe, that the chase, whose perseverance had kept him thus long out of our clutches, was putting in practice a *manœuvre* we could not imitate. He thrust out his sweeps, as they are called, huge oars requiring five or six men to each. These, when properly handled, by a sufficiently numerous crew, in a small light vessel, give her the heels of a large ship, when so nearly calm as it now was with us. We were not going more than a knot through the water, if so much, which was barely enough to give us *steerage way*.

The Frenchman got out, I suppose, about fifteen or twenty of these sweeps, and so vigorously were they plied, that we could see by the moonlight, and still more distinctly when the dawn appeared, that the foam was made to fly in sheets at each stroke of these gigantic oars, which were worked together, by their looms being united by a hawser stretching fore and aft. Our chief anxiety now was to pitch a shot amongst his sweeps, as one successful hit there would have sent half his crew spinning about the decks. But we were not so fortunate; and in less than an hour he was out of shot, walking off from us in a style which it was impossible not to admire, though our disappointment and vexation were excessive. By mid-day he was at least ten miles ahead of us; and at two o'clock, we could just see his upper sails above the horizon. . . . Every glass, great and small, was in requisition, from the pocket spy-glass of the youngest midshipman, to the forty-inch focus of the captain. Each telescope in its turn was hoisted to the cross-trees, and pointed with a sort of sickening eagerness toward the lessening speck on the distant horizon. One might also have thought that the ship was planted in a grove of trees, in the height of spring time, so numerous were the whistlers. This practice of whistling for a wind is one of our nautical superstitions, which, however groundless and absurd, fastens insensibly on the strongest-minded sailors at such times. Indeed, I have seen many an anxious officer's mouth take the piping form, and have even heard some sounds escape from lips which would have vehemently disclaimed all belief in the efficacy of such incantation. But it would be about as wise a project to reason with the gales themselves, as to attempt convincing Jack that as the wind bloweth only when and where it listeth, his invoking it can be of no sort of use one way or the other. He will still whistle on, I have no doubt, in all time to come, when he wants a breeze, in spite of the march of intellect.

In the course of the afternoon, we perceived from the mast-head, ~~for~~ astern, a dark line along the horizon, which some of our most experienced

experienced hands pronounced the first trace of a breeze coming up. In the course of half an hour, this line had widened so much that it could easily be perceived from the deck. Upon seeing this, the whistlers redoubled their efforts; and whether, as they pretended, it was owing to their interest with the clerk of the weather office, or whether the wind, if left alone, would have come just as soon, I do not venture to pronounce; but certain it is, that, long before sunset, our hearts were rejoiced by the sight of those numerous flying patches of wind, scattered over the calm surfaces of the sea, and called by seamen catspaws—I presume from the stealthy, timorous manner in which they seem to touch the water, and straightway vanish again. By and by, the true wind, the ripple from which had marked the horizon astern of us, and broken the face of the mirror shining brightly everywhere else, indicated its approach, by fanning out the skysails and other flying kites, generally supposed to be superfluous, but which, upon such occasions as this, do good service, by catching the first breath of air, that seems always to float far above the water. One by one the sails were filled; and as the ship gathered way, every person marked the glistening eye of the helmsman, when he felt the spokes of the wheel pressing against his hand, by the action of the water on the rudder. The fire-engine had been carried into the tops, and, where its long spout could not reach, buckets of water were drawn up and thrown on the sails, so that every pore was filled, and the full effect of the wind was exerted on the canvass. The ship now began to speak, as it is termed; and on looking over the gangway we could see a line of small hissing bubbles, not yet deserving the name of spray, but quite enough to prove to us that the breeze was beginning to tell. It was near the middle of November, but the day was as hot as if it had been summer; and the wind, now freshening at every second, blew coolly and gratefully upon us, giving assurance that we should have no more calms to trouble us, whatever might be our other difficulties in catching Monsieur Frenchman.

‘Meanwhile, as we spanked along, rapidly accelerating our pace, and rejoicing in the cracking of the ropes, and the bending of the lightest and loftiest spars—that butterfly sort of gear which a very little wind soon brushes away—we had the malicious satisfaction of observing that the poor little privateer had not yet got a mouthful of the charming wind which, like the well-known intoxicating gas, was by this time setting us all a-skiping about the decks. The greater part of the visible ocean was now under the influence of the new-born breeze; but in the spot where the brig lay, there occurred a belt or splash of clear white light, within which the calm still lingered, with the privateer sparkling in its centre. Just as the sun went down, however, this spot was likewise melted into the rest, and the brig, like a poor hare roused from her seat, sprang off again. We were soon near enough to see her sweeps rigged in—to the delight, no doubt, of her weary crew, whose apprehensions of an English prison had probably kept up their strength to a pitch rarely equalled.

‘As the twilight—the brief twilight of winter—galloped away, a hundred pairs of eyes were almost jumping out of their sockets in their attempts to pierce the night; whilst those who had glasses kept scrubbing them without mercy, as if they imagined more light would be let into the tube the more they injured the lenses. One person, and only one, continued, as he asserted, to see the chase, faintly strung, like a bead, on the horizon. I need not say that this sharp-sighted gentleman was nailed to his post, and ordered on no account to move his head, fatigue or no fatigue.

‘It was not till about two o’clock that we once more came within good shot of him; and as it had been alleged that the guns were fired too quickly the night before, and without sufficient care in pointing, the utmost attention was now paid to laying them properly; and the lanyard of the trigger never pulled, till the person looking along the gun felt confident of his aim. The brig, however, appeared to possess the same witch-like, invulnerable quality as ever; for we could neither strike her hull, so as to force her to cry *peccavi*, nor bring down a yard, nor lop off a mast or a boom. It was really a curious spectacle to see a little bit of a thing skimming away before the wind, with such a huge monster as the *Endymion*, tearing and plunging after her, like a voracious dolphin leaping from sea to sea in pursuit of a flying fish. . . . In time this must have ended in the destruction of the brig; for as we gained upon her rapidly, some of our shot must by and by have taken effect, and sent her to the bottom. She was destined, however, to enjoy a little longer existence. The proper plan, perhaps, would have been to stand on, firing at her sails, till we had reached within musket-shot, and then to have knocked down the helmsman, and every one else on her deck. This, however, was not our captain’s plan—or perhaps he became impatient—at all events he gave orders for the whole starboard broadside to be got ready; and then, giving the ship a yaw, poured the whole discharge, as he thought, right into his wretched victim! Not a mortal on board the frigate expected ever to see the poor brig again. What, then, was our surprise, when the smoke blew swiftly past, to see the intrepid little cocky, gliding away more merrily than before. As far as good discipline would allow, there was a general murmur of applause at the Frenchman’s gallantry. In the next instant, however, this sound was converted into hearty laughter over the frigate’s decks, when, in answer to our thundering broadside, a single small gun, a six-pounder, was fired from the brig’s stern, as if in contempt of his formidable antagonist’s prowess. . . . The breeze had now freshened nearly to a gale of wind, and we were going nearly twelve knots (or between thirteen and fourteen miles an hour), foaming and splashing along. The distance between us and the brig was now rapidly decreasing, for most of his sails were in shreds, and we determined to bring him, as we said, to his senses at last. The guns were reloaded, and orders given to depress them as much as possible—that is, to point their muzzles downwards—but not a shot was to be fired till the frigate came

came actually alongside of the chase. Such was the poor privateer's sentence of death—severe indeed, but quite necessary, for he appeared resolved never to yield. On we flew, right down upon our prey, like the enormous rock-bird of the Arabian Nights. We had ceased firing our bow-chasers, that the smoke might not stand between us and the lesson we meant to read to our resolute pupil, so that there was "silence deep as death" along our decks—and doubtless on his; for he likewise had intermitted his firing, and seemed prepared to meet his fate, and go to the bottom like a man. It was possible, also, we thought, that he might only be watching, even in his last extremity, to take advantage of any negligence on our part, which should allow him to haul suddenly across our bows, and, by getting on a wind, have a chance of escaping. This chance, it is true, was very small; for not one of his sails was in a condition to stand such a breeze as was now blowing, unless when running nearly before it. But we had seen enough, during the two days we had been together, to apprehend that his activity was at least a match for ours; and as he had already shown that he did not care a fig for shot, he might bend new sails as fast as we could.

'At all events, we were resolved to make him surrender, or run him down: such was our duty, and that the Frenchman knew right well. He waited, however, until our flying jib-boom end was almost over his taffrail; and that the narrow space between us was filled with a confused, boiling heap of foam, partly caused by his bows, and partly by ours. Then, and not till then, when he must have seen into our ports, and along the decks, which were lighted up fore and aft, he first gave signal of surrender.

'The manner in which this was done by the captain of the privateer was as spirited and characteristic as any part of his previous conduct. The night was very dark; but the ships were so near to one another, that we could distinguish the tall figure of a man mount the weather main-rigging of the brig, where he stood erect, with a lantern in his hand, held out at right angles from his body. Had this light not been seen, or its purpose not understood, or had it been delayed for twenty seconds longer, the frigate must, almost in spite of herself, have gone right over him, and the salvo of a double-shotted broadside would have done the last and fitting honours over the Frenchman's grave. Even as it was, it cost us some trouble to avoid running him down; for, although the helm was put over immediately, our lee quarter, as the ship flew up in the wind, almost grazed his weather gangway. In passing, we ordered him to bring-to likewise. This he did as soon as we gave him room; though we were still close enough to see the effect of such a manoeuvre at such a moment. Every stitch of sail he had set was blown, in one moment, clean out of the bolt-ropes. His haulyards, tacks, and sheets had been all racked aloft, so that everything not made of canvass remained in its place;—the yards at the mast-heads, and the booms rigged out—  
while

while the empty leech and foot-ropes hung down in festoons, where, but a minute before, the tattered sails had been spread.

‘It may be supposed that the chase was now completely over, and that we had nothing further to do than to take possession of our prize. Not at all! The privateer having no sail set to keep her steady, became so unmanageable, that the sea made a clean breach over all, rendering it out of the question to board her on the weather side. Nor was she more easily approachable to leeward, where a tangled net-work of broken spars, half-torn sails, shattered booms, and smacking rope’s-ends, formed such a line of *chevaux de frise* from the cat-head to the counter, that all attempts to get near her on that side were useless. About three o’clock in the afternoon, the brig having fallen a little to leeward, and a furious squall of wind and rain coming on at the same moment, she suddenly bore up, and set off once more, right before the wind. At the height of the squall we totally lost sight of our prize; and such a hubbub I hardly recollect to have heard in my life before. “Where is she?—Who was looking out?—Where did you see her last?”—and a hundred similar questions, reproaches, scolds, and the whole of the ugly family of oaths, were poured out in abundance; some on the privateer, whose adroitness had thus overreached our vigilance; some upon those who, by their neglect, had given him the opportunity; and many imprecations were uttered merely to express the depth of anger and disappointment at this stupid loss of a good thing, which had cost us so much trouble to catch. All this passed over in the first burst—sail was made at once—the topsails, close reefed, were sheeted home like lightning—and off we dashed into the thick of the squall, in search of our lost treasure. At each mast-head and at every yard-arm there was planted a look-out man, while the fore-castle hammock-netting was filled with volunteer spy-glasses. For about a quarter of an hour a dead silence reigned over the whole ship, during which anxious interval every eye was strained to the utmost, for no one knew exactly where to look. There was, indeed, no certainty of our not actually running past the privateer, and it would not have surprised us much, when the squall cleared up, had we seen him a mile or two to windward, far beyond our reach. These fears were put an end to by the sharp-eyed captain of the fore-top, who had perched himself on the jib-boom end, calling out with a voice of the greatest glee—“There he goes! there he goes! right ahead! under his topsails and foresail!” And, sure enough, there we saw him, springing along from wave to wave, with his masts bending forwards like reeds, under the pressure of sail enough to have laid him on his beam-ends had he broached to. In such tempestuous weather a small vessel has no chance whatever with a frigate; indeed, we could observe that, when the little brig fell between two high seas, her foresail flapped to the mast, fairly becalmed by the wave behind her.

‘In a very few minutes we were again alongside, and, doubtless, the Frenchman thought we were at last going to execute summary  
vengeance

vengeance upon him for his treachery, as we called it. Nothing daunted, however, by the style in which we bore down upon him, the gallant commander of this pretty little eggshell of a vessel placed himself on the weather-quarter, and, with a speaking-trumpet in his hand, indicated, by gesticulations, a wish to be heard. This could not well be refused; and we steered as close as we could pass along without bringing the two vessels in contact, or risking the entanglement of the yards, when we rolled towards one another.

"I have been compelled to bear up," he called out in French, "otherwise the brig must have gone to the bottom." The sea broke over us in such a way that I have been obliged, as you may perceive, to throw all my guns, boats, and spars, overboard. We have now several feet water in the hold, in consequence of your shot, which you may likewise observe have nearly destroyed our upper works. If, therefore, you oblige me to heave to, I cannot keep the vessel afloat one hour in such weather."—"Will you make no farther attempt to escape?" asked the captain of the *Endymion*.—"As yet I have made none," he replied firmly; "I struck to you already—I am your prize—and, feeling as a man of honour, I do not consider myself at liberty to escape, even if I had the power. I bore up when the squall came on, as a matter of necessity. If you will allow me to run before the wind, along with you, till the weather moderates, you may take possession of the brig when you please—if not, I must go to the bottom."

"Although we distrusted our companion most grievously, we sailed along most lovingly together, as if we had been the best possible friends, for about sixty or seventy miles: during the greater part of this interval the frigate had scarcely any sail set at all; and we sometimes expected to see our little friend pop fairly under the water, and so elude us by foundering, or escape by witchcraft,—by the protection of which, in the opinion of the Johnnies, he had been so long kept from us. At eight o'clock in the evening it began to moderate, and by midnight we succeeded in getting a boat on board of the prize, after a run of between three and four hundred miles. Such is the scale of nautical sport! And where, I now beg to ask, is the fox hunting, or the piracy, or anything else, more exciting than this noble game?"

"The brig proved to be the *Milan* privateer, from St. Malo, of 14 guns, and 80 men, many of whom were unfortunately wounded by our shot, and several killed. The captain's name was Lepelletier—I have pleasure in recording it—M. Pierre Lepelletier; and wherever he goes, I will venture to say he can meet no braver or more resolute man than himself. Long before he came on board he had well earned the respect of his captors, high and low; and his manners and information, after we became personally acquainted with him, raised him still more in general estimation. One day, when I was walking with him under the half deck, I overheard two of the sailmakers conversing about the chase, the prize, and the prisoners—the only

topics which occupied our thoughts for a week afterwards. These men were repairing one of the sails which had been shot through and split during the chase. One of them laid down his palm and needle, and, looking very significantly to our side of the deck, exclaimed—"I say, Bill, is it not a pity that the French captain, walking there, is not an Englishman?" I lost no time in translating this observation to the person whom it most concerned, who declared it was by far the highest compliment he had been honoured with since he came on board the *Endymion*.—vol. iii. p. 310.

It would have afforded us pleasure to transfer to our pages Captain Hall's picturesque account of the battle of Corunna, of which he was an eye-witness; nor could we have entertained our readers better than with his land-cruise among the Spanish patriots of Corcubion, about the same eventful period. Many are the capital specimens of marine trickery which he has made us chuckle over—the whole episode of the midshipmen's pet mongrel *Shakings*, in particular, is perfect—but we cannot, in these busy times, afford to be extensive depredators on works sure, sooner or later, to be in everybody's hands. We shall therefore conclude with the last scene of poor Jack's eventful history, which is told in a style that does great honour both to the talents and the feelings of the writer.

'It need not be mentioned, that the surgeon is in constant attendance upon the dying man, who has generally been removed from his hammock to a cot, which is larger and more commodious, and is placed within a screen on one side of the sick bay, as the hospital of the ship is called. It is usual for the captain to pass through this place, and to speak to the men every morning; and I imagine there is hardly a ship in the service in which wine, fresh meat, and any other supplies recommended by the surgeon, are not sent from the tables of the captain and officers to such of the sick men as require a more generous diet than the ship's stores provided. After the carver in the gun-room has helped his messmates, he generally turns to the surgeon, and says, "Doctor, what shall I send to the sick?" But, even without this, the steward would certainly be taken to task were he to omit inquiring, as a matter of course, what was wanted in the sick bay. The restoration of the health of the invalids by such supplies is perhaps not more important, however, than the moral influence of the attention on the part of the officers. I would strongly recommend every captain to be seen (no matter for how short a time) by the bed-side of any of his new whom the surgeon may report as dying. Not occasionally, and in the flourishing style with which we read of great generals visiting hospitals, but uniformly and in the quiet sobriety of real kindness, as well as hearty consideration for the feelings of a man falling at his post in the service of his country. He who is killed in action has a brilliant Gazette to record his exploits, and the whole country may be said to attend his death-bed. But the merit is not less—

or

or may even be much greater—of the soldier or sailor who dies of a fever in a distant land—his story untold, and his sufferings unseen. In warring against climates unsuited to his frame, he may have encountered, in the public service, enemies often more formidable than those who handle pike and gun. There should be nothing left undone, therefore, at such a time, to show not only to the dying man, but to his shipmates and his family at home, that his services are appreciated. I remember, on one occasion, hearing the captain of a ship say to a poor fellow who was almost gone, that he was glad to see him so cheerful at such a moment; and begged to know if he had anything to say. "I hope, Sir," said the expiring seaman with a smile, "I have done my duty to your satisfaction?" "That you have, my lad," said his commander, "and to the satisfaction of your country, too." "That is all I wanted to know, Sir," replied the man. These few commonplace words cost the captain not five minutes of his time, but were long recollected with gratitude by the people under his orders, and contributed, along with many other graceful acts of considerate attention, to fix his authority.

'If a sailor who knows he is dying, has a captain who pleases him, he is very likely to send a message by the surgeon to beg a visit—not often to trouble his commander with any commission, but merely to say something at parting. No officer, of course, would ever refuse to grant such an interview, but it appears to me it should always be volunteered; for many men may wish it, whose habitual respect would disincline them to take such a liberty, even at the moment when all distinctions are about to cease.

'Very shortly after poor Jack dies, he is prepared for his deep-sea grave by his messmates, who, with the assistance of the sailmaker, and in the presence of the master-at-arms, sew him up in his hammock, and, having placed a couple of cannon-shot at his feet, they rest the body (which now not a little resembles an Egyptian mummy) on a spare grating. Some portion of the bedding and clothes are always made up in the package—apparently to prevent the form being too much seen. It is then carried aft, and, being placed across the after-hatchway, the union jack is thrown over all. Sometimes it is placed between two of the guns, under the half deck; but generally, I think, he is laid where I have mentioned, just abaft the mainmast. I should have mentioned before, that as soon as the surgeon's ineffectual professional offices are at end, he walks to the quarter-deck, and reports to the officer of the watch that one of his patients has just expired. At whatever hour of the day or night this occurs, the captain is immediately made acquainted with the circumstance.

'Next day, generally about eleven o'clock, the bell on which the half-hours are struck, is tolled for the funeral, and all who choose to be present, assemble on the gangways, booms, and round the mainmast, while the forepart of the quarter-deck is occupied by the officers. In some ships—and it ought perhaps to be so in all—it is made imperative on the officers and crew to attend the ceremony. If such

attendance be a proper mark of respect to a professional brother—as it surely is—it ought to be enforced, and not left to caprice. There may, indeed, be times of great fatigue, when it would harass men and officers, needlessly, to oblige them to come on deck for every funeral, and upon such occasions the watch on deck may be sufficient. Or, when some dire disease gets into a ship, and is cutting down her crew by its daily and nightly, or it may be hourly ravages, and when, two or three times in a watch, the ceremony must be repeated, those only, whose turn it is to be on deck, need be assembled. In such fearful times, the funeral is generally made to follow close upon the death.

‘While the people are repairing to the quarter-deck, in obedience to the summons of the bell, the grating on which the body is placed, being lifted from the main-deck by the messmates of the man who has died, is made to rest across the lee gangway. The stanchions for the man-ropes of the side are unshipped, and an opening made at the after-end of the hammock netting, sufficiently large to allow a free passage. The body is still covered by the flag already mentioned, with the feet projecting a little over the gunwale, while the messmates of the deceased range themselves on each side. A rope, which is kept out of sight in these arrangements, is then made fast to the grating, for a purpose which will be seen presently. When all is ready, the chaplain, if there be one on board, or, if not, the captain, or any of the officers he may direct to officiate, appears on the quarter-deck and commences the beautiful service, which, though but too familiar to most ears, I have observed, never fails to rivet the attention even of the rudest and least reflecting. Of course, the bell has ceased to toll, and every one stands in silence and uncovered as the prayers are read. Sailors, with all their looseness of habits, are well disposed to be sincerely religious; and when they have fair play given them, they will always, I believe, be found to stand on as good vantage ground, in this respect, as their fellow-countrymen on shore. Be this as it may, there can be no more attentive, or apparently reverent auditory, than assembles on the deck of a ship of war, on the occasion of a shipmate’s burial.

‘The land service for the burial of the dead contains the following words:—“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; in sure and certain hope,” &c. Every one, I am sure, who has attended the funeral of a friend—and whom will this not include?—must recollect the solemnity of that stage of the ceremony, where, as the above words are pronounced, there are cast into the grave three successive portions of earth, which, falling on the coffin, send up a hollow, mournful sound, resembling no other that I know. In the burial service at sea, the part quoted above is varied in the following very striking and solemn manner:—“Forasmuch,” &c.—“we therefore commit his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body, when the

sea

sea shall give up her dead, and the life of the world to come," &c. At the commencement of this part of the service, one of the seamen stoops down, and disengages the flag from the remains of his late shipmate, while the others, at the words "we commit his body to the deep," project the grating right into the sea. The body being loaded with shot at one end, glances off the grating, plunges at once into the ocean, and—

"In a moment, like a drop of rain,  
He sinks into its depths with bubbling groan,  
Without a grave, unknelt, uncoffined, and unknown."

'This part of the ceremony is rather less impressive than the correspondent part on land; but still there is something solemn, as well as startling, in the sudden splash, followed by the sound of the grating, as it is towed along under the main-chains.'

Here follows a paragraph which is perhaps more strikingly characteristic of the author than any other in his book. We give it without comment: if the reader cannot sympathize with it, there is nothing more to be said: a Wordsworth or a Wilson would have turned it into exquisite poetry.

'In a fine day at sea, in smooth water, and when all the ship's company and officers are assembled, the ceremony just described, although a melancholy one, as it must always be, is often so pleasing, all things considered, that it is calculated to leave even cheerful impressions on the mind.'

Even Captain Hall, however, admits that a sea-funeral may sometimes be a scene of unmixed sadness; and he records the following as the most impressive of all the hundreds he has witnessed. It occurred in the *Leander*, off the coast of North America.

'There was a poor little midgy on board, so delicate and fragile, that the sea was clearly no fit profession for him: but he or his friends thought otherwise; and as he had a spirit for which his frame was no match, he soon gave token of decay. This boy was a great favourite with every body—the sailors smiled whenever he passed, as they would have done to a child—the officers petted him, and coddled him up with all sorts of good things—and his messmates, in a style which did not altogether please him, but which he could not well resist, as it was meant most kindly, nicknamed him Dolly. Poor fellow!—he was long remembered afterwards. I forget what his particular complaint was, but he gradually sunk; and at last went out just as a taper might have done, exposed to such gusts of wind as blew in that tempestuous region. He died in the morning; but it was not until the evening that he was prepared for a seaman's grave.

'I remember, in the course of the day, going to the side of the boy's hammock, and on laying my hand upon his breast, was astonished to find it still warm—so much so, that I almost imagined I could feel the heart beat. This, of course, was a vain fancy; but I was much attached to my little companion, being then not much taller myself—and

I was

I was soothed and gratified, in a childish way, by discovering that my friend, though many hours dead, had not yet acquired the usual revolting chillness.

‘ In after years I have sometimes thought of this incident, when reflecting on the pleasing doctrine of the Spaniards—that as soon as children die, they are translated into angels, without any of those cold obstructions, which, they pretend, intercept and retard the souls of other mortals. The peculiar circumstances connected with the funeral which I am about to describe, and the fanciful superstitions of the sailors upon the occasion, have combined to fix the whole scene in my memory.

‘ Something occurred during the day to prevent the funeral taking place at the usual hour, and the ceremony was deferred till long after sunset. The evening was extremely dark, and it was blowing a treble-reefed topsail breeze. We had just sent down the top-gallant yards, and made all snug for a boisterous winter’s night. As it became necessary to have lights to see what was done, several signal lanterns were placed on the break of the quarter-deck, and others along the hammock railings on the lee gangway. The whole ship’s company and officers were assembled, some on the booms, others in the boats; while the main-rigging was crowded half way up to the cat-harpings. Overhead, the mainsail, illuminated as high as the yard by the lamps, was bulging forwards under the gale, which was rising every minute, and straining so violently at the main-sheet, that there was some doubt whether it might not be necessary to interrupt the funeral in order to take sail off the ship. The lower deck ports lay completely under water, and several times the muzzles of the main-deck guns were plunged into the sea; so that the end of the grating on which the remains of poor Dolly were laid, once or twice nearly touched the tops of the waves, as they foamed and hissed past. The rain fell fast on the bare heads of the crew, dropping also on the officers, during all the ceremony, from the foot of the mainsail, and wetting the leaves of the prayer-book. The wind sighed over us amongst the wet shrouds, with a note so mournful, that there could not have been a more appropriate dirge.

‘ The ship—pitching violently—strained and creaked from end to end: so that, what with the noise of the sea, the rattling of the ropes, and the whistling of the wind, hardly one word of the service could be distinguished. The men, however, understood, by a motion of the captain’s hand, when the time came—and the body of our dear little brother was committed to the deep.

‘ So violent a squall was sweeping past the ship at this moment, that no sound was heard of the usual splash, which made the sailors allege that their young favourite never touched the water at all, but was at once carried off in the gale to his final resting-place!’

Naval and military authors have of late years increased and multiplied in a style that must make Malthusian critics shake in their slippers; but we, being of the old breed, are at no loss to discover

discover that the usual compensatory process has been equally at work, and hail, with sincere satisfaction, the appearance of a monthly journal expressly devoted to this rising literature of the United Service, and conducted (if we may presume, as elder brothers, to say a word on such a subject) in a style that does honour to all concerned; with varied, not seldom with powerful talent, and uniformly, as far as we have observed, in a high, gallant, loyal, old English spirit. To such hands we may safely leave the many questions of professional controversy touched on in these volumes; and consider our conscience, as to the 'general reader,' sufficiently cleared, when we assure him that throughout he will find them lively and diverting—that many detached passages of extraordinary beauty, as well as interest, will 'pull him up' in the course of the perusal—and that, though we do not pretend to know why Captain Hall talks of his book as intended *chiefly* for young persons, it contains assuredly nothing that can do little people harm, and a great deal that is likely to do them good.

It records, after all, only a small portion of the author's professional career; and if we have been so well amused and edified with his sketches of nautical life between twelve and twenty, we may safely expect still better from the sequel of the story. The Mediterranean, the French coast, and this sharp observer's travels in Hindostan, and on the continent of Europe, are yet untouched; and we are glad he is to bring mature optics to such scenes. Certain novelists seem to consider it as a ruled point that no very exquisite interest can attach to human beings after they have passed the bloom of youth; but the readers of autobiography, and above all of nautobiography, must beg leave to dissent from this conclusion, however flattering to damsels of seventeen, and heroes who have not yet worn out their first razors.

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ART. V.—1. *Conspiration pour l'Egalité, dite de Babeuf; suivie du Procès auquel elle donna lieu, et des Pièces justificatives, &c.*

Par Philippo Buonarroti. 2 vols. Bruxelles. 1828.

2. *Haute Cour de Justice. Copie des Pièces saisies dans le Local qui Babeuf occupoit lors de son Arrestation.* 2 vols. à Paris. De l'Imprimerie Nationale. Nivôse, an V.

**W**ELL timed as the work of Philippo Buonarroti is, it may be considered not only as the most curious one which has appeared concerning the French revolution, but as the most important also.

The author was born at Florence, in the year 1760; and it has

has been said that he descended in a right line from Michael Angelo, but Michael Angelo was never married. That he was of that family, however, is certain; and when he had finished his course of studies at Pisa, the Grand Duke Leopold, who favoured him because of the illustrious name he bore, made him a knight of the order of St. Stephen, and offered him a place at court and a large pension. He accepted the order, but declined the place, because it would have been inconsistent with his literary pursuits; and it may be believed that he declined the pension also, for the desire of enriching himself seems never to have possessed him: his errors were of a very different kind. When the French revolution broke out, he entered into it with all the ardour of an Italian, and with a strength of character which showed that in that respect he had not degenerated from his great ancestor;—happy had it been if he had cultivated the same religious feelings, and been endued with equal sobriety and strength of mind. He made no secret of his opinions, and they were such, that a prince less generous than Leopold would not have been satisfied with banishing him from Tuscany. Corsica was the placè to which he removed with his wife and children, and there he published a revolutionary journal entitled *L'Amico della Libertà Italiana*. But when his old friend Salicetti was elected a deputy to the National Convention, Buonarroti was induced to accompany him to Paris, where he presently was enrolled as a member of the Jacobin Club; and becoming intimately connected with the leading members of what was called the Mountain party, was sent back to Corsica as commissioner, with full powers, when a disposition was manifested by that island to throw off its subjection to France. That he failed in suppressing that disposition was not owing to any want of decision on his part; but he had to deal with men not more scrupulous as to means than himself. They attacked him in his house, and he thought himself fortunate in getting through a window, and making his escape from the island. Having returned to Paris with the reputation of one who was qualified for any service which required intrepidity and obduracy, he was sent with Maillot, as commissioner to Lyons, to suppress the insurrection in that city. But the Lyonese, who had already put to death their Jacobin mayor, seized these commissioners, put them in prison, tried and condemned them; and Buonarroti was only saved from execution by the entrance of the republican army into that unfortunate city.

It is said, that having thus for the second time escaped a violent death, he expressed a wish for an appointment to some more peaceable situation; but such a wish is not likely to have been  
formed

formed by Buonarroti, than whom no man was ever less disposed to 'seek peace and ensue it:' and as little likely is it to have been expressed to Collot d'Herbois. That monster recommended him to his colleagues, Ricord and the younger Robespierre, who were then acting as Representative Commissioners with the army of Italy; and by them he was appointed, first, a member of the military tribunal of that army, and after the conquest of Piedmont in the following year, agent of the republic in all the conquered countries. In this office he is said to have acted with a disinterestedness as characteristic of the individual as it was extraordinary in any person so employed; for among that host of harpies, he never resorted to any means of acquiring riches, but, on the contrary, expended his salary in relieving those of his own party who were in need. On being asked why he preferred poverty to affluence, he replied, that if affluence had been his choice, he would not have left Florence. This appointment he held at the time of Robespierre's downfall; and not long afterwards, the party who had obtained the ascendancy, knowing his principles and dangerous character, despatched orders for apprehending him, and sending him to Paris. Tureau, the representative at Nice, to whom these orders were addressed, wishing to give him an opportunity of escaping, exclaimed publicly, *Voilà encore une victime du Fréronisme!* and delayed executing them for several days. Buonarroti, therefore, was apprized of his danger; and his secretary advised him to decamp with the chest of the administration, which contained about 300,000 livres. But he chose the better part,—waited patiently for his arrest, and was carried prisoner to Paris. Opinions were not then, as during the reign of terror, punished with death; his imprisonment was a measure of precaution, not of vengeance; and it could not have been rigorous, because he supported himself while a prisoner by teaching music. 'I find,' said he, 'that Rousseau was right, when he recommended to his Emilius the attainment of some art which might prove useful to him in time of need. I studied music for my recreation; I am now obliged to have recourse to it for my subsistence.'

A general amnesty for those who called themselves patriots restored him to liberty; the use he made of that liberty was to engage in Babeuf's conspiracy. Good fortune had prevented him throughout the revolution from being as atrocious in act as he was in intention; and as he had the reputation of a sincere and honourable man, even among those who thought him most erroneous, it was intimated to him by the ambassador of the grand duke, when he was arrested for that conspiracy, that if he would engage to return to Florence, and resume his rank there, the ambassador would intercede for him with the Directory, and his sentence

sentence should be nothing more than banishment from France. The lingering hope of success, the pride of consistency, and attachment to his fellow-conspirators, made him reply that he had relinquished for ever his rank in Italy, and that he wished to remain in France to enjoy the *vestigia morientis libertatis*. Of the conspiracy we shall presently speak. Buonarroti was one of those who were sentenced to be transported to Guiana;\* that sentence, however, was not carried into effect. He was confined first at Cherbourg, then at some place in the Maritime Alps,—there he was in 1806; and from that time till the publication of these volumes, nothing was heard of one whom his English biographer calls \* ‘this magnanimous and accomplished character, the gallant and unfortunate Buonarroti.’

These epithets were employed by the biographer in their usual eulogistic acceptance. He supposed that the object of the conspirators ‘was to overturn the constitution of 1795, (that of the Directory,) which they called the patrician code of Boissy d’Anglas, and to renew that of 1793, the true democratic constitution, founded on the principles of Thomas Paine;’ and as those principles served, with him, to cover a multitude of sins, he seems not to think the worse of Buonarroti for having been connected with some of the most bloodthirsty miscreants that ever outraged humanity. But that the conspiracy had a further object in view he ought to have known, because it clearly appeared in the papers concerning it, which were officially published at the time. The subject obtained far less attention than it deserved, because the public were weary of conspiracies and revolutionary schemes,—because curiosity was diverted by Buonaparte’s first career of victory,—and because the Directory, satisfied with having suppressed the plot, gave to it the least possible publicity. Only two of the conspirators were put to death; and the clemency which spared others, who were equally implicated, might at any time have been deemed remarkable. But they who were then in authority had good reason for this. The appetite of the revolutionists for blood, which, during a long and dreadful time, had ‘grown by what it fed on,’ had at last been palled: they themselves had gained their ends in the revolution, and therefore wished it to stop where it was; and they were conscious, moreover, that against them Babeuf and his associates had but too strong a case.

In the interval between the verdict and the sentence, when the public accuser had required that Babeuf and Darthé should be condemned to death, and Buonarroti, with six others, to deporta-

\* Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic. Vol. i. pp. 365—373.

tion, the two former received from Buonarroti a promise that he would vindicate their memory, by publishing an exact recital of their common intentions.

‘I might,’ he says, ‘have published this work much sooner, if I had not been withheld by the fear of affording new pretexts for enmity and persecution. At present, pressed by age, I have determined to let it appear, with the more confidence, because, on the one side, the men of that epoch have almost disappeared, and the actual political doctrines being at an infinite distance from those which the democrats of the fourth year of the French republic professed, a dangerous application is not any longer to be feared. Moreover, it is just that the democratic party should at last be known in its true colours.

‘I am not ignorant that the political and economical principles which I must avow, will meet with many disapprovers; this is no reason for not publishing them: other opinions, which have been opposed as errors, have been incontestable truths. Are there not men whom the tinsel of civilized society has not dazzled, nor the systems which are preached up by those who arrogate to themselves the right of directing opinion? They, perhaps, will appreciate the importance of these opinions, and will give some regret to the memory of those courageous citizens, who, being penetrated with their justice, and proud of exposing their lives in supporting them, sealed them at last with their blood. Strongly bound to them by the conformity of our sentiments, I partook in their conviction and their efforts; and if we were deceived, our error was at least complete. They persevered in it to the grave; and for me, after subsequent long reflection, I remain convinced, that that equality which they loved is the only institution proper for conciliating all real wants, for directing the useful passions, restraining the dangerous ones, and giving to society a form, free, happy, peaceful, and durable.’

In these words, Buonarroti concludes his preface. Upon the verge of threescore years and ten, he looked back upon the part which he had taken in the revolution, and in this conspiracy, with complacency: in that feeling he expected to die, as he had lived; and this is the legacy which he bequeathed to the world!

Among the parties who figured in that bloody tragedy, the second part of which has now commenced, there was one, Buonarroti says, which deserves to fix the attention of the philosopher, because of the constant devotion with which it consecrated its efforts to the real deliverance of humanity. A great movement had been brought about by ambition, jealousy, cupidity, and the blind desire of innovation. Some endeavoured to place a new dynasty upon the throne of France; some to transfer power from one caste to another, that they might secure it exclusively for themselves; and pretended legislators believed they had founded a republic, because they had put a king to death, and substituted the authority of many for that of one. The divisions during the  
revolution

revolution were caused by principle and by interest, but in a far greater degree by the latter,—men of principle following steadily the course which that principle presented, and those who aimed at their own advantage always acting as opportunity and circumstances served. Parties who seemed at first unanimous went but a little way together. The nobles of the Constituent Assembly stopped short when nobility was attacked ; but the movement which they had contributed with all their efforts to begin, was not to be impeded by their weak hands. They who would have transferred the crown to Philippe, Duke of Orleans, and with that object had helped to break down the monarchy, drew back when republican opinions obtained the ascendancy. The priests who were active reformers against the hierarchy, became active anti-revolutionists when irreligion was proclaimed by the ruling power ; and the profligate adventurers who forwarded, or complied with, any change by which they could hope either to enrich or to secure themselves,—Constitutionalists, Girondists, Jacobins, and Freronists in succession,—even these persons had a principle to stand upon, when they discovered the design of a party who aspired (in their own language) at bringing about a total reform of society in favour of the mass of the people : for a few such men, according to Buonarroti, there were, who, from the beginning of the revolution, had conceived the hope of establishing in France the empire of true justice ; and these persons seized with earnestness the frequent occasions which were offered, during so great a fermentation, for accustoming their fellow-citizens to reflect upon their rights, and for bringing them, by degrees, to desire the overthrow of all those vicious institutions which stood between them and their object. The different factions who successively appeared, concurred, till the interests of the one became opposed to the principles of the other. As long as they had a common purpose to serve by pulling down, they acted together ; but they who began to build up, found always mortal enemies in their former allies. The revolution, in fact, resolved itself into a struggle between the system of selfishness, or egotism, in Buonarroti's language, and the system of equality ;—the former, he says, being the English doctrine of the economists, the latter having been in all ages that which true philosophers had secretly desired, and having had illustrious defenders in all ages—Minos, Lycurgus, Plato, and the legislator of the Christians, in former times ; in latter, Sir Thomas More, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Mably. As soon as the course of things tended manifestly to this separation, men whose minds were tainted by the corruption of their hearts, took the selfish side, and those who had pure hearts, under the direction of upright minds, endeavoured, of course, to bring about the complete

plete triumph of equality—by what means will presently appear; and those means will enable the reader to form his own judgment of what, in the school of revolutionary philosophy, is deemed purity of heart and rectitude of mind.

Buonarroti also takes credit to this party for having, under the Constituent Assembly, opposed the distinction of citizens, and the qualification required for the representation, and the royal *velo*; for having resisted the rehabilitation of the king after his attempted flight; supported the courage of the patriots when it was giving way, after the affair of the Champ de Mars; unmasked the aristocratical complots of those who called prematurely for a republic; and afterwards, in like manner, exposed the dissimulation of the court, the crimes of the ministers, and the tortuous proceedings of the Girondists. But it was after the 10th of August, 1792, that they formed the most flattering hopes, and redoubled their exertions. To the merit of Rousseau's conceptions they added the boldness of applying them to a society of five and twenty millions of men. It would be doing an injustice to Buonarroti not to present the history of him and his associates in their own point of view and in their own colouring. The life and the likeness may thus be best preserved; and there can be no fear of its producing any but the right effect upon sane minds, and hearts which are not utterly depraved. Burns has said—

‘ O wad some power the giftie gie us  
To see oursels as others see us!’

but nothing can better assist us in forming a just estimate of men than to see them as they see themselves.

A few days after the overthrow of the throne, the exercise of their political rights was extended to all citizens, all were declared eligible to public functions, and it was solemnly acknowledged that no constitution could be imposed upon the people without their own consent. At the same time, ‘ marriage was set free from that hopeless indissolubility which renders it often as injurious to the happiness of individuals and of families as it is fatal to morals and to liberty,’—that is, unlimited liberty of divorce was allowed, by way of promoting public morals and domestic happiness! But then the Girondists began to exercise a dangerous influence in the Convention—a party whose insidious support of liberty injured it more, according to the views of Buonarroti and the Levellers, than all the open opposition of the privileged orders. There is, however, no little truth in his description of that party. It was composed, he says, chiefly of lawyers, physicians, bankers, rich merchants, wealthy townsmen, and men of letters who made a trade of their knowledge; persons distinguished by their riches, by the refinement of their manners, by  
their

their dexterity in talking (*le babil*), by their loose morals, and by their irreligion; aspiring, greedy, vain, and restless—for the love of luxury, the thirst of gold, and the desire of shining and of ruling, was not confined to the noblesse. But this leveller furnishes ground for still graver charges against himself, when he reproaches them for having declaimed against the massacres of September, which he calls terrible, but irreparable; and which, he says, were evidently determined on with the intention of establishing the revolution, and were the deplorable consequences of the open and secret hostilities carried on by the enemies of liberty, and of the great and imminent dangers wherewith the French people were then menaced.

‘The liberty of the Convention (he says) was violated that that of the people might be saved. Then, indeed, democratical truths propagated themselves rapidly. In the honourable list of those who from the beginning declared themselves for the real emancipation of the French people, Marat, Robespierre, and Saint-Just, figured gloriously. The two former had openly attacked the anti-popular system which prevailed in the Constituent Assembly; had directed the movements of the patriots before and after the 10th of August; had elevated themselves to the highest philosophy in the sentence of the king; and had borne a great part in the events of the 31st of May, when the Girondists were overthrown.’ Buonarroti is not the only writer who held up Robespierre as an object of admiration before the second revolution; but no aberration of the human mind ought to surprise those who are conversant with the history of other times, or even of their own. Buonaparte has had his encomiasts in this country among those who arrogated to themselves the exclusive praise of being the friends of freedom and of humanity; Joanna Southcote still has her deluded followers, notwithstanding the demonstration of their delusion which her death afforded; and in the list of heretics we find a sect who are called Cainites, because they venerated the memory of the first murderer!

Robespierre, it is here said, was of opinion that the first object of the *mandatories* of the people should be to annihilate the numerous enemies who, from within and without, endangered the republic; in other words, to destroy all who stood in the way of his political speculations. And calling to mind the opinions which ‘this illustrious martyr of equality avowed, the purity of his manners, his self-devotedness, his courage, his modesty, and his rare disinterestedness, one is forced,’ says Buonarroti, ‘to render *un éclatant hommage à une si haute sagesse*; and one cannot but detest the perversity and deplore the incomprehensible blindness of those who plotted and effected his assassination!’

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The constitution of 1793, framed after the fall of the Girondists by the Mountain, did not satisfy the wishes of the 'friends of humanity.' They regretted to find in it the old and deseperating (*désespérantes*) ideas of the rights of property; but whatever cause may have obliged the deputies who were the friends of equality to conceal their ulterior views, this constitution was such, in all other respects, that it might justly be regarded as the palladium of French liberty. The patriots, *par excellence*, who framed it, saw, however, that this alone could not assure to the French the happiness which they demanded.

'They thought that the reformation of manners ought to precede the enjoyment of liberty; they knew that before the exercise of this sovereignty was conferred upon the people, it was necessary to render the love of virtue general; to substitute disinterestedness and modesty for the avarice, the vanity, and the ambition which keep up a perpetual war among the members of society; to put an end to the contradictions established by our institutions between want and the love of independence; and to force from the natural enemies of equality the means of deceiving, intimidating, and dividing men. They knew that the extraordinary and compulsory measures which were indispensable for operating so happy and so great a change, are irreconcilable with the forms of a regular organization; for a time they knew, and experience has since but too well justified their way of thinking, that to establish the constitutional order of elections without these preliminaries, would be to give up the power into the hands of the friends of all abuses, and thus lose for ever the opportunity of securing public happiness.'

That is, it was only by means of perfect tyranny that perfect freedom could be obtained; and terror and blood were the indispensable means by which the friends of humanity were to make the love of virtue general, and reform the manners of the nation!

Accordingly, at the demand of eight thousand envoys of the people, the constitution was suspended till the peace, and a revolutionary government installed meantime, having for its direction the members of that Committee of Public Safety to which humanity should have owed its complete redemption (*auquel l'humanité faillit devoir une rédemption complète*). Buonarroti describes in glowing language the state of public feeling during the advent of his expected Astrea—the days which were to have prepared the way for his Saturnian republic. According to him, it was a golden age of wisdom, and heroism, and virtue. Nothing is said of the revolutionary tribunal, of the ambulatory guillotines, the *fusillades*, the *noyades*, the *republican marriages*, and the numberless atrocities, which would be incredible if they were not so public and notorious as to be beyond all possibility of denial or of doubt. It is not in bad faith that Buonarroti omits

omits all notice of them here: he would have flinched as little from the recollection as from the perpetration of anything which he deemed expedient for bringing about the triumph of equality. The revolutionist who, like him, has elevated himself *à la plus haute philosophie*, regards human life and human suffering with as much indifference as Sylla and Marius, Timur and Nadir Shah, and Napoleon Buonaparte: the strength of character is alike in all, and the obduracy of heart, and the spirit by which they are actuated.

*Encore un jour*, 'and the happiness and freedom of all would have been secured.' *Il ne tint peut-être, qu'à un acte de sévérité de plus, que la cause du genre humain ne remportât en France un triomphe complet et éternel.* But Robespierre and his colleagues were the victims of their humanity! With such enemies as these, says Buonarroti, in the honesty of his atrocious spirit—*il ne s'agit pas de punir, mais d'anéantir.* In men, too surely, as in beasts, the appetite for blood grows 'by what it feeds on.' The French, however, had at that time been gorged with it, even to loathing: very few executions followed upon the overthrow of Robespierre; and when the Convention condemned two of his most atrocious colleagues, Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Vareannes, to no severer punishment than deportation, the inadequacy of such a sentence must be imputed less to a consciousness of their own implication in the guilt, than to the renewed sense of humanity among the people. An insurrection was attempted in favour of these wretches, and the royalists were charged with having excited it—a stratagem to which, Buonarroti says, the periodical and patriotic writers always had recourse when a republican attempt failed; and of this, he says, posterity ought to be apprized, lest it should mistake the character of these conspiracies. On his own knowledge, also, he states the not unimportant fact that one of these plots was in great part the work of some 'citizens' who were at that time in confinement as suspected persons.

Bread, and the constitution of 1793! was the cry of those conspirators, as if that constitution could have given them bread. When the constitution of the Directory was established, the Levellers looked upon it as being framed upon the single principle of continuing the existing distinctions of opulence and misery; and when, upon the appointment of Barras and Carnot to the Directory, some reaction in favour of the more republican party ensued, and the suspected democrats were set at liberty, a conspiracy was then set on foot for the first time on the avowed principle of suffering no distinctions of property. The first movers were Babeuf, Darthé, Buonarroti himself, Fontenelle, and a fifth, whose name, because he was still living, is disguised in an anagram, and written *Lorjen de Doimel*.

Babeuf

Babeuf was born at St. Quentin, in 1762. Buonarroti describes him as a man of feeling (*sensible*), well-informed, and indefatigable. The revolution, he says, found him young, and devoted to study;—and he does not say that it found him either a footman, or an attorney's clerk, or an attorney. These were his three first stages in life, and in neither of them could he have had much opportunity for study, or any advantage from it. It found him also, says his faithful historian, detesting tyranny, and meditating upon the means of delivering his unhappy fellow-citizens from oppression. In another account, it is said, 'his wife accompanied him from the kitchen to the parlour; and as she had shared in his indigence, so she very justly partook of his prosperity. He practised in the country for some time; and, if we are to give credit to his enemies, exhibited all the little tricks of a low pettifogger.' This is probably calumnious, for the bent of his nature was not toward sins of that class; and when, as secretary to some provincial administration during the revolution, he was prosecuted for mal-practices, and convicted, the conviction was reversed by the Convention, as having been unjust. A reversal by such a tribunal is no proof of his innocence, and might rather be deemed a presumption against it, if it were not altogether improbable that he should ever have stooped to commit mean offences. Mrs. Wollstonecraft said of him, that she had never seen any person who possessed greater abilities, or equal strength of character: they could not have taken a more dangerous direction for others or for himself.

In the first days of the revolution, Marat saved him from prosecution for some of his writings. He held afterwards an office under the commune of Paris, and there 'connected himself in friendship with a great number of courageous republicans.' Yet, notwithstanding this intimacy with the very worst of the revolutionists, he was inclined to favour the ruling party, after the fall of Robespierre—an error which, Buonarroti says, did not last long,—which he frankly acknowledged, and which left him greater than if he had never erred. This change of conduct led to his confinement, first in the *Maison d'Arrêt* at Plessis, and afterwards at Arras. During his detention at the latter place, he became acquainted with a captain of hussars, by name Charles Germain, and with many other republicans, to whom he preached the doctrine of perfect equality, familiarized them to the notion of a revolution in property, and prepared them to form a plebeian La Vendée, that they might effect by force what he now deemed it hopeless to expect from the march of government. *Aussi les prisons furent les berceaux des conspirations démocratiques qui éclatèrent dans le cours de la troisième et quatrième année de la*

*révolution.* Buonarroti sums up the eulogium of his friend by saying, that he was always disinterested, and always poor,—a good husband, a tender father, and as such beloved by his family.

Such is the character which Buonarroti has given of Babeuf. Babeuf may have been, in all the relations of private life, as estimable as he is here described; and, nevertheless, political fanaticism had rendered him, as will be seen, a monster. But though Buonarroti's statement of the principles and intentions of his party carries with it every mark of truth, and is authenticated by other documents, wherever it can be compared with them, his testimony to the character of his accomplices is not equally unexceptionable. There are certain parts of their conduct which he has kept out of sight, not in dishonest suppression, but because he was conscious that the relation would not have tended to impress his readers favourably, and yet saw nothing in the facts himself but what was perfectly consistent with his notions of moral rectitude. What suppression of this kind there may be, in his account of Babeuf, we do not know; for, until this conspiracy, no part in the revolutionary drama higher than that of second or third murderer had been assigned to him; and, therefore, nothing has been recorded of his earlier performances. This, however, was not the case with another head of the conspiracy, who proceeded *passibus æquis* with Babeuf in it, from first to last; and who is described by Buonarroti as bold, constant, inflexible, remarkably skilful in discovering the dispositions of others, and rendering them subservient to his own views,—having *beaucoup de lumières*, a lively passion for true justice, austere morals, and a compassionate heart. The sketch here given of his preceding history is, that Darthé was a student of law, in Paris, when the revolution began; and that he precipitated himself into it, *avec le zèle d'un homme qui défend à corps perdu la vérité dès qu'elle lui est à ses yeux*; and that for his zealous services he was at length promoted to the office of Public Accuser in the Revolutionary Tribunals of Arras and Cambrai, to the severity of which tribunals the preservation of that frontier, Buonarroti says, was in great part owing. Here he showed himself to be a republican and incorruptible magistrate. He had, early in the revolution, entered into the views of Robespierre, who entertained the highest opinion of him; and at the time of Robespierre's overthrow, he was in a state of honourable indigence.

• Every reader who has any knowledge of the history of those times will know what sort of qualifications were required in the public accuser of a revolutionary tribunal; and the proceedings of this tribunal, in which Darthé officiated, happen to have been somewhat closely investigated—Joseph Lebon, who was the revolutionary commissioner in those districts, having been one of the •

the few wholesale butchers who were brought to trial for their crimes; and in the documents which were thus brought to light, we find those particulars respecting the just, the honourable, the compassionate Darthé, which Buonarroti did not think it necessary to bring into notice. *Laissez-moi faire*, said Lebon, in a letter to the Committee of Safety, when he entered upon his work at Arras: 'my mission will not cost the republic dear, though it will be necessary that I should go through the country, or at least the canton; *car je sais voyager à pied, à cheval, et en voiture; au surplus, les coquins dont je fais confisquer les biens et la tête par les tribunaux, dédommageront amplement la patrie.*' In another letter he says that the guillotine impatiently expects its game (*son gibier*), and that he had summoned thousands of witnesses to come to depose all that they knew, on pain of being treated as accomplices. In this manner witnesses were to be procured. The tribunal, he said, was composed of vigorous *sans-culottes*; they were, in all cases of private offences, to observe the forms of law; but *tous délits contre la chose publique seront jugés révolutionnairement, de quelque nature qu'ils soient.* He moved from place to place with a guillotine and its establishment, a troop of comedians and an orchestra. In the morning there was an execution, in the evening a spectacle; and the women who did not appear at the ball, though their nearest and dearest connexions were in the shambles for slaughter, were treated as suspected persons. The executioner sat at his table, and *parler guillotine* was the species of wit in which the guests vied with each other. Darthé was worthy to be in the suite of this monster; he is called *un des plus hardis complices de Lebon, Jacobin exagéré,—homme violent et sans mœurs, un digne vautour révolutionnaire;* and his own letters show that he deserved the character. He speaks in them of an ardent commission of patriots (himself being one); and of a terrible jury, which jury he characterizes in terms that cannot be presented to English eyes or ears. *Un arrêté vigoureux*, he says, *a fait claquemurer les femmes aristocrates, dont les maris sont incarcérés, et les maris dont les femmes le sont. La guillotine depuis ce moment ne désespère pas; les ducs, les marquis, les comtes et barons, mdes et femelles, tombent comme grêle.* Then, giving a list of persons whom the committee of Surveillance of his native place, St. Pol, had caused to be arrested, which list he terminates with three *et cæteras*: he says, *Il n'y a pas un de ces coquins-là qui n'ait mérité d'éternuer dans la besace. Tu imagines bien qu'il a falli donner quelques coups de fouet; je lance d'ici nos sans-culottes, et leur mets le feu sous le ventre.* This man would not consent that the cart of basket-work, in which the bodies were brought from the guillotine, should be lined with tin,

that 'the safety of the republic and of liberty imperiously required the destruction of the existing government, and that they were rigorously bound in duty to effect it.' But this committee was also, in Buonarroti's words, a political Lyceum, in which they discussed the principles of social order, that they might have a complete idea of the system which was to be erected upon the ruins of that which they were to destroy. They agreed that inequality was the root of all evil, and that the business of a virtuous legislator must be to destroy that inequality; but how should that be effected? Amar was for pursuing the plan of the revolutionary government, in fixing a maximum upon all articles of necessity, and demanding requisitions and forced contributions from the rich, so as to deprive them of their superfluous wealth, and distribute it among those who were in need. As nothing had softened this man's hard heart, so it seemed nothing could enlarge his narrow capacity. Some were for sumptuary laws, some for a progressive taxation, whereby to level the nation down to the desired standard; others for an agrarian division of lands. All these plans were opposed by Buonarroti, Darthé, and two others, whose names, as they were still living, have been concealed in this work. The doctrine which they laid down was, that the labours, and the produce, and the advantages of society ought to be equally distributed, this being the true perfection of the social system, and the only means of preventing or remedying natural inequalities; nothing but this, they argued, could put an end to oppression for ever, render it impossible for ambition and avarice to injure others, and guarantee to every one the greatest possible happiness. Amar seemed struck, as by a flash of light, at the first enunciation of this system; the committee resolved that liberty and equality could never be established without this *radical reform in property*, and that the patriots could appear nothing better in the eyes of the multitude than restless and interested intriguers, unless they openly made themselves the apostles of this doctrine. During these discussions frequent mention was made of Robespierre and 'his companions in martyrdom,' as having evidently aimed at this end.

Here Buonarroti pauses to reflect upon the fate of those sages who, because they have endeavoured to make their oppressed fellow-creatures happy, have suffered death for their reward:—

'It is difficult,' he says, 'to convince the multitude of the advantage of anything new, and therefore the wise legislators of antiquity had recourse to religious fictions, whereby they astonished the multitude whom they could not have persuaded. This expedient, which is not without danger, cannot be employed with success among a people who, I know not whether happily or unhappily, cultivate philosophy; nothing

nothing can be done with them but by the attractions of pleasure, or by force. If Christianity had not been disfigured by those who deceive mankind for the purpose of enslaving them, it might have been of great use to legislators who are the friends of their fellow-creatures. The pure doctrine of Jesus, presented as an emanation of natural religion, from which it differs not, might have been the support of a wise reform, and the source of truly social morals; they are irreconcilable with materialism, which leads so many to consult nothing in their conduct but their own direct interest, and to mock at every virtue.'

This is a remarkable passage. Buonarroti had never seen Christianity in any other form than that of a gross and palpable imposture: had it been presented to him in its beauty and its truth, that heart of iron might have been softened.

But the conspirators thought that, since the fall of Robespierre, public opinion had been retrograde upon the great point of equality. Before that event the great body of small proprietors had been almost ready to renounce their properties,—that is, either they supposed a larger portion would fall to their share in a distribution which they were to direct, or they were ready to renounce anything so they might keep their heads upon their shoulders. But these clung to their possessions now, which Buonarroti accounted for by supposing they were convinced that the legislature had lost sight of the public good,—but which is much more naturally explained by the simple fact that the reign of terror was at an end, and they felt themselves in a state of security once more. The Committee deemed it, therefore, impolitic to bring their ulterior object in full view as yet; their better course would be to call for the constitution of 1793, for, though that constitution 'consecrated the rights of property in all their frightful latitude,' it was in other points nearer perfection than any other; it was a good rallying-point; and when the equalitarians, the *moins exigeans* democrats, and a great part of the people, should have rallied round it, *further changes would then become easy*. But by force only could the Directorial constitution be overthrown; no scruples upon that point could be entertained by men who were playing the game of revolution; the question was, what sort of provisional government to appoint when force should have succeeded. One proposed that the remaining members of the National Council should be assembled, considering that the legitimate authority was vested in them; another was for a dictator, to be invested with supreme power, and charged to institute a republic; but the motion which was adopted was, that the people of Paris, when in actual insurrection, should nominate a body of governors for the time. The Society of the Pantheon was to be the nucleus of the insurrection; the speakers in that worshipful meeting were exhorting,

horted, therefore, to keep up the energy of their auditors, but to keep it also within bounds, in prudent preparation; at the same time Babeuf was encouraged to redouble his efforts, and from his place of concealment call upon the people in plain terms to achieve for themselves the full and entire conquest of their rights.

Hitherto the Levellers had been careful not to bring forward the name of Babeuf at the Pantheon meetings—a silence which was equally observed by the friends and enemies of his doctrines. But presently his wife was arrested for distributing his writings. It was concluded, that this had been done for the sake of discovering through her the place where her husband was concealed; and ‘at the recital of this excess of cruelty, the Pantheon rang with a thousand cries of indignation.’ Babeuf’s writings were so many direct appeals to the multitude, calling upon them to rise in arms against the government, and against all proprietors,—that all might be made equal in everything; and because his wife was simply put in confinement for distributing these papers, men who had catered for the guillotine—who had belonged to the blood-establishment of Robespierre and Lebon—exclaimed in indignation against this, as an excess of cruelty! It was agreed, that the Society should intercede for her release, and that pecuniary assistance should be sent to her in prison. The latter act would not have awakened suspicion—the former plainly implied a fellow-feeling, if nothing more, with this most daring incendiary; but the persons in authority were men of much experience in the treason-trade, and perfectly understood the danger to be apprehended from such men as the Pantheonists. It was rumoured that strong measures would be taken for suppressing them; and to avert the danger, an address to the Directory was moved, swearing fidelity to the existing constitution. It was vehemently opposed, but carried; and the persons who opposed it ‘preferring,’ says Buonarroti, ‘the chance of a new proscription to a cowardly perjury,’ were thereby known to be those whom the government had most reason to fear, for their principles and their firmness.

The government, however, took no measures against them as yet, but contented itself with watching their proceedings; and the conspirators followed the most approved and popular course for disturbing and overthrowing a government; they petitioned about the depreciation of assignats, and against restrictions upon the liberty of the press, and against the law which excluded from juries all persons who did not pay a certain qualified tax (*le cens électoral*). The secret directors of the conspiracy thought it time also to give more publicity to their meetings than the regulations of the police would permit, unless some specious pretext for them could be

be advised ; and they argued, that as their political principle (that of absolute equality) was strictly derived from the laws of nature (!) it might be not less reasonable than easy to present it as the code of the Divinity—in other words, as the object of natural religion. In fact, said they, a religion which should represent the Supreme Being as the creator, legislator, and protector of equality, presented the immense advantages of pleasing those who were attached to Christianity only for its morality—and those who shrunk from atheism—and those who abhorred superstition. Moreover, it was founded upon the opinion of sages whom humanity reveres, and upon reasonings which it is impossible to refute ; in their hands, therefore, it might be made a powerful lever for democracy ; and they had no other legal pretext under which they could bring together and address large meetings of the people. These worthies resolved, therefore, to appear in the public temple, in the character (*sous le titre*) of deists, preaching natural morality as their only dogma : and as it would be useful that the multitude should be accustomed to substitute other observances for those of the Catholic church—which, indeed, the government itself was just then endeavouring to bring about by introducing decadary festivals—they determined to celebrate those festivals, and, accordingly, they petitioned the Directory to assign them a large church, or temple, as they called it. The Directory understood their object, and evaded a compliance with their demand by replying, that they were taking measures for this purpose. The Pantheonists, however, not finding it convenient to wait, declared their intention of ‘honouring the Divinity in public, by preaching every decade, on the natural law ;’ and they appointed a committee to hire a temple, prepare a catechism, and draw up a ritual. But they had now gone as far as the government thought it prudent to tolerate ; and Darthé having, by way of sounding the society, read one of Babeuf’s diatribes against the persons of the Directory, and other public men, as well as their constitution and their laws, General Buonaparte represented to the government the danger of permitting such a society to exist, obtained an order for dissolving it, and went himself in person to see its meeting broken up, and the doors of the Pantheon closed.

Buonarroti makes a characteristic reflection upon this just and necessary act of vigour ; he says, *Rien ne coûte aux méchants pour anéantir leurs incommodes adversaires* ; when, certainly, no set of men ever determined upon ‘annihilating’ their opponents with less scruple than he and his associates at this time. They addressed seditious papers to the soldiers, as well as to the populace ; and Babeuf, in his hiding-place, wrote more violently than ever, so as not only to offend those who were desirous that the existing

existing order of things might be maintained, but others also who held the same opinions which he did ; but thought, that instead of divulging prematurely the secret of the democrats, policy required them to rally round the government, for the purpose of destroying it with more facility. This is Buonarroti's own language ; and the reader need not be admonished of its applicability to what is, at this time, passing in our own country. Buonarroti himself, though he would have scrupled as little at simulation as at dissimulation to bring about the end which he had in view, had less of the serpent than of the tiger in his nature ; he was one of those who stood by Babeuf, when others were for giving him up to the pursuit of parties.

At this time Babeuf, Antonelle, Silvain Maréchal, and a fourth, here called *Filipe le Rexellet* (Felix Lepelletier), constituted themselves a Secret Directory of Public Safety, *en directoire insurrecteur*. Antonelle was a 'gentleman of the press;' Silvain Maréchal, a person who, in atheistical times, had made himself notorious by the manner in which he made his profession of atheism, and who, in a procession in honour of the re-establishment of natural religion, carried a banner inscribed *Morale*. Their first business was to rally and direct the 'friends of liberty,' calculating their strength, and giving them an impulse favourable for the march of intellect and general emancipation, without endangering either the individuals or the cause by treason or by imprudence. Maréchal went a little further in principle than his colleagues ; and they suppressed a manifesto of his on account of two sentences, in one of which it was said—'Perish the lists, so that real equality may remain;' and, in the other—'Away with the revolting distinction of governors and governed.' Upon everything else they were perfectly agreed, as well in the end as the means ; the end being, unrestricted equality, the greatest possible happiness of all, and the certainty that when this was attained it should be permanent ; and the means, any which best conduce to success, however fraudulent, however atrocious. The constitution of 1793 was held out by them as the rallying-point for all true democrats,—not because they approved it, but because it had received the sanction of the nation, and because it asserted the rights of the people themselves to deliberate upon the laws ; but they were honest enough to let it distinctly be known, that the perfect democrats only accepted of the constitution as a step towards something further.

Even the mass of the population had by this time begun to hate the revolution and its partisans ;—it is an important admission of Buonarroti's ; but, on the other hand, those who adhered to its principles were the more confirmed in them by exasperation, and the

the more desperate. A great number of meetings were soon instituted in Paris, unknown to each other, but all directed by men who received their instructions from the twelve revolutionary agents, by whom discussions were appointed and writings circulated, and reports made to the Secret Directory of their progress, and of the capacity and energy of the democrats. 'It should not appear surprising,' Buonarroti says, 'that the measures of the conspirators principally regarded Paris; for it was in the heart that aristocracy must be struck; and the immense population of that *commune* would easily have set in motion the democratical elements which were scattered over the whole republic.' But the government had, at this time, a strong military force in and about Paris: on this, in fact, its own security and the public tranquillity entirely depended. The business of the conspirators, therefore, was to seduce the soldiers; and for this purpose they appointed a certain number of military agents, under the inspection of Darthé and Germain. 'All democratic pens were, at the same time, put under contribution.' A summary of Babeuf's doctrines was widely distributed and placarded; and the same doctrines were propagated among the lowest classes, in a paper called *l'Eclaireur*. The times were favourable to the conspirators, because there was a general and increasing distress; assignats were daily more and more depreciated, provisions were rising in price, and workmen out of employ. This *malaise*, and the writings in which the Secret Directory pretended to show the cause and to point out the radical remedy (*le remède radical*), produced a great ferment among the populace; groups collected in the streets and *places*, and upon the bridges; the deluded rabble began to regret the fall of Robespierre, and to call for equality and the constitution of 1793; and the conspirators were regularly informed of the progress which the disaffection was making among the people and the troops, not only by their own agents, but by several patriots who were employed in the police, and did all that, consistently with a constant regard to their own interest, they could do, for overthrowing the government in whose service they were engaged. The Secret Directory began to think that the success of their endeavours would not be long delayed, and seriously deliberated what was to be done in the moment of victory. It would be neither safe nor possible, they thought, to convoke, on the instant, the primary assemblies for the purpose of nominating a legislative body according to the constitution of 1793; and what, indeed, could be so imprudent as to leave the nation, even for a moment, without a director and guide? There must be a revolutionary and provisional authority to replace the government that should be overthrown, so constituted as to emancipate the people for ever from

from the influence of the enemies of equality. The proposal of reassembling the old members of the Convention was rejected—not in remembrance of the Rump (a somewhat parallel case), but because they were not forgiven for the death of Robespierre: they resolved, therefore, as the only means of tendering to the sovereignty of the people all the homage compatible with circumstances, to let the insurgents of Paris name a provisional government upon the spot, which government they (the Secret Directory) were to recommend. And what should this be? Debon and Darthé were for a dictator, charged with the double function of proposing to the people a simple system of legislation which should secure to them the enjoyment of equality and the actual exercise of their sovereignty, and meantime to dictate measures for preparing the nation to receive it. Buonarroti appears to agree with them in their opinion, and says, it is to be presumed that if, in 1792 or 1793, a man of Robespierre's stamp had been invested with such power, the Revolution would have reached its veritable end and aim. But the Secret Directory, because of the difficulty of the choice, the fear of abuse, and the resemblance of a magistrature to a monarchy, and, above all, the general prejudice, decided against this, and resolved that the Parisians should intrust the supreme authority to a national assembly, composed of one democrat from every department. Meantime they were to determine what democrat they should propose, or, in truth, nominate; and, moreover, when the Revolution was made, they were to continue as a Secret Directory, and watch over the assembly which they had nominated!

But while Babeuf spoke in his writings of overthrowing the tyranny of riches by the lightnings of 'reason, he and his accomplices were preparing more substantial means of attack. The day of insurrection might be a day of battle; and though they had grounds for thinking that the army would abandon itself to a popular impulse, it was yet possible that officers who were bad citizens might influence soldiers ignorant and accustomed to obedience. Using all means, therefore, for corrupting the soldiers, they took measures at the same time for creating a popular army, which, if a contest were to ensue, should be the stronger party. For this purpose, they collected information concerning the number of democrats on whom they could depend, and the character\* of each, and in what capacity he might be employed to

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\* Buonarroti, who had all the advantages of education which an Italian can have, writes as if he were another Aristides, and represents his confederates as men of the most exalted virtues. But as he has himself revealed the atrocity of their intentions, it happens, that the other chiefs of the conspiracy have not disguised the character of the instruments which they intended to employ. Among the papers which were seized

to most advantage. They prepared also quarters in Paris for the republicans whom they summoned from all parts of France to reinforce the friends of liberty, relying chiefly upon those from Lyons : some democrats from that city, who had deserved the confidence of Robespierre, were in the capital at this time, and others, who remained at Lyons, *y avaient déployé un tel caractère qu'on tait en droit d'en attendre les plus grands services*. It was not necessary for Bonarroti to specify in what manner that character had been displayed. Bertrand, who had been mayor of Lyons during some of its horrors, was the person intrusted to prepare these patriots for action. The Secret Directory also took means for ascertaining where there were depôts of provisions, that the people might not, as on a former occasion, be obliged to leave the field of battle for want of food.

The government, though not informed of the means nor of the whole designs of the conspirators, was not so supine as to neglect their overt acts, and accordingly it passed some edicts, not more severe than necessary, against seditious assemblages and discourses. Upon this, the Secret Directory redoubled its efforts to gain over the army, of which it was not yet sure, and drew up an act of insurrection, the publication of which was to be the signal of the new revolution. By this the people were declared to be in insurrection against tyranny; a text from the constitution

seized by the government, and published by the Haute Cour de Justice, were their lists of the patriots *propres à être employés dans le mouvement*;—a few specimens will suffice to show, that these were drawn up in a manner which throws as much light upon the manners and morals of the chief conspirators, as of the persons who are described in them.

'Lacombe—révolutionnaire; bon dans différentes places, ayant du caractère.

Morlaix—marchand mercier; républicain terrifié, mais ayant des talens.

Chatain—sellier; en face des Bains Chinois, No. 7; capable de commander une compagnie. C'est un brave b—— d'un beau physique.

Lacombe—tailleur; sans beaucoup de moyens, mais ferme, et propre à donner un grand coup de main.

La Vicointerie—un peu poltron, mais vertueux, et capable de prendre de grandes mesures pour amener à la pure démocratie, quoiqu'il ne soit pas pour le bonheur commun, parce qu'il le regarde comme impossible.

Manque fils—portier des écuries Égalité; âgé de dix-huit ans, sans talens, mais vigoureux, déterminé, et bon pour exterminer les scélérats.

Marrion—serrurier; excellent patriote, que ne sait pas lire, bon groupeur, et très-bon à faire lever le peuple un jour d'insurrection.

Henriot—serrurier; n'a pas de moyen oratoire, mais est propre dans la force.

Les frères Fleurie—marchands de chevaux; excellens pour un coup de main, et c'est tout.

Some are recommended on the score of having been imprisoned for their patriotism, others as having belonged to some revolutionary tribunal; and other 'excellent revolutionists' are recommended as proper jurymen for any commission.

Black lists also were found of royalists, Vendémiairistes, &c.; and of individuals *dont la fortune fait présumer qu'ils sont approvisionnés de subsistances*. The inhabitants of one section are noted as being for the most part rich, wherefore *on peut espérer de trouver infiniment de choses, en faisant des visites domiciliaires*.

of 1793, declaring this to be the most sacred of their rights, and the most indispensable of their duties, was to be inscribed on their banners, and their generals were to be distinguished by tri-colour ribbons floating *très-visiblement* round their hats. All citizens were to repair to their appointed rendezvous in arms, and, if they had none, with any instruments of offence whatever. They were to take possession of the Treasury, the post-offices, the houses of all the ministers, and all magazines, public or private, containing either provisions, or ammunition, or arms. The Directory and the two councils were thereby dissolved; any persons obeying their orders were to be put to death, and the members of those bodies were all to be immediately 'judged by the people.' All who opposed the people were to be exterminated, and all foreigners who should be found in the streets, of whatever nation they might be; but foreign envoys were to remain in their houses, under the safeguard of the public: provisions of every kind were to be brought to the people in the public places; all bakers were to be put in requisition, that they might continually bake bread to be gratuitously distributed to the people, and the accounts discharged when they were brought in. All the property of the emigrants, of conspirators, and of the 'enemies of the people,' was to be distributed without delay among the defenders of the country and the unfortunate. The unfortunate in all parts of the Republic should immediately be lodged and accommodated in the houses of the conspirators. All effects of the people pledged in the Mont-de-Piété should be gratuitously restored without delay. The widows and children of those who might fall in this holy enterprise should be adopted by the French people. Proscribed patriots were to be indemnified for their losses. And as nothing opposed a general peace so much as the war against internal tyranny, all soldiers who could prove that they had assisted in terminating it should be at liberty to return with arms and baggage to their homes, and there forthwith enjoy the recompense which had so long been promised them. After the wholesale spoliation which had been proclaimed, it is curious to find that all public and private property was to be placed under the safeguard of the people. The act concluded with declaring how the National Assembly was to be formed, and that the *comité insurrecteur* of public safety would remain permanent till the full accomplishment of the insurrection.

At this time they had great hopes from the military. Their journals and placards had produced such an effect upon the legion of the police, that the government thought it expedient to order two battalions of that legion out of the metropolis, though it was contrary to the terms upon which they had been embodied, that

that they should ever serve out of its precincts. Sufficient proofs of sedition had been manifested by these battalions to render such a measure necessary ; the order was contumaciously disobeyed ; and such was the increased agitation among the people, that *on crut toucher au moment où l'on pourrait avoir bon marché de la tyrannie.* The conspirators were so encouraged by this, that they would without delay have given the signal for insurrection, if they had been sure that the legion of police was strong enough to resist the first efforts of the government. For a moment they hoped the insurrection would, through their means, be extended through the whole army of the interior. Some of their agents were busy among the troops ; others were ready to raise the populace ; a committee was formed in the legion itself, who communicated through Germain with the Secret Directory ; the legion addressed a manifesto to the people, probably (for it is not contained in any of the documents before us) resting the justification upon its legal ground ; and the appeal was answered by the knot of conspirators in the name of *Le peuple sans-culotte de Paris*, and in the most inflammatory terms promising plenty and prosperity as the consequences of their resistance to tyranny ; and how their example, which had already made their brethren in the camp apprehend the truth, would speedily convince them of it, and teach them, in spite of precaution for keeping them out of communication with their fellow-citizens, that in the struggle of the people against those who govern it, it is the people who are in the right. Just such a paper it is as might have been addressed to the military during the Three Days.

The mutiny, on which these too reasonable expectations were founded, was crushed in its commencement by a measure, on the part of the government, which was at once vigorous and politic. A force, which Germain describes in a letter as imposing by its numbers, heated with wine, and making an insolent display of the cartridges which had been publicly distributed to them, was brought before the barracks of the mutineers. *O comble de l'opprobre !* exclaims the disappointed conspirator ; *Comme nous étions joués ! Quelle prudence à nous d'avoir voulu observer, avant de nous lancer !* They were asked what their demands were ? *Retourner dans nos foyers*, was the general reply ; and immediately an order was communicated to them, by which they were disbanded. Some who were in the plot, exerted themselves to persuade the others that this was the moment for showing themselves firm ; that if they resolutely resisted, they would be supported, not only by the people, who were already entirely disposed to take part with them, but by their comrades also, who were now in hostile array against them. But the men, glad to escape at once from present danger and  
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from the service, would listen to nothing,—absolutely nothing, says Germain, *et le sac sur le dos, chacun s'achemine vers ce qu'il appelle ses foyers*. Any immediate attempt must be avoided, therefore, till the slaves *à plumets et à uniforme* shall have recovered from the intoxication of their success; and they must console themselves with reflecting on their own prudence, which had been such that not a single patriot would be compromised in the transaction.

Germain ornaments his account with some of those flowers of speech which belong to the lowest class and the worst morals. Buonarroti's narrative is always in so different a tone from that which characterizes the confidential papers of all the other conspirators, that it seems little less than marvellous how a man of his education and rank of mind could have associated with such comrades. But in the fellowship of wickedness all distinctions are levelled. He saw that, in the mutineers, what had been ascribed to patriotism had, in reality, originated in their fear of being marched to the frontiers; but this advantage the conspirators saw in what had happened,—that the well-intentioned legionaries, that is, those who were ripe for the intended massacre, were kept at home within reach, and also almost all who had accepted of their discharge. From these the corps was formed which the Secret Directory intended to make the advanced guard of their insurrectional army; and as it became difficult to restrain the impatience of the revolutionary rabble, who were ripe for any mischief, and were kept in readiness for insurrection and in constant expectation of it by the agitators, the conspirators were urged, both by the sense of their own danger and the thirst for vengeance which possessed them, to accelerate their measures. They looked about for men who were capable of directing the military operations in this movement. And here the Secret Directory departed from that system of secrecy on which they had hitherto proceeded, and communicated the whole of their design, and of the preparations, to Fion, Rossignol, Massart, and Grisel, four military officers. A man more worthy than Rossignol to be associated in such a cause could not have been found. He was a journeyman goldsmith at the commencement of the revolution, had figured at the attack of the Bastille, borne a part in all the Jacobin insurrections, and had especially signalized himself in the massacres of September, when he boasted of having, with his own hand, despatched sixty-three Carmelites. For such merits he was made lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of gendarmerie; and being employed in La Vendée, was there appointed to the command. There he displayed no military talent; but, even in that war of unexampled horrors, was distinguished for his brutality and his rapacity, his debaucheries and

and his cruelties. It was given in evidence, by one whom Buonarroti charges with no other inaccuracy in his depositions than such as arose from vanity, that Rossignol said in the committee of conspirators, 'I will not meddle in your insurrection unless heads fall like hail—unless the pavement be crimsoned with blood—unless, in short, we strike a terror which shall make the whole universe shudder!' Such a speech is perfectly in character with the man, and with the persons to whom it was addressed. The others were men such as the conspirators desired; and these four, with Germain, were constituted a military committee, and charged to arrange the details of the insurrection.

The conspirators, meantime, were in want of money '*La pénurie d'argent,*' says Buonarroti, '*est peut-être le trait le plus caractéristique de notre conspiration.*' There was no Duc d'Orleans, as in 1791 and 1792, to supply the means of insurrection—no overgrown capitalists, as during the Three Days. They wished to buy over certain agents of the government, and to corrupt the soldiers; but the largest sum which they had at their disposal was two hundred and forty francs in specie, sent them by the ministers of an allied republic! Money would no doubt have facilitated the schemes of these most dangerous revolutionists, but revolutionary designs can be carried on without money, as well as revolutionary war. One of the many errors committed by the British government, in its first war with revolutionary France, was, that it relied upon the embarrassed state of the French finances, believing that the military operations of the republic must by this means be crippled; and, with an equal want of judgment, politicians in this country have derided treasonable schemes, when brought to light, because of the base condition of the traitors and their absolute penury. Baser conspirators than these there could not be: with the single exception of Buonarroti, they were all as base as they were bloody, and how poor they were has been seen. Yet at this time they had seventeen thousand men in Paris ready to begin the insurrection,—not including the very numerous class of workmen, in or out of employ, whose disaffection and impatience were continually manifesting themselves,—but seventeen thousand tried men, all of whom were either soldiers or practised revolutionists. Buonarroti affirms that this is no exaggerated statement, and no one who reads his book can entertain a doubt of its perfect sincerity: he attempts as little to conceal the errors of his accomplices as to extenuate their crimes.

Rossignol and Pion were no sooner admitted into the confidence of the Secret Directory than they manifested their disappointment at finding that the Mountaineer deputies of the Convention were not concerned in it; and they let it be seen that unless there was

a coalition with them, their own services must not be counted on. Here the historian of the conspiracy sentimentalizes, and observes how difficult it is to do good by such means only as reason approves.—‘How much it costs an austere republican,’ says he, ‘to relax the duties which reason has imposed, and to employ men by whom those duties are disregarded, unless he would see his endeavours frustrated, and become the witness of fresh miseries!’ In this painful situation, he laments, the members of the Secret Directory were placed at this time. They could not forgive these Mountaineers, because, in order to save their own heads from Robespierre, they had combined to overthrow him: but they could not do without them at the time; and it was made known to them that, as soon as they commenced an insurrection, the party intended to come forward and put themselves at its head, as the legitimate representatives of the people. A coalition seemed the only means of uniting their interests; but the Mountaineers were not levellers; and, rather than act with them, and go no farther than it was their intent to proceed, Lebon declared that he would see the conspiracy broken up. A warm dispute ensued upon this, and one of the Directory charged Lebon with pusillanimity. They agreed, however, to the proposed coalition, resolving, at the same time, to take great precautions for restraining the ambition of the Mountaineers, and compelling them to concur in the execution of their schemes.

Had the insurrection succeeded, the next struggle would have been which of these patriotic parties should have guillotined the other. The way in which Babeuf would have considered any person who in the slightest degree opposed him is expressed by himself in his reply to the letters of a certain Joseph Bodson or Bodson, one of the conspirators, who had been a Hebertiste, and seems to have gently reproached Babeuf for having ceased to be of that party. Babeuf said he was not unwilling to explain this apparent shade of inconsistency to a man like him:—

‘My opinion,’ said he, ‘has never changed upon principles, but it has changed concerning individuals. I honestly confess, that at one time I saw both the revolutionary government and Robespierre and St. Just, &c. in a black point of view; but now I believe that these men themselves were worth more than all the revolutionists together, and that their dictatorial government was *diablement bien imaginé*. I shall not enter into the question whether Hebert and Chaumette were innocent; even if they were, I still justify Robespierre. He might with good right pride himself upon being the only one capable of conducting the chariot of the revolution to its proper goal. Busy and troublesome fellows, men of half measures, according to him, and perhaps according to truth, such men, I say, greedy of glory and full  
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of presumption—such as a Chaumette—might have been looked upon by Robespierre, as being inclined to dispute with him for the direction of the chariot. And then he who had the initiative—he who had the sentiment of his own exclusive capacity, must have seen that these ridiculous rivals, even with good intentions, would have impeded and spoiled every thing. I suppose he may have said, let us put these importunate fools (*ces farfadets importuns*), and their good intentions under the extinguisher. In my opinion he did well. The weal of fifteen millions of men is not to be weighed against any regard for a few equivocal individuals. A regenerator must see things upon the great scale. He must cut down all that troubles him; all that stands in his way; all that could impede his speedy arrival at the point which he has fixed for himself. Whether knaves or simpletons, or presumptuous and ambitious, *c'est égal, tant pis pour eux*. What business have they there? Robespierre knew all this; and this is one reason why I admire him; this makes me see in him the genius wherein the true regenerating ideas reside.'

Bodson, who professed himself an admirer of Lycurgus, Rousseau, and Mably, could not be persuaded to admire Robespierre, whose celebrity he called monstrous. He and his colleagues, he said, were to be reproached with having demoralized the people; with having made them careless in the choice of their magistrates, and forced them to manifest a barbarous joy at the sight of their executions; and this by reports as craftily perfidious as they were false. Nevertheless, agreeing entirely with Babeuf upon the principles of equality, he made no difficulty concerning the means of bringing them into action, and entered heartily into the conspiracy. It cost such men only a little dissimulation to coalesce with a party as sanguinary as themselves, when the proposition was formally made on the part of the Mountaineers. But as preliminary conditions, the Levellers required that to the restored National Convention, consisting exclusively of the three-score proscribed Mountaineers, one democrat should be added for every department, to be named by the people or Insurrection, but upon the presentation of the Secret Directory; that the decree of the Insurrectional Act, for dividing the property of the emigrants, and lodging all the poor of the republic in the houses of the aristocrats, should be executed without reserve and without delay; that the Mountaineers would submit to the decrees which the people might pronounce on the day of insurrection; that all the laws issued after the fall of Robespierre should be repealed, and all emigrants who had been allowed to return—expelled.

The bear was not yet killed, but they were on the point of quarrelling concerning the disposal of his skin. The Mountaineers, regarding themselves as the sole depositaries of the national so-

vereignty, considered it an infringement of that sovereignty to suffer the incorporation of a democrat for every department, and a derogation of it, were they to receive orders from the people of Paris. They were willing to dispose of the houses and goods of their enemies in the manner proposed, but, as an act of policy, and of generosity on their own part, not as in obedience to the Secret Directory; and as they intended to appoint an Executive Council, they proposed to include the members of that Directory in the nomination. Each party adhered to its demands so long, that a general alarm spread among the operatives of the conspiracy, who were eagerly expecting the signal to begin their work. The Mountaineers then gave way, at the earnest exhortations of Amar and of Robert Lindet, a personage who had made himself conspicuous in the days of Robespierre. A meeting was then held for the purpose of making their definitive arrangements: the persons present were Babeuf, Buonarroti, Darthé, Didier, Fion, Massart, Rossignol, Robert Lindet, Ricord, Javogues, *Allinogot* (Laignelot, the dramatic writer), Grisel, and Drouet, the noted postmaster of Varennes, at whose house they assembled. More precise information was still wanting concerning the places where the arms and ammunition, which would be necessary at the commencement of the struggle, were to be found. They agreed, therefore, to meet again on the next night but one, and then fix the time for the movement. Presently after they had broken up, the minister of police appeared, followed by a detachment of horse and foot, and entered the apartment, where he expected to have found the conspirators; but finding only Drouet and Darthé, he did not think it prudent to arrest them. The conspirators were so far from being alarmed at this, that they rather considered themselves the more secure: for if the government had obtained any precise information against them, the house, they thought, would have been invested when the parties were there. Buonarroti complains that this act of the government was done in contempt of the law, domiciliary visits during the night being prohibited by the constitution. It is edifying to observe the confidence with which men who are engaged in plotting the most atrocious treason complain if the ordinary forms of law are in the slightest degree disregarded for the purpose of frustrating their machinations.

The next meeting was as little conclusive as the preceding one. The agents for all the *arrondissements* were present. It was proposed to barricade the fauxbourg St. Antoine, which would favour the desertion of the troops encamped at Vincennes, if they were 'well disposed,' or prevent them from penetrating into the town, if they should resolve upon supporting the government. A general, who had been consulted by one of their agents, communicated

nicated a plot for arresting the five directors, and securing the subterraneous avenues from the Luxembourg, by which they might otherwise have escaped. Plans were also submitted for establishing a communication between the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and Marceau by a bridge of boats, and for occupying the heights of Montmartre, either to fire from thence upon the aristocrats who should dare resist, or as a rallying point in case of any check. Bodson advised that they should fix upon a day when the decade fell upon a Sunday, because they should then more easily collect operatives of both religions, those who still adhered to the forms of Christianity, and those who were of the theophilanthropist profession. He recommended also that women and children should be employed to go among the soldiers, and break their ranks, and bring them over to the people. Grisel had previously answered for his comrades in the camp at Grenelle, and said that he had found means of getting 10,000 livres from his aristocrat of an uncle, which he should expend in refreshments for the soldiers. The report from all their agents was that nothing could be better than the public spirit; all were ready and impatient; the downfall of tyranny was certain, unless the soldiers should resolve upon acting against the people; and even in that case, they counted upon the number and courage of the democrats, seconded by military dispositions maturely concerted.

The conspirators at this time entertained no doubt of success. They had the Mountaineers of the Convention with them, and the other persons who had been in authority under the Robespierrean system, to the number of 1500; they had the artillerymen of Paris, who were noted for their democratic spirit; the grenadiers of the legislative body, the whole corps of Invalides, and almost the whole legion of police. Of the whole rabble they were sure; that unhappy class, the reproach of society, even more than the disgrace and the nuisance, may be looked upon as ready for any mischief anywhere, whenever the established order of society shall be shaken. And just at this time Barras, the director, who had before tampered with Germain, offered, through Rossignol, to join with them, and put himself, with his staff, at the head of an insurrection, or place himself as an hostage in the fauxbourg St. Antoine. His motive for this is not apparent; it was not a stratagem for the sake of being admitted into their secrets, for the government was perfectly informed of these already. They would only have trusted him so far as to make him their tool before they made him their victim, if they had deliberated upon the offer. But they thought themselves strong enough; they had gained the guards of the magazines and the artillery at the camp of Vincennes; and if the troops in the two camps should hold out against the

the harangues of their orators, the blandishments of the women who were to present them with refreshments and garlands, and the invitation of the Invalides to follow their example, preparations were made for barricading the streets against them, and showering upon them stones, slates, tiles, bricks, vitriol, and boiling water. Guy Faux was not more satisfied with his progress, when he had lodged the whole of the gunpowder safely in the vault: they were now anticipating their victory, and how to use it. The members of the Directory and of the two Councils were to be delivered over *instantanément* to popular judgment. The crime, they said, was evident; the punishment was death;—a great example was necessary. But this example should bear the stamp of rigorous justice, and of a deep feeling for the public good; they agreed, therefore, that a detailed report should be made to the people in insurrection, upon the treasons of which they had been the victims, and that they should be invited to except from proscription those of the accused, who, for excusable error, simple and popular manners, or any striking service rendered to the cause of equality during the insurrection, might deserve to be pardoned for their political faults. The rest were to be buried under the ruins of the palace, which ruins were to be left in that state, as a monument to the latest posterity, of the just punishment inflicted upon the enemies of equality. Another contest was then to be prepared, for they knew that the Mountaineers intended, notwithstanding the terms of coalition, to get the whole power into their own hands. Babeuf and his confederates meant, upon that point, to call in the people to their aid, and to require from the people a decree by which the initiative and the execution of the laws should be exclusively confided to them, the Members of the Committee of Insurrection. By them the system of perfect equality was to be established throughout the Republic; the first step towards it being everywhere to quarter the poor in the houses of the rich, and leave the worst accommodation for the share of the former owners. With this measure, the millennium of philosophy was to be introduced, when all were to be equal and happy; but perfect liberty was by no means implied, or perfect equality—far from it: ‘*plus d’éducation domestique, plus de puissance paternelle* ;’ every human being belonged absolutely to the state under the new social order, ‘*la patrie s’empare de l’individu naissant pour ne le quitter qu’à la mort.*’ And the press, having done its duty in bringing about this revolution, must not be left free to disturb it: no one, therefore, might publish opinions contrary to the sacred principle of equality and of the sovereignty of the people. Nothing might be published concerning any pretended revelation whatsoever (meaning Christianity!) nor indeed anything, unless the conser-

vators of the national will should declare it to be worthy of publication.

'*Redeunt Saturnia regna.*' Babeuf and Buonarroti sat up all night making the last arrangements for the insurrection, and the legislative measures which were immediately to follow it. Buonarroti sat down to write the proclamation to the people, in the name of the *Comité Insurrecteur* of Public Safety. Thus it began : '*Le peuple a vaincu, la tyrannie n'est plus; vous êtes libres—*' Thus far he had proceeded, when the minister of justice entered, and seized the two conspirators, with their papers before them. Darthé, Germain, Drouet, and several others, who had assembled elsewhere to fix the day for the movement, were arrested at the same time. Troops were at hand to defeat any attempt, if any had been made, for rescuing them ; but the people were told that a gang of robbers had been discovered, and they were conveyed, without any difficulty, to prison. Grisel had betrayed them ; and the proofs were so clear, that they would have been sent at once before a military commission, if Drouet had not been implicated with them ; for, being a deputy, he could only be brought to trial upon the accusation of the legislative body, and before a high court of justice, the jurymen of which were to be chosen in the electoral assemblies of the departments.

Two days after his arrest Babeuf wrote a letter to the Directory.

'Do you consider it beneath you, Citizen Directors,' he began, 'to treat with me upon the footing of *power* to *power* ? You have now seen of what a vast confidence I am the centre ! You have seen that my party can very well balance yours ! You have seen its immense ramifications ! And I am more than convinced that the discovery has made you tremble. Is it for your interest, is it for the interest of the country, to give an *éclat* to the conspiracy, which you have discovered ? I think not. What would happen if it were brought out in broad day ?—that I should play the most glorious of all parts ; I should demonstrate with all the greatness of soul, with all the energy which you know to be mine, the holiness of the conspiracy of which I have never denied that I am a member. Leaving the base and beaten path of denegations, I would develop great principles, and plead the eternal rights of the people with all that advantage which arises from an intimate knowledge of the beauty of the subject. I would demonstrate that this could be no process of justice, but of the strong against the weak,—of the oppressors against the oppressed, and against their magnanimous defenders. You might condemn me to deportation,—or to death ; but the sentence would immediately be reputed as that which powerful guilt pronounces upon feeble virtue. My scaffold would figure gloriously beside those of Barnevelt and of Sidney. Would you, and on the very morrow of my suffering, prepare altars for me by those on which at present the Robespierres and  
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the Goujons are revered as martyrs ? This is not the way by which governments and governors can secure themselves.'

He then proceeded to show that in this conspiracy he was only one link of a long chain ; they had as much to apprehend from each of the others as from him, and in striking him they would offend and irritate the whole democracy of the French republic ; this they would have understood better if they had got possession of that correspondence from which those lists had been formed, fragments of which alone had fallen into their hands. Did they expect to deliver themselves from that vast *Sans-culottide* sect which did not yet acknowledge itself to be subdued ? They were not in the position of that government, which, after the death of Cromwell, deported some thousands of English republicans (!) Charles II. was a king, and they were not kings yet, whatever might be said of them : they stood in need of a party to support them ; and if the patriots were removed, they would be opposed to royalism ; and what would be their prospects if they were alone opposed to it ?

' Five men, by showing themselves great and generous, have it this day in their power to save the country. I will engage that the patriots shall then cover you with their bodies, and you will no longer stand in need of whole armies to defend you. The patriots do not hate you, they only hate your unpopular acts. I will give you, on my own account, a guarantee as extensive as my perpetual frankness. You know what influence I have over that class of men ; I will employ it to convince them that if you identify yourselves with the people, they ought to unite with you. The effect of this simple letter may pacify the interior of France. By preventing any *éclat* upon the affair of which it treats, will it not at the same time prevent that which impedes the peace of Europe ?'

The government were not such novices in the revolutionary school as to be deceived by Babeuf's representations, and they determined that Drouet should be brought to trial before a High Court of Justice, to be held at Vendôme ; that the other prisoners should be tried with him ; and that from the sentence of this tribunal there should be no appeal. Drouet had previously been allowed to defend himself before the Council of Five Hundred. His defence was equally remarkable for its audacity and its falsehood. He avowed his enmity to the existing government, because (among other reasons) he saw in it a kind of English aristocracy ; but he denied that he had ever engaged in any plan for overturning it, or even wished to reform it by violent means ; and he insinuated that no such conspiracy as that with which the prisoners were charged had in reality existed. The plan, he said, which he had formed was, that the whole body of democrats, with their

their wives and their children, their cattle, and all that they had, should abandon their degenerate country, shake its dust from their feet, pour into Germany like a torrent, and then settle themselves, *vi et armis*, in the Emperor's dominions, and establish a republic upon the genuine principles of liberty and equality according to their hearts desire. This was as false as the project itself would have been insane, if it had ever been entertained; and the next thought of the prisoners was how to escape, which they hoped to effect with the assistance of their partisans in Paris. Drouet, who was confined in the Abbaye, succeeded by aid of one of the turnkeys. The other chiefs of the conspiracy were in the Temple, and they also found means of corrupting the guards; but, owing to some want of concert in their plans, their attempt was frustrated. To their further grief, the 'gentlemen of the press,' who took up their cause, managed it in a way very unsatisfactory to the bolder conspirators; they denied facts of which there was ample evidence; and they insinuated that the conspiracy itself had been secretly instigated by the government,—a shallow artifice, which has sometimes been practised with more success in England, where men are to be found in public life who will catch at any pretext for denying what it is not convenient for them to acknowledge. But no journalist was audacious enough to avow the object of the conspirators, and justify the course by which they had endeavoured to effect it. Buonarroti complains of this.

The prisoners were removed from Paris by night. They were carried in cages, constructed, says Buonarroti, for the purpose of exhibiting them, like wild beasts, as a spectacle to the enemies of equality, and to the deluded people who were exasperated against them. He speaks, however, of marks of respect which they received on the way from the municipal authorities of Chartres and of Châteaudun. Their wives, and sisters, and daughters followed them on foot. The prison at Vendôme was well guarded, and the town also—all persons, according to this writer, being, by a provisional law, interdicted from approaching it within ten leagues, unless upon just cause. The conspirators sought now by every legal subterfuge to gain time, which they trusted would be actively employed by their confederates who had escaped the search for them, and by the *sans-culotterie* of Paris. They were not mistaken in this, for a desperate attempt was made, at midnight, upon the camp at Grenelles, in expectation of support from the disaffected part of the troops; but no such support was given. Many of the insurgents were killed,—many were taken, and several were executed, and this was the last struggle of jacobinism. The conspirators had no better success in their legal defences: they disputed the competence of the High Court; and their pleas were overruled

overruled. Their last hope rested upon the jury. Thirty <sup>per-</sup>emptory challenges were allowed; '*c'était une opération fort grave, de laquelle pouvait dépendre le sort d'un grand nombre d'entre eux.*' But as the persons competent to sit on juries had, in many places, been elected at a time when many republicans were proscribed for their good deserts, and others, for the same just cause, excluded from the assemblies, it was impossible, with all their care and all the information they could obtain, to secure what on such occasions is called in England *a good jury*; some of those who, in Buonarroti's language, might have deserved perfect confidence, were challenged by the court as being related to emigrants; others feigned illness, or fear, and were excused; and the prisoners could not get more than three on whom they could rely.

When Babeuf had been examined by the minister of police, his conduct was that of a man who thought it possible to intimidate the government. 'Intimately convinced,' said he in reply to one of the questions, 'that the existing government is a tyranny, I would have done everything in my power to overthrow it. I was associated with all the democrats of the republic. All means are legitimate against tyrants: but they did not depend entirely upon me; I had only my voice in the Council of *Tyrannicides*.' For freemen to conspire against such a government was, he said, a rigorous duty; but he denied that he was the head of the conspiracy,—an absurd supposition which, he affirmed, was grounded upon the single circumstance, that a part of the papers happened to be before him when he was arrested.

'But,' says he, 'I aver that, as far as intention goes, no one can have conspired against them more. I am convinced that this crime is common to all the French, at least, to all the virtuous part of them;—to all who do not approve the frightful system which establishes the happiness of a very few upon the disgrace and extreme misery of the great mass; I declare myself completely convicted of the crime, and I declare, also, that this is the crime of all the conspirators with whom I acted.'

From this resolute tone he never departed. But as the prisoners were not allowed opportunities for concerting their plan of defence, the rest relied upon him, each resolving to say as little as he could, and that with the utmost circumspection, that they might not contradict each other. Darthé, who had outraged all forms of law and all feelings of humanity during his career at Arras and at Cambray, constantly protested against the legality of the proceedings. Some invented a story to exculpate them—others denied their handwriting—Buonarroti did this,—he has not said so, but it appears in the process, where it is observed that his writing was  
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very remarkable. There would have been some difficulty in proving these writings, if Pillé, the secretary of the Committee of Insurrection, who was arrested with Babeuf and Buonarroti, had not identified them. Fearing 'foolishly,' says Buonarroti, but surely with sufficient reason, that the numerous copies which he had of their treasonable papers might implicate him in the capital charge, he, upon his examination, told all he knew.

Eighteen persons who had escaped pursuit were tried *par contumace*; among them were Drouet, Lindet, Bédson, Lepelletier, and Rossignol. Forty-seven were tried in person, of whom Buonarroti affirms that only nineteen were directly, and five others indirectly, concerned; the rest he declares were absolutely strangers to the conspiracy, and were only thus brought together in order that the ruling party might exterminate the democracy. They were probably persons on whose co-operation the conspirators had reckoned with perfect confidence, and whose names, therefore, were on their list as 'good and true men,' to be employed when the time came; that they were accused for the purpose of including them in a wholesale execution is a charge which the result of the trial, and the whole course of the proceedings, effectually disprove. There was nothing revolutionary in the process, except the deportment of the prisoners, and the acts for which they were arraigned. Pillé affected madness upon the trial: he said that an evil spirit had introduced him to Babeuf, that compacts with a devil were possible for the purpose either of obtaining protection or taking vengeance, and he wanted to explain this in detail to the court. This part he played so well that he seems to have extricated himself from danger, as well as to have nullified anything he might say against the conspirators. But he had identified their handwriting before he thought of this stratagem.

Grisel was the single witness against them who could directly depose to their treasonable practices. This man, Buonarroti says, during two sittings of the court, related minutely all that he had done, first to become acquainted with the conspirators, and then to deceive and to betray them; and that his evidence was true, except in some additions which vanity prompted, and which made him sometimes contradict himself. It was detailed and precise; and *quoiqu'il fût unique sur le fond de l'accusation*, it was so corroborated by the numerous and overpowering writings of the accused, that it seemed impossible, political considerations apart, for any man of good faith, to deny, after the slightest examination, the reality of the conspiracy. How was it possible, he asks, that any probable explanation could be given of the numerous facts which appeared  
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against them in these papers, and which were confirmed by a "witness?" This, however, Babeuf, Germain, Antonelli, and Buonarroti, whom the other prisoners left to manage their defence, endeavoured to do; sometimes they succeeded partially; but, on the whole, they obtained no other success than that of putting a little more at their ease those jurymen, who were already of the same way of thinking as themselves—(*ils n'obtinrent d'autre succès que celui de mettre un peu plus à l'aise ceux d'entre les jurés qui partageaient déjà leurs opinions.*) Their defence then became a tissue of subtleties, and not very coherent ones, which their hearts disavowed, and to which they would never have submitted, had it not been in condescension to their companions in misfortune. Their official defenders did all they could; they protracted the trial by raising objections wherever it was possible; and as they never dared to justify the intention of the prisoners, went farther in denying it than they chose to do themselves: for the prisoners, while they sought to disprove the fact of their conspiracy, by giving false explanations of their own words and deeds, held the boldest tone of revolutionary insolence. They defended the broad levelling principle of the conspiracy—inveighed against the existing government—apostrophized Robespierre and his colleagues in blood as martyrs—and set up the Marseillois hymn in the hall,—that hymn, for composing which the author has been rewarded by Louis Philip, king of the French.

'This is not,' said Babeuf, in his defence, 'a trial of individuals—it is the process of the republic; and whatever others may think, it must be treated with all the grandeur, the majesty, the devotion which so mighty an interest commands. All republicans whatsoever are implicated in it. It belongs to the republic, to the revolution, to history. I must defend it. Genius of Liberty! what thanks can I render thee for having placed me in a position where I am more free than all other men—for this very reason, that I am laden with chains! How beautiful is my place! how beautiful is my cause! it permits to me exclusively the language of truth. In these chains my tongue is privileged above those of all the incalculable number of the oppressed and the miserable, for whom it has not been possible, as for me, to assign them a dungeon for a dwelling. They are suffering; they are harassed, oppressed, and whelmed under the most piercing distress; bowed down under the most odious debasement! and for the consummation of atrocity, they are not allowed to complain. At least, if the country is doomed to perish with those of her children who are engaged in this affair, let it be said that, in perishing, they have not betrayed her. I speak to the virtuous—they would find me righteous and just;—if there are none here to hear me—ah! then, indeed, nothing remains but to make the scaffold ready.'

He was frequently interrupted in his defence, when he inveighed

veighed against the existing government: still he managed to recur to the main topic, and to represent his conspiracy as conceived in the spirit of benevolence—taking due care not to touch upon the means whereby it was to be carried into execution. ‘To awaken the genuine people,’ said he, ‘to bring about the reign of happiness—the reign of equality and liberty—abundance for all—equality and liberty for all—happiness for all—behold the wishes of those pretended insurgents who are represented in such frightful colours to the eyes of all France!’

These conspirators, men whose usage at their own revolutionary tribunals it had been to send the greatest possible number of prisoners to the guillotine with the utmost despatch, and who intended, without any form of trial, in case of their success, to put all the members of the legislature to death, made use in their own defence of every art which the forms of law allowed. The reality of the conspiracy, and the truth of the evidence against them being placed beyond all doubt by the abundant proof which their own papers contained, they resorted to the audacious plea, that, supposing they had conspired, there would have been no crime in so conspiring, because the constitution against which the supposed conspiracy was to be directed, not having been accepted by the sovereign people, was not legitimate, *n’était pas la loi véritable*. The full extent to which their leveling principles were to have been carried, was not brought forward upon the trials, because the papers which contained their schemes of legislation had not been seized. But Babeuf, who had often pleaded in his journal for a community of goods, took his stand upon that doctrine now. ‘Property,’ said he, ‘is the cause of all the evils upon earth. By preaching this doctrine which sages have long since proclaimed, I wish to attach the people of Paris to the republic—the people who are wearied with revolutions, discouraged with misfortunes, and almost *royalised* by the proceedings of the enemies of liberty.’

‘Who are the men,’ he exclaimed, ‘with whom I am classed as a criminal? They are Drouet and Lepelletier! O names dear to the republic! Behold my accomplices! And you, my friends, who are nearest to us in this place—who are you? I recognise in you almost all the founders and firm supporters of this republic. If they condemn you, if they condemn me, ah, I see that we shall be the last of the French; we shall be the last of the energetic republicans!’ Finally, he addressed the jury: ‘Descend into your own hearts, there you will hear a still small voice which cries to you,—these men, after all, have only been dreaming of the happiness of their fellow-creatures. The revolution has not been for them a game at which they played for their own interest. Assure yourselves, citizens, that there have been men who regarded  
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it as an important event for humanity; he convinced that it became to them a new religion for which, by an absolute abandonment of themselves, they knew their interests, their goods, their repose, and their lives.'

Buonarroti complains that the court would not allow any question to be put concerning the *morality* (!) of the prisoners' intention. The simple question which they called upon the jury to decide was, '*L'accusé a-t-il conspiré, ou provoqué, dans l'intention de conspirer ou de provoquer?*' The jury consisted of sixteen, of whom four would have been sufficient to acquit, and they had three sure friends; one of these worthies is named, because Buonarroti knew that he was dead: he remained faithful to the people, says the historian, and it was not owing to him that any person was condemned. So little indeed did the decision depend upon any principles of law or justice, or the plain and undeniable evidence of facts, that all the prisoners were acquitted of conspiracy. But *malheureusement* thirteen of the jury decided *qu'il y avait eu des provocations verbales et écrites au rétablissement de la constitution de 1793*; and that the persons who had participated in this were Babeuf, Darthé, Buonarroti, Germain, Cazen, Moroy, Blondeau, Menessier, and Bouin; the two first *sans circonstances atténuantes*, the others with such circumstances. Upon this verdict the judge pronounced sentence, in a manner singularly unlike the decorous and impressive form of an English criminal court: to Babeuf and Darthé he said, '*Mourez!*' to the other seven, '*Allez traîner une vie malheureuse loin de la patrie dans des climats brûlans et meurtriers!*' The two who were condemned to death immediately stabbed themselves, but both their daggers broke, and Babeuf passed the night with the broken blade in his breast. The next morning they were executed.

Buonarroti, as has before been stated, was saved from transportation probably by the interference of his Tuscan friends. He was residing a few years ago at Genoa, where he gave lessons as a teacher of languages; and, by those who knew him in that capacity, he is represented as one whose countenance, character and declared sentiments were perfectly in accord with the spirit of this conspiracy, and of the book in which he has so fully and faithfully detailed its progress and its object. Whether he is still living we know not. His book is said to have been carried through the press by M. de Potter, well known as having written the memoirs of Scipion de Ricci—and better or rather worse known for his intrigue with the Roman Catholic party to bring about the revolution in Belgium.

Let us render justice both to Buonarroti and his work. That he was an accomplished person, and a man of great abilities, is beyond

beyond all doubt ; as little can it be doubted, that if his opinions had been compatible with the public welfare, or if he had lived in peaceful times, he might, in many respects, have been an estimable and distinguished member of society. The estimation in which he was held at the court of the Grand Duke Leopold is proof of this. There is reason to believe that he was thoroughly disinterested. To speak of him as intrepid, would be to use a word at once inadequate and inappropriate : to use an expression of Marshal Soult, he was an *impassible* man : he could have done whatever Sylla or Marius did ; whatever Timur or Nadir enjoined among barbarians, or Simon de Montfort and Alva among persecuting Christians, he could have executed without hesitation and without remorse. Like Sylla, he had persuaded himself, that his course of conduct was for the public good ; and, like Montfort and Alva, he would have had, in his worst and most inhuman actions, the approbation of his own heart, for he was possessed with an evil belief.

He has rendered an important service to society by the publication of these memoirs. There never was a book more trustworthy in all its statements ; Buonarroti is chargeable with disingenuousness only for having been silent respecting the previous history of his confederates. On the subject of the conspiracy, his authority is *omni exceptione major* ; he is perfectly explicit, both as to the object at which he aimed, and the means by which it was to be brought about ; the object was to subvert the existing system, not of government alone, but of society in France, and to introduce an absolute community of goods : the means were, an insurrection first, the massacre of all who opposed them, the putting of the whole legislative body to death, and placing the operatives, the *malheureux*, as he sometimes calls them, or at other times, as they called themselves, the *sans-culottes*, in possession of the property and houses of the higher orders, throughout the whole of France !—and upon the devoted part which he took in the conspiracy, he looks back, after an interval of thirty years, with complacency and with pride !

It is more than probable that Robespierre and St. Just had this revolution of revolutions in view. There are passages in some of their speeches which seem to imply as much : it is imputed to them by their admirers (for they have their admirers still), and the principle was cordially embraced by such of their colleagues as conspired with Babeuf and Buonarroti. To this principle it is that the course of revolution is tending in the present state of the old world. What have the populace, who are the tools by which the agitators seek to bring about their own purposes, whether selfish or vindictive,—what have they to gain by the destruction of  
royalty,

royalty, by the overthrow of an established church, by the abolition of primogeniture and the peerage, and of all distinctions in society, if the distinctions of property remain? Is any man fool enough to suppose they are such fools as not to know and to feel that this is the only inequality by which human happiness is affected?

The levelling principle is at this time actively at work in England.—

‘That (says Buonarroti) which the democrats of the year IV. could not execute in France, a generous man has lately endeavoured to put in practice by other means in the British isles and in America. Robert Owen, the Scotchman, after having, at his own expense, established in his own country some communities founded upon an equal distribution of enjoyments and of labour, has just formed sundry establishments of the same kind in the United States, where many thousands of men live peaceably under the happy system of perfect equality. By the advice of those friends of humanity, the Co-operative Society, established in London, has for some time laboured in propagating the principles of a Community, and in demonstrating, by practical examples, the possibility of their application. Babeuf endeavoured to reunite a numerous people in one great community. Owen, being placed in different circumstances, would multiply small communities in a country, which, united afterwards by a general law, would become so many individuals of a great family. Babeuf would have had his friends possess themselves of the supreme authority, through the influence of which he hoped to effect the reform that they had projected: Owen counts upon success by preaching and by example. May he show the world that wisdom can bring about so great a good without the aid of authority! May he be spared the grief of seeing his noble efforts fail, and of furnishing, by his failure, the adversaries of equality with an argument against the possibility of establishing, in any manner, a social order, to which violent passion opposes a formidable resistance, and which it seems can only be the result of a strong political commotion among civilized nations.’

When Buonarroti wrote this noticeable passage, he neither knew the failure of the Owenite experiments in America, nor foresaw that France would soon be in a state to encourage revolutionary experiments of any kind, however perilous.

To the benevolence of Mr. Owen's disposition and of his intentions we have always been desirous of rendering justice and bearing a willing testimony, deeply, at the same time, lamenting the infidelity which has rendered him, notwithstanding his many good qualities, a mischievous member of society. As ready have we been to declare our belief, that the Co-operative system, when kept within its proper bounds and regulated by religious principles, may be rendered most influential in bettering the condition of

of the people, and promoting the general good. But that system has been taken up by dangerous and desperate men; they have connected it with the levelling principle in the fullest meaning of that term. The most inflammatory of those papers which openly defy the laws profess that principle; and they accompany it with excitements to insurrection little less direct than those which Babeuf addressed in his journal to the people of Paris. In France, meantime, the attack upon property is renewed under the cover of a new religion. But of this in our next Number.

ART. VI.—1. *Statements, Calculations, and Explanations, submitted to the Board of Trade, relating to the Commercial, Financial, and Political State of the British West India Colonies, since the 19th of May, 1830.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th February, 1831.

2. *The Conduct of the British Government towards the Church of England in the West India Colonies. In a Letter to Viscount Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.* By Viindex. London, 1831.

3. *Some Considerations on the Present State of our West India Colonies, and on the Regulations which influence their Industry and Trade.* By a West Indian Proprietor. London, 1830.

4. *Effects of the late Colonial Policy of Great Britain; described in a Letter to the Right Honourable Sir George Murray, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonial Department.* By Alexander Barclay, Esq. London, 1830.

WE once more beg leave to solicit attention to the state of our West India colonies. Any observations on that subject, we are well aware, must now labour under great disadvantages. The subject is not in itself attractive;—so much has already been said upon it, that it is believed to have been long ago exhausted,—and by the greatest part of the public it is thought to be a matter in which they have no concern. Whether the black population of the West Indies be bond or free, and their produce cheap or dear, are supposed to be topics which affect the colonists alone, and in which the subjects of the mother-country have scarcely any perceptible interest. A desire to remove this error, before it be too late, is the motive which has induced us to make the present appeal to the public. Strange as it may appear, it is not impossible, even in a country accustomed to lofty language about its own wisdom and intelligence, that some of the chief sources of national prosperity may be nearly dried up before they are seriously believed to be in danger. Having thus intimated our surprise and regret at the indifference with which our West India colonies

have been treated for a considerable time past, we shall proceed to take a brief survey of their situation, present and prospective.

It is known to all who are in any degree acquainted with our recent history, that a long and vehement controversy respecting the slave trade and slavery has been carried on between a highly estimable class of persons, who have espoused the cause of the blacks, on the one hand, and those who are connected by property with our West India colonies on the other. Their disputes as to the continuance of the slave trade are now happily set at rest. In the year 1806, an act passed which interdicted the sale or purchase of African slaves to all subjects of the realm, and none of the West India colonists have been guilty of its contravention. Reports of a contrary nature were, for a while, eagerly circulated and received, but their groundlessness soon became manifest; and it is now universally admitted that no infraction of the law was ever meditated or attempted in any corner of our possessions. So far, therefore, the just and generous efforts of Mr. Wilberforce and his associates have been crowned with perfect success.

Some exceedingly perplexing questions, however, connected with the same subject, still remain unsettled. The abolitionists, conceiving that, though they have extinguished the slave trade, their task is only half executed while slavery remains, have, in direct opposition to their former express declarations, of late years unremittingly endeavoured, by all means in their power, to effect the forcible emancipation of the whole slave population in the West Indies, whether born there or imported. In opposition to any measure of this sort, which is regarded by the colonists as precipitate and injudicious, they contend that the abolitionists would more effectually promote the welfare of the slaves, if they would allow the improvement which is rapidly proceeding in the West Indies to hold its natural course; if they would put an entire stop for a season to the agitation of this irritating subject; and, instead of aggravating, would lend their assistance in removing the overwhelming distress under which the planters are at present labouring.

The subject of our West India colonies seems thus to divide itself into two great branches,—the expediency of a forcible emancipation of the slaves, and the alleviation of the distresses of their masters. The discussion of the one naturally precedes that of the other. If the justice and expediency of compulsory emancipation were satisfactorily established, that, undoubtedly, ought to take place, to whatever degree the distresses of the planters might be augmented by it. Their case might excite commiseration, but could not alter the resolution which every impartial and deliberate inquirer

inquirer must form. If, on the other hand, there should appear to be insuperable obstacles in the way of every scheme of forcible emancipation which has hitherto been proposed, then it will become necessary to proceed to examine the situation of the colonists, and consider whether the same means which may be adopted for their relief, may not be rendered, at the same time, conducive to the final emancipation of the slaves.

Before entering, however, upon the topics now specified, we hope that some preliminary observations will not be deemed inappropriate; and we shall endeavour to deliver them with temper and fairness.—In the first place, then, the colonists seem to us, in many instances, to have gone a great deal too far, in justifying or denying things which formerly existed. It is not to be dissembled, that the slavery of the West Indies is, in several respects, unfortunately distinguished from that which has ever prevailed, as a system, either in Asia or Europe. There is a strong line of demarcation between the master and slave, in colour, in the whole of their associations, and in the nature as well as degree of their civilization. These are causes of distance, and sometimes of repulsion. Add to this, that our ancestors, in their perceptions and dispositions, both at home and abroad, were infinitely less acute and susceptible than their posterity now are. All these circumstances must have roughened the treatment of the slave, and given birth to acts of occasional, if not habitual, harshness and cruelty, which no person would either practise himself, or tolerate in others, *now*. Whenever any particulars of those times are introduced in the way of accusation or reproach, the colonists are apt to display impatience and resentment which had better be suppressed. It is enough that such things have now wholly, or in great measure, ceased; and the colonists would gain as much by freely admitting and deploring their former prevalence, as their opponents would lose by recalling them causelessly or vindictively to remembrance.

We go one step farther, and are bound to say, that so far as we are capable of judging, those who support the colonists, have, on many occasions, gone a great deal farther than they were warranted to do, in disputing the facts and statements of the Anti-slavery Association and others, with respect to the treatment and condition of the negroes at the present day. They seem to us to have committed a great mistake in so doing. They have gained no friends by it, and have lost the support of many in whose good opinion they would wish to stand well. But it must be acknowledged, in their justification, that the course they have pursued is extremely natural. Whatever errors or offences a man may have committed, if extravagant and unfounded charges are accumulated against him, he is apt, under a consciousness of the wrong he suffers,

suffers, to meet them with too abrupt and unqualified a denial. We conceive this to have occurred in the present instance. Where there is great power on one side, and insufficient protection on the other, examples of harshness and oppression must inevitably occur. They do so in every country, and in every climate; and where the terms of the connexion are so unequal as they are between the master and the slave in the West Indies, they cannot fail to be more common than under a happier frame of society. It appears to us, that sufficient evidence has been adduced to establish this to be the fact. On the part of the colonists, those defects which adhere even to the present mild and modified system of slavery, and which the most able and intelligent of their body see and lament, should be more candidly acknowledged than they have generally been. In our apprehension they have no reason to shrink from a fair representation of the truth. Neither the structure of society, nor the minds and manners of the individuals of which it is composed, can be transformed instantly. Our surprise ought more properly to be, not that much remains to be done, but that so much has already been accomplished.

But if the colonists have acted inconsiderately on the one hand, we cannot help saying that the abolitionists appear to have erred more widely on the other. The motives of most of the persons of whom this body is composed, we believe to be perfectly pure and disinterested, and we should be sorry to apply to them a single expression which could be regarded as unkind or disrespectful. But the bulk of them really know nothing of the difficulties with which the subject is surrounded. They are directed solely by abstract notions of justice and humanity, which cannot be denied to be among the best of all human incentives to action, when under the control of knowledge and discretion; but, when deprived of this salutary restraint, are among the most fallacious guides it is possible to follow. They conceive it to be their duty, at all hazards, to rescue the African, whom they invariably paint to themselves as mild, tractable, and industrious, out of the hands of a master who is always represented as inhuman and oppressive; and imagine, that as soon as the fiat of manumission shall have issued from the British senate, the work of mercy will be perfect, and the reign of peace and happiness will begin. From the whole tenor of their words and actions, it is evident that they neither know the facts, nor understand the grounds, upon which their opinions ought to be founded; and, like many other well-meaning, but incompetent legislators, they stir up and promote innovations of which they are qualified neither by their habits nor by their acquirements to foresee the consequences, immediate or ultimate.

Next to these, we may advert to a small but compact phalanx  
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of politicians, who affect a deep interest in the state of the negroes in the West Indies, and make common cause with the abolitionists, in order that they may be ushered into public place, or public favour, upon their shoulders. With them slavery may be regarded as a kind of stock in trade, and the woes of the sons of Africa are valuable—*ut puris placeant, et declamatio fiat*. On the hustings at elections, in halls and societies at forenoon meetings, and in taverns when toasts and speeches begin after dinner, scarcely a single opportunity offers, in which some orator or other does not introduce the negroes, for the sole purpose of gaining the votes or favour of men infinitely better than himself, and with whose simplicity and credulity, as soon as he has taken his departure, he is delighted to make himself merry with his friends and associates. How or why they are permitted to speak at all at some of these places, it would be difficult to answer, otherwise than by supposing, that their harangues are as necessary to those who get up the meeting, as the votes of those who attend the meeting are to them. Be that as it may: what weight can the arguments of any or all of these declaimers carry with them in the estimation of any considerate person, when he perceives how singularly the sentiments and feelings they assume for the day are contrasted with their ordinary opinions and deportment? Little is now done in this country without having recourse, more or less, to this kind of stage performance; but the time is not far removed, when those who are unfeignedly interested in the fate of the blacks, would have disdained to take advantage of such actors or such exhibitions.

There remain a considerable body of abolitionists, whose conduct, though their capacity and sincerity are above all question, appears to us open to severe and solemn animadversion. From dwelling constantly, and some of them almost exclusively, on the same subject, they have accustomed themselves to speak and write with a degree of virulence, of the character and natural tendency of which it is impossible they can be aware. It is with extreme regret we feel ourselves obliged to declare, that the methods they have taken to advance the cause in which they are engaged, appear to us the most provoking and uncharitable we have ever witnessed. They almost take it for granted, that every accusation which is brought against the planters must be true, and that nothing can be worthy of credit which is urged in their defence—are too prone to believe the worst—prefer charges much too sweeping and indiscriminate—are a great deal too fond of raking together particulars which are stale or unfounded—and show an unprecedented antipathy to everything which looks like peace or reconciliation. It very rarely happens that they will condescend to reason with an adversary upon equal terms,

terms, but assume at the outset, that they themselves must be right, and that none can differ from them in opinion but those who are without conscience, or without understanding. And what is it, we would ask, which justifies them in being so intolerant and overbearing? They, as well as all other men, must be judged of, not by their professions or pretensions, but their conduct; and it would be well if that superiority which they arrogate in all things over their opponents displayed itself more conspicuously in their words and actions. If ever moderation and caution ought to be observed, it surely it in the case of those who gratuitously urge the adoption of measures by which the security and property of individuals, and welfare of the state, may be deeply compromised. If even the apostles themselves were reprov'd for an act of apparent zeal, 'because they knew not the spirit they were of,' it ought to teach more diffidence than it seems to us to have done to many of the abolitionists, and even to ministers of religion among the number, who, under the guise of benevolence, have exhibited a keenness and imperiousness of temper for which Christianity affords neither precept nor example.

Having offered these preliminary observations on the manner in which the recent discussions with regard to West India subjects have, on both sides, been characterized, we shall now enter into some examination of the two main questions at issue. The first of these, in order as well as importance, is that which relates to the compulsory emancipation of the negroes.

No sooner, however, is it proposed to accomplish this by act of parliament, either gradually or at once, than the colonists immediately ask, how, when, and by whom they are to be indemnified for the vast loss of property which they apprehend such a measure would entail upon them. It cannot be denied, that they have a clear right to put this question; yet, numberless as are the tracts and speeches which have been written and delivered on the subject, we do not remember to have ever seen it answered. The colonists have invariably stated, and we do not see how the statement can either be denied or resisted, that they and their ancestors have been encouraged, by a series of acts of parliament as explicit as any which have ever received the sanction of the legislature, to lay out vast sums of money in the purchase and improvement of slaves and land in the West Indies, and that they cannot, without a flagrant breach of faith, be deprived of this property unless they receive compensation. There is reason to believe, that a very small portion of the abolitionists have ever fairly faced this difficulty. They have talked vaguely, but have neither been clear nor decided, at the time, in the expressions they have used, nor ingenuous

genuous in the interpretation they afterwards have put upon them. Of this the colonists have a right to complain. It is neither just nor becoming to endeavour to amuse them with indefinite and unmeaning language, until an act for compulsory emancipation can be obtained,—under the full conviction that when such an act had once passed, the West Indians would be at their mercy, and compelled to put up with whatever so called indemnification they might be able, by entreaty or remonstrance, to extort from the public.

It therefore behoves all those who love fair and open dealing, to consider to what such a compensation as would deserve the fiat of a just parliament must amount. The number of slaves scattered over our West India colonies reaches to at least 700,000, and if each is estimated at about 100*l.*, the value of the slaves alone will be found little short of 70,000,000*l.* The colonists aver, that the land without the slaves would be worth nothing, and, provided this allegation be substantiated, the land must be purchased likewise. The land being probably equal in value to the slaves, the demand for compensation would, by that means, be raised to the enormous sum of 140,000,000*l.*

It is impossible to make anything like an exact calculation on the subject, but supposing that which we have now given should be thought to be excessive, is there an individual to be found who can persuade himself, that the country, already impatient under the pressure of its burdens, either could or would consent to pay a tenth part of such a sum, were it awarded to the colonists, as an equivalent for the loss which the compulsory emancipation of the negroes would occasion? The truth is, and the abolitionists know it, that no such expectation is entertained in any quarter. Compensation, in the plain and ordinary acceptation of the term, is manifestly impracticable. In this strait, what course do the abolitionists usually adopt? They still retain the word *compensation*, which it would not be convenient altogether to disuse, but task their ingenuity to reduce its amount, till, under the operation of their extenuating rectifications and modifications, the substance of it becomes impalpable.

As an illustration of the manner in which this class of abolitionists would deal with the West Indians, we shall lay before our readers the last proposal of Mr. Stephen. It is as follows :

‘As between the injured Africans and us, we have been accomplices with their oppressors; and, though not in *pari delicto*, would be equally bound to compensate, if their wrongs did not exceed all possibility of compensation; for wrong-doers may be justly answerable for consequences they neither meditated nor foresaw. But upon what principles can one of two offenders claim an *indemnity* from the  
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the other, for the consequences of their mutual act, even if there had been full complicity between them? In that case there might perhaps be an equal claim to a *contribution*; but even to this there would be a decisive bar, if the party claiming it had deceived his accomplice, and led him unconsciously into that part of the wrong from which the whole damage arose. A concurs with B in putting on board a ship clandestinely a trunk containing prohibited goods, without the master's privity. They are such as subject the ship to forfeiture, and she is accordingly seized and condemned; but A did not know that the goods were of a prohibited kind, and B, who did know it, had led him to believe that they were such as were liable only to an export-duty, the non-payment of which would not affect the ship. Both are liable to make good the loss to the owners; but a claim by B for a contribution from A would be manifestly groundless and unjust.

'Not less so is the case of the West Indian planters. Had their representations been true, there would have been no loss to compensate; for they assured us that their slaves were so very lightly worked and so abundantly maintained, that their state, in an economical view, was equal to, if not more advantageous to them than freedom.

'It is enough, however, that, as the case stands, slavery would be of no value to the planter, if the economical oppressions were not to be continued, together with the slavery itself; and this, the facts I have demonstrated evince beyond dispute. Are we bound, then, to compensate for the loss of sixteen hours' labour in the twenty-four, to those who led us to believe they took only eight or nine? Or to make good the vast difference between free wages and the miserable maintenance of a slave, to those who told us the latter was so liberal as to make no such difference at all?

'I may be told, perhaps, that some of my fellow-labourers have been ready to admit the principle of compensation. Yes; and so were the friends of Antonio, the Merchant of Venice, to *pay the bond thrice and let the merchant go*, when they found the alternative must be *the pound of flesh*. But I know full well that the bond will not thus be cancelled, and therefore only, like Portia, demand that its validity shall be a subject of previous adjudication. Let it not, however, be understood, that I am at all indisposed to treat the case of the planters with all possible favour and indulgence that may consist with a performance of our duty to the slaves. The admission of their claims as of right, and the granting aid and relief to them from a liberal and kind consideration of the pressure that may arise from a change of system, not less due from them than from ourselves, are questions of a very different kind; and though I am prepared to demonstrate, that all the difficulties of their present situation in the old colonies, as well as all the inconvenience and loss to which the abolition of slavery may expose them, are the fruits of their pertinacious support of the slave-trade alone, after the first calls for its suppression, I am not only willing but desirous that they should, even  
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at a serious expense to the commerce and revenue of the country, be supported and relieved.

‘Here, however, I anxiously desire the attention of the legislature, and particularly of his Majesty’s ministers, to one most important caution. If support or relief is to be given to the planters upon an abolition of slavery, or with a view to that measure, the only way in which it can be conveniently, impartially, and effectually administered, is by a well-regulated remission of duties on the importation of sugar, founded on and adapted to the principle, not that the people should buy that article cheaper, or that the consumption should be increased, but that the planter should obtain a better price for it, in proportion to his loss by a diminished production, in consequence of the reduction of labour.’ \*

Upon this proposal of Mr. Stephen we shall leave our readers to make their own commentary. We may be permitted, however, to express our sincere hope, that if it should ever happen, in the vicissitudes of this eventful period, that Mr. Stephen, or any of those whose sentiments he speaks, should be compelled to seek compensation at the hands of the legislature, a different sort of it may be dealt out to them than they are now disposed to deal to the West Indians.

The difficulty which the introduction of the word compensation always creates is sometimes eluded differently. It is urged, that the West India interest is so deeply and irretrievably depressed, that the colonists can scarcely be heard to complain of the loss of the slaves, when they would hardly sustain any perceptible loss though they were deprived both of land and slaves together. How soon these once flourishing dependencies may be brought to this ebb, and what may be expected to be the consequences which would follow, will hereafter come under consideration. We shall only suggest in this place, that it is not wise to talk much or lightly about such contingencies. If it is necessary, in order to render certain schemes of policy feasible, that our colonies should be brought low, that end has been sufficiently attained; but if all indemnification whatever for the loss about to be inflicted upon them should be refused, on an assumption that they neither are nor ever can be of any value again—rapidly declining as they are, they have not yet reached that point of depression. Should compensation be sincerely proposed, we have never understood that the colonists were likely to prove unreasonable; but we should be much surprised if the most moderate species of equitable adjustment should be found to accord either with the inclination or means of the country; and to strip them of their property without it, would be an act of spoliation so

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\* Stephen’s *West India Slavery delineated*, vol. ii., p. 391-393.

flagrant, and in these times a precedent of such evil omen, that we believe few men will be found sufficiently hardy to venture upon it.

A less alarming experiment has therefore usually been recommended. It has been proposed that some sort of gradual emancipation of the slaves should be enforced, by which the ends of the abolitionists would be as securely attained, while the change wrought upon the condition of the colonists would be so incapable of positive proof, that all claim for compensation might effectually be eluded. Free labour, it was affirmed, will everywhere be offered in abundance, and at a rate so much cheaper than that of the slave, that, after an act for compulsory emancipation shall have passed, the estates of the colonists will rather be improved than injured. This point, however, upon which such opposite opinions have been entertained, seems now to be definitively settled. Individual emancipated negroes may occasionally exert great industry and activity, but we know of no community of emancipated negroes, the members of which have generally betaken themselves to any steady occupation; and that persons of this class can be depended upon for a regular supply of labour, appears to be a completely hopeless expectation. The main purpose of the late mission of Consul-general Mackenzie to Haiti, or at least of the excursions he made through that country, was to clear up this very question. By all candid persons, the deliberate opinion which that able man has formed from careful observation, and the whole tenor of the evidence he has published, will be thought conclusive.\* Such invincible repugnance do the free negroes of that island feel to labour, that the system of the *Code rural* of 1826, about the genuineness of which so much doubt was entertained a few years ago, is described as falling little short of the compulsion to which the slaves had been subjected previous to their emancipation. 'The consequences of delinquency,' he says, 'are heavy fine and imprisonment, and the provisions of the law are as despotic as can well be conceived.' He afterwards subjoins:—'Such have been the various modes for inducing or compelling labour for nearly forty years. It is next necessary to ascertain, as far as it is practicable, the degree of success which has attended each; and the only mode with which I am acquainted, is to give the returns of the exported agricultural produce during the same period, marking, where it can be done, any accidental circumstance that may have had an influence.' He then quotes the returns at length, and observes—'There is one decided inference from the whole of these six returns—viz., the positive decrease

\* Mackenzie's Notes on Haiti. See particularly vol. i. pp. 36, 37, 40, 59, 67, 77, 82, 94, 97, 100, 138, 190, and 273.

of cane cultivation in all its branches. The diminution of other branches of industry, though not equally well marked, is no less certain, than that articles of spontaneous growth maintain, if not exceed, their former amount.\* We may further add, that even the light labour required for trimming and planting coffee-trees has been so much neglected, that the export of coffee, in 1830, falls short of that of 1829 by no less than ten millions of pounds.

The evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, relative to the state of the liberated slaves on the coast of Africa, though not perfectly uniform, leads upon the whole to the same result. Mr. M'Cormack, whose representation is the least gloomy, and who expatiates on particular instances of liberated Africans being worth from 40*l.* to 50*l.* a year, which they have earned by their own industry, yet does not venture to affirm that they display anything like general and regular habits of labour, while the account given of them by all the other witnesses, so far as we have observed, is decidedly unfavourable. Capt. Bullen, R.N., says that, at Sierra Leone, 'they give the blacks a portion of land to cultivate, and they cultivate just as much as will keep them, and not an inch more.'† Mr. Jackson, one of the Judges of the Mixed Commission Court, on being asked,—'Taking into consideration the situation of Sierra Leone, and the attention paid by government to promote their comfort, what progress have they made towards civilization or the comforts of civilized life?' makes this answer—'I should say very inadequate to the efforts that have been made to promote their comfort and civilization.'‡ Capt. Spence, on being asked a similar question, replies—'I have formed a very indifferent opinion as to their progress in industry. I have not been able to observe that they seem inclined to cultivate the country further than vegetables, and things of that kind. They do not seem inclined to cultivate for exportation. Their wants are very few, and they are very wild; and their wants are supplied by the little exertions they make. They have sufficient to maintain them in clothing and food, and these are all their wants.'§

No further reliance is placed upon the extracts here introduced from the evidence taken before the Committee, than as they confirm the opinion of Mr. Mackenzie, and illustrate the easy, indolent disposition of the negro, whether he is found in the old or the new world. The result of the trial made in Haiti seems in itself to be decisive. It has been made throughout the whole of a fertile and extensive island, placed under circumstances as nearly similar as

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\* Mackenzie's Notes on Haiti, vol. ii. pp. 90, 156, and 169.

† Report on Sierra Leone and Fernando Po, 1830, p. 10.

‡ Ibid., p. 55.

§ Ibid., p. 78.

possible to our own colonies, after emancipation has been enjoyed for a period of nearly forty years ; and yet so insuperable is the repugnance of the negroes to any kind of regular daily labour, that the government, even at this day, is under the necessity of enforcing it by positive coercion. Whether the moral and physical condition of the free negroes in Haiti be superior or inferior to that of the slaves in our own colonies, will hereafter come under consideration. We are now only inquiring whether free negroes show themselves industrious or inactive ; and the picture they present seems to prove to demonstration that it would be utterly preposterous to imagine that our planters in the West Indies could carry on the cultivation of their estates by free labour, if their slaves should be emancipated by a compulsory act, before they have arrived at a more advanced stage of civilization.

If neither adequate compensation, nor immediate or even modified emancipation, be deemed practicable or expedient, the abolitionists contend there can at least be no good ground for forbearing to enact that, after a certain period, the children of all slaves born in the West Indies should be free. This is certainly the least objectionable form in which any compulsory legislative measure can be brought forward ; and we have no hesitation in acknowledging that we were at one time favourable to its adoption. On examining it more carefully, however, several strong objections presented themselves, by which we were led to alter our opinion. If, on the one hand, the commencement of its operation were postponed to a distant period, it would be apt, like other things in similar circumstances, to be forgotten, and would come like a surprise at last, before any preparations had been made for the commencement of its operation. It would besides, we apprehend, have a strong tendency to thwart and retard the influence of those natural causes by which slavery is at present imperceptibly, but steadfastly and rapidly, advancing to its termination. If, on the other hand, the act should come into force immediately, and every child born after the day of its receiving the Royal assent were to be free, society in the West Indies would probably be found to recede instead of advancing during this state of transition, and burdens and difficulties would accumulate upon the masters, while discontent and disorder extended among the slaves. We request our readers to favour us with their attention while we endeavour to point out the practical effects of such an enactment.

The master has now the complete control of all the slaves upon his plantations, whether young or old. He rears them in infancy, tends them in sickness, and supports them in old age. These privileges have often been treated with disregard and ridicule, but, as  
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we conceive, very undeservedly. Granting that they are by no means so effectual to the negro as they ought to be, we have never seen the slightest reason to doubt, that throughout the whole British West Indies they lay a severe tax upon the master, and must almost necessarily confer a corresponding benefit on the slave. Imagine, then, what the state of a plantation would be, after such a declaratory law had passed. The master would still be compelled, for a considerable period, to support the free children, until they reached the age when they could maintain themselves. As some children are able to maintain themselves sooner than others, disagreeable altercations would constantly be arising between the parents and the master whether or not this period had arrived. As they grew up, they would naturally be proud of their freedom, and resent the smallest encroachment upon it; and, as it could hardly be expected that they would be distinguished for industrious or regular habits, they would almost inevitably become a nuisance to the whole community. 'No measures of the government,' says Mackenzie, in speaking of Haiti, 'can induce the young creoles to labour, or depart from their habitual licentiousness and vagrancy;' and he informs us that 'the few young females that live on plantations, seldom assist in any labour whatever, but live in a constant state of idleness and debauchery.\*' These young persons would also prove an unfailing source of discontent, among those who remained slaves, both by their condition and their conduct. Even their parents would not always quietly submit to work while they saw their children wandering about idle; their brothers and sisters, born before the passing of the act, would probably prove still more refractory; and the distinction between bond and free would, in all cases, inevitably become more galling to those who were left in bondage.

The abolitionists view all this more favourably. They see no prospect of disturbance or dissatisfaction, and rely upon the free children who would spring up, proving the pledges and instruments of improving industry, order, and civilization. We lament our inability to partake in so pleasing an anticipation. In Europe such a result would probably follow; but in the West Indies, where the temptations to idleness are at present so strong, and the animal propensities of the negroes are as yet so ungovernable, we fear it would disturb the whole social system now established in these colonies; and, if this should be the consequence, they would, we fear, be obliged to wait long, and suffer much, before they could obtain a better. Let the abolitionists flatter themselves and their supporters as they may, they cannot deny that, without any call or authority but that which arises from a thirst of doing good,

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\* Mackenzie's *Notes on Haiti*, vol. i., pp. 88 and 100.

they are venturing on a project of which the risk is unquestionable, but the success exceedingly uncertain. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, it will be found upon inquiry that nothing analogous to it has ever been attempted, under the same circumstances, either in the East Indies, in the United States, or in South America. If the government would agree to guarantee the colonists against future loss, it would then be entitled to accede to any proposal the abolitionists might make ; but as the very reverse of this is now assumed to be the fact, we are utterly unable to comprehend upon what maxims of reason or policy it can conceive itself warranted, without cause, and at such a crisis, to expose the whole property invested in the West Indies to so perilous an issue.

We have now done with the colonists, so far as emancipation is concerned. The interests of the slaves meet us next, and in our minds are so paramount to all other considerations, that if we were persuaded compulsory emancipation would really accelerate their improvement, we should think no sacrifice too great that might be required to carry it into execution. As this happens not to be the case, and as the judgment formed on this point must determine the expediency or in expediency of the whole of the plans which have hitherto been proposed by the abolitionists, we think ourselves obliged to specify some of the reasons for which we are unable to coincide with them in opinion.

A doubt, however, has been started, which, if well founded, would at once put an end to all disputation on the subject. It has been suggested that slavery is expressly forbidden by the precepts of the Christian religion. This is clearly a misapprehension. In this, as in all other matters, it vindicates its own pure and heavenly character. Certain things are pointed out as being in themselves desirable, and freedom is among the number ; but force is nowhere enjoined or recommended for the attainment of them, nor does a single passage occur in the New Testament, in which bondage is made the ground of interference with the established order of society. No one circumstance, perhaps, proves more strongly that it is not of this world, than the directions it has left us on this very subject. Two of them are couched in the following words :—

‘ Let every man abide in the calling wherein he was called. Art thou called being a servant (slave) ? Care not for it : but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather.’ 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21.

‘ Let as many servants (slaves) as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren ; but rather do them  
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service because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.' 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2.

These, and several other passages, are so clear and conclusive, that we should not now have thought of offering any confirmation of that which is so incontestible, were not the absolute unlawfulness of slavery maintained by a certain class of persons whose zeal is stronger than their understanding, and their conceit and wilfulness superior to both; while others, who are too prudent to avow doctrines which they know to be untenable, have yet no objection that the cause should have all the benefit which can be derived from their propagation. Having, however, no doubt at all, on this authority, that the New Testament unequivocally recognises the lawfulness of slavery, the employment of any argument would only tend to raise doubts where none could otherwise exist. The lawfulness of slavery, as an abstract principle, we conceive the abolitionists (one small enthusiastic knot excepted) to have uniformly admitted; but then they add, that the kind of slavery known in the West Indies is so hostile to the moral and physical improvement of the slave, as well as to the precepts of religion and dictates of humanity, that it calls aloud for legislative interference.

With respect to the extent of the interference which might be desirable, the abolitionists have been by no means uniform in opinion. The views which were at one time entertained by Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Stephen—two of the most distinguished of their body—are recorded, by the last of these gentlemen, in the two following passages:—

'That the abolition party had not aimed at an emancipation to be effected by insurrection in the West Indies, or to be ordained precipitately by positive law, as their opponents had alleged, but to a future extinction of slavery in the colonies by the same happy means which put an end to it in England; namely, by a benign, though insensible revolution in opinions and manners, by the encouragement of particular manumissions, and the progressive melioration of the condition of the slaves, till it should slide insensibly into general freedom; that we looked to an emancipation of which not the slaves, but the masters, should be the willing instruments or authors.\*

'Mr. Marryatt says, that he was before aware, that I, like Mr. Wilberforce, designed the emancipation of the slaves. This renewal of a stale and idle charge against Mr. Wilberforce seems as much out of time as out of place. But I am not much surprised, or indeed much concerned, that if he should believe Mr. Wilberforce capable of entertaining a purpose which he has publicly disclaimed, he should form the same judgment of me.†

By the time he published the second part of his '*Delineation of*

\* *Reasons for a Registry.*

† Letter to Mr. Smith, in 1813.

West India Slavery,' his sentiments seem to have undergone a total alteration. He there announces that—

'To me, at least, it is perfectly manifest, that it would be very unwise in the friends of the slaves to propose any measure short of the full demand of justice, a general, entire, immediate, restitution of the freedom wrongfully withheld. Whether anything less should content us for the present, if offered, is a question on which it would be premature to offer an opinion.'\*

In the same work is to be found the following description of the present condition and treatment of the slaves :—

'Numerous and cruel though the oppressions are by which the poor negroes are degraded, tormented, and destroyed, there are two which I have always regarded, and publicly denounced, as by far the worst—I mean the truly enormous amount of labour to which the field negroes, on ordinary plantation estates, are condemned, and the almost incredible degree of parsimony with which they are maintained. Most of the other sufferings incident to their hapless state are casual and temporary, but these are certain and perennial; and though mitigated in a certain degree under the most liberal of their owners, are, to a great and grievous degree, their universal lot.†

He afterwards subjoins—

'And now I will answer the other question, which my readers were supposed likely to put. Do I contend that no general improvement in the treatment of slaves has yet actually taken place? Yes; speaking of the temporal lot of the field negroes, in all the most essential points, and of their spiritual interests too, with few and slight exceptions, I verily and conscientiously do.'‡

The passages we have here extracted are not introduced in order to take advantage of the total revolution which has taken place in Mr. Stephen's opinions between 1813 and 1830, when his last book was published, or of the painful asperity in feeling and language, by which his warmest friends must lament that every part of his writings on the subject of slavery are so unfortunately distinguished. Such an attempt could in no degree benefit the cause of truth or justice. They have been inserted merely as an exposition of the views which a very active party among the abolitionists now entertain. They will be satisfied with nothing but the most speedy and direct acts of legislative interference; and, with a degree of perverseness and obstinacy almost unexampled, persist in striving to prove and believe that the treatment which the slaves now receive, and the condition they present, when compared with what they did twenty or thirty years ago, remain essentially unaltered.

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\* Stephen's *West India Slavery Delineated*, vol. ii., p. 399.

† *Ibid.*, p. 4.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

The majority of the abolitionists perceive the impossibility of maintaining this position; still they cannot be persuaded that the alleged change is always real, and think it is at best proceeding so slowly, that unless legislative compulsion is applied, ages may roll away before the great work in which they are engaged is brought to its accomplishment. We confess, that to us, they appear to be in some respects mistaken, and in others unreasonable. It must be expected that a considerable number of acts of oppression and cruelty will occur among a mass of 816,694 persons, to which, according to the last returns, the coloured people now amount. The same thing happens among every population in the world, consisting of equal numbers. We suspect, at the same time, that the abolitionists have placed far more reliance than they ought on the statements of some of their colonial correspondents; and of this the recent communications between the governor of Jamaica and the colonial office, respecting the Rev. Mr. Whitehouse, afford an instance, which upon full investigation, would be discovered to be either wholly unfounded or exceedingly exaggerated. That an extraordinary change must have lately taken place both in the treatment and condition of the negroes, is we think irresistibly made out from the marked improvement which has lately—by the testimony of competent and impartial witnesses—taken place in the slave-laws of almost all the islands, in the conduct of the planters, and in the whole tone and tendency of society in the West Indies.

The change which has taken place within a short space in the slave-laws of almost all the colonies is peculiarly worthy of attention. The consolidated slave-law of Jamaica, into which numerous humane provisions were for the first time introduced, was passed in 1816. New bills, containing provisions more and more beneficial to the slaves, successively passed the House of Assembly, in 1826, 1828, and 1829; and though the reforms even went beyond what the authorities at home had suggested, the bills were all disallowed by his Majesty's government, on account of certain restrictions imposed by them on a certain class of dissenting missionaries. Since the year 1823, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, Grenada, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, Tobago, Bermuda, Antigua, Demerara and Essequibo, and Berbice, have each passed slave-laws, almost all of which have received the sanction of his Majesty; and Grenada and Tobago have, since the passing of their general acts, made regulations by which the slaves are still more protected. The abolitionists affect to treat the whole of these legislative measures as illusory, and allege that in practice they are a dead letter, and that they have procured for the slaves no

relief or protection. We cannot see why they should be so regarded. That they should be all at once, and in every quarter, carried into complete and vigorous execution, could not be reasonably expected; but that the late remarkable alteration, which has almost simultaneously been made in the codes of almost all the colonies, has largely increased the security, and comfort of the slaves—the whole public proceedings of the islands, every document which is transmitted to the mother country, and the communications which pass between the Colonial Office and the local authorities, incontestably establish.

The testimony of living witnesses, almost without a single exception, points to the same satisfactory result. Almost all the individuals we have seen or heard of, who are entitled to credit—naval and military officers—agents of government—travellers—and persons who have had occasion to reside on any of the islands, without being connected with them in interest, both in their replies to direct questions, and still more unsuspiciously by their casual observations, concur in testifying, that the lot of the slaves has lately undergone great and growing mitigation. General averments, respecting the difficulty of knowing what is really going forward upon the plantations, are wholly insufficient to overthrow the effect of their united declarations. If such cruelties as are alleged were habitually perpetrated on the negroes, a certain portion of them could not fail to have come under the eye even of the most careless visitors; and if they had, most of those who have uttered their sentiments in private, or borne testimony in public, are persons of too much integrity to allow the truth to be disguised or perverted.

The whole of what is said and done by the colonists themselves tends strongly and directly to the same conclusion.

‘The fundamental error,’ says Mr. Barclay, ‘in the late measures of government, has been an assumption, that the colonists, “*wedded to slavery and rioting in oppression,*” were altogether opposed to any melioration of the condition of the negroes; that they had done nothing in good faith to promote it, and, if left to themselves, never would. This is not true: the colonists are bound to regulate, in the most judicious manner, the state of society in which it has been the policy of this country to place them, and may not adopt the crude suggestions of every one who pretends to direct them; but they are not attached to slavery; they are not oppressors of the slaves, nor opposed to the melioration of their condition. On the contrary, they have done a great deal to promote it, and have every desire to continue to do so, as fast as the slaves become fitted for the change. Why, then, it may be said, should there be any differences or any difficulty in accomplishing an object desired by both parties? To answer this question—suppose a traveller, proceeding steadily towards a given destination,

destination, with all the diligence and despatch consistent with his strength and ability, to be thus addressed upon the road:—*Rascal, you have not moved one step. I know it is against your inclination, and that if left to yourself you will never move an inch on your journey; but I will adopt effectual measures to compel you to walk on.* What, in such a case, would be the answer of the traveller?—*You greatly wrong me. I have already performed more than half the journey. I am proceeding as fast as I am able, and if left to myself I will continue to do so. But I am not to be driven beyond my means and strength. If you attempt violence, here I at once take my stand. You may be able to destroy me, but you shall not make me commit suicide.* Such precisely is the case, at this moment, of the colonists; and it can scarcely be matter of surprise, that, like the supposed traveller, they show some disposition to resist and resent such treatment.\*

But lest it should be said that this is the isolated and unauthorised assertion of a gentleman who is himself a planter, or, at least, was long confidentially employed upon plantations, he has, in the same pamphlet, made the following observations on the means of putting an end to all doubt respecting the alleged maltreatment of the slaves:—

‘There appear to be but two ways by which this object can be effected—either by sending out impartial and competent persons as commissioners, to examine into the condition and treatment of the slave population, their habits and capabilities, and report thereon to parliament, or by appointing a committee of the House of Commons to take the evidence of persons of all descriptions, who have resided in, or visited the colonies, within the last ten or twelve years. In either way such ample information might easily be obtained as would guide the government in the proper course to be pursued, if evils were found to exist that required its interference; and if no evils were found to exist, the public mind would be quieted, and peace and confidence restored in the colonies.†

This is not now a mere suggestion offered by Mr. Barclay. After a general meeting of those interested in the West Indies, held in London on the 23d November, 1830, a petition, agreed to by a very great majority of those who attended, was presented to the King by the Marquis of Chandos, to the House of Lords by Lord St. Vincent, and by the Marquis of Chandos to the House of Commons. The prayer of it is—

‘that, for the satisfaction of the country, your Honourable House will be pleased to institute an inquiry into the condition of the negroes, and into the state of slavery as it now exists in the West India colonies, which inquiry your petitioners feel assured will relieve both their

\* Barclay's Effects of the late Colonial Policy, &c., p. 50.

† Ibid. p. 13.

fellow-colonists and themselves from the obloquy under which they now labour.'

The West Indians have at last adopted a line which conveys the most distinct denial they have it in their power to give to the charges of cruelty and oppression which have been brought against them, and we feel insuperable reluctance to believe that a large body of men of such rank and character as were here assembled, would openly challenge an inquiry, which, if granted, must issue in their shame and confusion. In the present state of the case, therefore, we feel ourselves bound, by all the rules of fair reasoning, to conclude that the abolitionists have done much, though unintentional, injustice to the colonists, in obstinately refusing to give them credit for that mitigation in the treatment of the slaves which has lately been effected.

The ordinary course of events also affords presumption which, in this case, may almost be said to exceed any other species of evidence, that such a result must necessarily happen. The state of sentiment and manners has lately undergone as great an alteration in the colonies as in the mother country. Whatever the effect of this revolution may have been in other respects, it has all been on the side of lenity and indulgence. In the midst of this universal mollification, it would have been strange if the owners of slaves had not partaken of the general influence. Every sail that arrives from the colonies brings additional proof of the rapid and salutary change which has been for some time making way, and still pervades every rank of West Indian society. The resident owners and managers of estates are much more cultivated and exemplary than they formerly were, both in mind and manners; and, as the natural result of their own elevation, have become, notwithstanding their growing difficulties and embarrassments, more kind and considerate to their slaves and dependents. The increasing inability of all absentees to support themselves suitably in the mother country, or on the continent of Europe, will force them more and more to return to the West Indies. The people of colour, many of whom now enjoy the blessings of good education, are said to be an amiable and excellent race of men, and these, in Jamaica alone, have swelled, within the last twenty-five years, from ten to forty thousand,\* and are everywhere fast increasing in influence and numbers. But we need not expatiate further on this topic. There is not one of the movements now perceptible in the West Indies, which does not visibly contribute to that advancement of the slaves, which has within a short period received so propitious an impulse.

Every thing is working together for good. The master has begun,

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\* Barclay's Effects of the late Colonial Policy, p. 17.

voluntarily

voluntarily and cheerfully, to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the slave, and the slave feels and shows himself worthy of the superior station which he occupies. In all that is said on this subject, it ought never to be forgotten in how deplorable a plight the negroes who have been transported to the West Indies originally were. Huddled together on board ship, and afterwards on shore; unacquainted with each other's history or language; usually the rudest and most brutish of the tribes of their native land; and, until the abolition of the trade, rendered still more degraded by their treatment, and the fresh accession of equally savage companions—how could the slightest germ of civilization be expected to spring up among them? If the abolitionists would look down to the depth in which they were plunged, they would not be so surprised that they had not emerged more rapidly. Now that the ascent has begun, it justifies or even exceeds all the rational expectations which could have been formed of its progress; and if voluntary manumissions are not injudiciously checked, they will probably effect the liberation of the whole of the slaves in the West Indies as soon as they are worthy of it.

A return was lately ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, of all manumissions in Jamaica, between the period commencing with the first registration of slaves in 1817, to the 28th of June, 1826, distinguishing gratuitous manumissions from such as are paid for, of which the following is a copy:—

PERIOD.	Manumissions Paid for.	Gratuitous Manumissions.	TOTAL.
From 29th June 1817 to 28th June 1818	261	557	818
„ 1819	224	356	580
„ 1820	211	337	548
„ 1821	266	366	632
„ 1822	178	287	465
„ 1823	209	236	445
„ 1824	197	246	443
„ 1825	208	238	446
„ 1826	197	208	405
	<hr/> 1951	<hr/> 2831	<hr/> 4782*

If any one should be struck with the small number of manumissions here announced, when compared with the 331,119 slaves, who, according to the last returns made up in 1826, were found to be upon the island, or should think that we are too sanguine in the effects we expect from manumission, we can only repeat our hope and belief, that if no interference takes place with the colonies, the result will fully justify the warmest anticipations. Both the

\* 28th March, 1831. No. 302.

returns and entries of manumissions in all the colonies have proved so exceedingly inaccurate and defective, that they cannot be talked of as affording a fair test of what the system now in progress is capable of effecting. But even these imperfect records distinctly prove that the system has firmly taken root, and we have no doubt it is the distress of the colonists, and that distress alone, which has lately slackened, or ever will impede its operations. Distress chains the hand even where it cannot chill the heart. Let but colonial prosperity revive, and year after year we shall see master and slave becoming bound more and more closely to each other by good offices and good opinion, and manumission, like every other good thing, proceeding more and more rapidly. It will soon become the ordinary reward of confirmed industry and fidelity, and the strongest inducement to practise these qualities which can be held out to those still in bondage. By this constant but imperceptible promotion, the slaves will, with the hearty concurrence and by the act of their masters, find themselves one after another placed among free men, as soon as their diligence, self-control, and moral and religious instruction, have qualified them for such a station.

By compulsory emancipation, on the other hand, the whole of this natural order would be disturbed or inverted. The colonists, feeling themselves injured and insulted, might, possibly, thwart, but could not reasonably be expected to forward the execution of the measure; while the slave, feeling no gratitude either to his master or the abolitionists for the boon he had received, and having it forced upon him before he comprehended either its nature or value, would run imminent risk of covering the whole face of the country with anarchy and blood. If this consequence did not follow, another certainly would. Without any wants except the mere appetites of nature to gratify—which, until their numbers greatly multiplied, a very small portion of labour would supply—they would relapse into the same state of bodily and mental inactivity in which their brethren of St. Domingo are now sunk—and which appears to us very far indeed below that condition, physical and moral, of which our slave population in the West Indies, by kind and judicious management and direction, must soon come into possession.

In order to hasten this desirable consummation, there are two objects which we hope the colonists will spare no pains or exertion to effectuate. One of them is, to put an end, as expeditiously and completely as they can, to all extraordinary and exhausting labour on the part of the slaves; and the other is, to afford them the benefit of still further religious instruction than they now enjoy.

So far as regards lodging, food, and clothing, we entertain not  
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the slightest doubt, whatever some of the abolitionists may have asserted to the contrary, that they are at least on a footing with many of the labourers in our own country. Neither do we believe that on most estates, or throughout the year, there is any pretence for alleging that they are overworked. We admit that the diminution of numbers till lately observed in most of the colonies, for a considerable time perplexed us. We have examined with all the attention in our power most of the returns, public or private, which have, down to the latest period, come to this country, and we once intended to have laid as many of them before our readers as our limits would allow, that they might form their own determination upon them. But they appeared to us, upon close and repeated inspection, to be so inconsistent, inaccurate, and defective, that no conclusion with respect to the causes of that excess of deaths above births, among the negro population in the West Indies, which *did* exist, can be safely drawn from them. The unequal proportion in which the sexes were brought from Africa, was, perhaps, the principal source of the evil. One important fact, however, these documents seem to establish, that in all our colonies, excepting Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, the males are now exceeded by the females. It also appears certain, that in several of them the black population has been for some time increasing. In others, it appears that the births and deaths now are, or soon will be, nearly balanced; so that, on the whole, should no unexpected circumstance occur, we think ourselves justified in anticipating with confidence, that when the imported negroes have died off, and the equality of the sexes has been permanently restored, and the returns are made with sufficient fulness and accuracy, these will show a steady increase in every island and on almost every estate in the West Indies. Although, however, the only stumbling block which stood in the way of our belief in the universal improvement of the treatment of the negroes has thus been removed, we hope the planters will not relax in their endeavours to render all extra work unnecessary. Should the perseverance and ingenuity which has effected so great a saving of labour in many other arts and manufactures, prove successful in devising means and implements for facilitating the holding of the cane pieces, and the crushing of the canes afterwards during crop time at the mill, the only remaining pretext for complaint against the planters, that which refers to exacting excessive labour from the slaves, must be finally abandoned.

The last particular in which we feel that the colonists ought to exert themselves more for the slaves than they have hitherto done, is in the communication of religious instruction. Religion, not that which consists merely in the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and

and confirmation, but that which is inwardly in the heart, and displays itself in the conduct, is the surest foundation of order and good government, both among black and white. It is the interest, therefore, as well as the duty of the colonist to see that it be fully taught. It will induce the slaves to be careful, diligent, and honest, unseen and unwatched, and insure obedience and sobriety where rod and fetters prove equally unavailing. But when we speak of religion, we mean that which, however ardent and active, is in all things kept under the control of prudence and discretion; and without desiring to think or speak uncharitably of a single individual among the missionaries who have left their own country to do good in the West Indies, there is room for questioning whether all which they there teach and preach answers to this description. However this may be, there can be little doubt that a persuasion prevails among the planters, that too many of the Methodists not unfrequently extract more money from the slaves than they can well afford, induce them to meet for public worship at unseasonable hours, and interfere in other injudicious methods; or that these teachers are viewed generally with suspicion and distrust, in consequence of the false or incorrect statements they are in the habit of transmitting to those societies in England which have long been regarded as the determined enemies of the colonial interest.

It is extremely unfortunate that this feeling should have taken root among the planters, as the treatment they have lately received from the government at home, coupled with their present depressed condition, can hardly fail to have caused it to extend far beyond those bounds which the acts of the missionaries alone could justify. On the other hand, it was extremely injudicious in the missionaries and their friends to circulate letters or papers of any kind which they might have foreseen would certainly create alarm, and consequently interfere with their own usefulness. Two classes of persons are thus set in direct opposition to one another, whose united efforts would, after all, have been inadequate to communicate that religious instruction which the slaves demand.

‘I will add,’ observes Mr. Barclay, ‘that I do not think the means of religious instruction which have been pursued sufficient for the growing wants of the people. When the parish churches in Jamaica were built, the accommodation of the white people only could have been contemplated, as no attempt had then been made to induce the attendance of the slaves. But the case is widely different now; and although in the parish in which I reside (St. Thomas’s in the East) two chapels of ease have been erected within the last ten years, the increasing number of attendants still require more, and the aid of the benevolent in the mother country to provide these would be thankfully  
accepted,

accepted, if offered in the spirit of peace and charity. Unfortunately kindness to the slaves is by too many mingled with enmity to their masters. The benevolent and pious, therefore, whose single object in contributing their money is to promote the religious instruction and happiness of the negroes, would do well to send it through channels as little as possible connected with party. They greatly err if they suppose the colonists inimical to the objects they have in view, however much they may occasionally have been irritated by the conduct of anti-slavery missionaries.

‘ On this point I appeal to the ministers of that church of which I am myself a member. In the island of Jamaica, there is certainly no clergyman who has done more to promote religious instruction among the slaves, and among the population generally, than the Rev. Mr. Wordie, of the Presbyterian church in Kingston. His zealous and unwearied exertions in founding and rearing up Sunday schools in that city, which are now attended by three hundred boys and girls of all colours, have been the theme of universal praise and admiration throughout the island; and yet in none of all the religious tracts or reports I have seen in Great Britain, is the circumstance so much as noticed. Two other Scotch churches have been established in Jamaica within the last five years, one at Lucea and another at Hampden, and there is one now building at Port Maria. Have any of the ministers of these churches said that they found the colonists opposed to the religious instruction of their slaves? I am sure that they will testify to the contrary; and here is one channel at least, through which, unconnected with political objects or party, Christian benevolence may be safely and beneficially directed.’\*

We have inserted this passage entire because it embraces every topic we were anxious to inculcate on the subject of religion, and contains suggestions well worthy of the attention of the benevolent public, the colonists, and the legislature. We had understood that the ritual and service of the Church of England were so much preferred by the slaves to every other as to insure them almost exclusive possession of the West India colonies; but these colonies are possessions, not of England, but of the British Empire, in which two Protestant churches are by law established, and a very large proportion of the planters and managers in the West Indies are of Scottish origin, and if the truth be that the Church of Scotland, by the zeal and unoffending conduct of her ministers, is calculated to do so much good, where so many assistants in the vineyard are still wanting, we are sure the Church of England will rejoice in meeting with such a coadjutor in her labours. Whoever they are who teach sound doctrine and practice, and are willing to devote themselves to the edification of the slaves, should be received by the colonists with all welcome and encou-

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\* Barclay's *Effects of Colonial Policy*, p. 37.

agement. It is not zeal which is dangerous, but that zeal which is not accompanied with knowledge. These two virtues blended together in the ministers of religion, and aided by the kind and considerate attention of the white population, will secure to the slave more certain advances in civilization than any species of compulsory emancipation would enable him to make.

We yield to none of the abolitionists in aversion to slavery, or anxiety for its abolition. It is the bounden duty of all Christians to promote this object as they have opportunity. In every country, and under every form, it has proved one of the sorest evils which afflict humanity, and of all those who have bowed beneath its iron influence, the lot of the Africans who have been transported to the West Indies is the most to be lamented. Yet conscientiously holding these opinions, and deeply feeling their importance, it is our settled persuasion, founded on the considerations we have with all deference submitted to the judgment of our readers, that the surest, safest, and most expeditious means of carrying on the improvement of the negroes, until they are placed on the same level with their European brethren, is by supporting and stimulating that amelioration which the colonists are voluntarily effecting, and that this consummation will be retarded, not accelerated, by any plan of compulsory emancipation issuing from the Imperial Parliament.

Having thus disposed of the first of the two great questions in which the West India colonies are interested, we now come to the second, which is a consideration of the means by which the depression under which the planters are now labouring may most effectually be removed or alleviated. And, as the intelligent public, even of these days, are not always fully aware of the facts connected with the questions which come before them—nay, as it is too common, even among statesmen, to presume that no complaints are worthy of attention unless the complainants are on the very brink of ruin and despair—it may not be improper to satisfy our readers, not only that distress really exists among the West India planters, but that it has for some time been and still is pressing almost intolerably upon them. For this purpose we shall select a few passages from some communications made a few months ago to government by the West India committee in London, and lately printed by order of the House of Commons. We conceive we could refer to no documents more conclusive or authentic; and we shall begin with a statement extracted by the committee from various communications received from the House of Assembly at Jamaica. It is of this tenor:

‘For many years the distress of the planters of Jamaica has been accumulating, until it has reached a crisis which threatens to involve  
all

all classes in ruin. The planter is unable to raise money to provide for his family, or to feed and clothe his negroes ; the mortgagee gets no interest on the capital he has advanced ; and numerous annuitants in this country look for remittances in vain. The principal staple commodity of the West Indies, sugar, is now reduced to a price so low, as to be, in most instances, inadequate to pay the duties, the charges incurred in Great Britain, and the expenses of cultivation. The planter is debarred from the hope of profit, and sees his industry requited by accumulating debt, and the prospect of utter ruin to himself and his creditors. Under the pressure of distress, and surrounded by difficulties, while other classes of British subjects are relieved from taxation, and enactments are passed for the reduction of duties upon trade, increasing its activity and extent, and adding to the power and wealth of the empire, a fixed resolution seems to have been adopted that the high war duties upon the chief article of West India production shall be continued without abatement.

‘The discouragement which this policy occasions, the crippled resources, the difficulty of raising the means, in addition to large contributions to the revenue of the empire for supporting the troops sent for colonial defence, and for defraying other expenses, are grievances which threaten the entire destruction of this ancient colony, whose capabilities for profitable commerce, if properly governed, are still considered by foreign powers superior to those of any other West India possession. The inhabitants of Jamaica have submitted without repining to the ravages of hurricanes, and have borne patiently the burdensome taxation which a state of war imposes. It is under the authority of the imperial parliament, which takes from them more than the income of their estates, that they are suffering ; and it is to save their landholders and capitalists from ruin, and their labourers from absolute want, that the immediate interference of the imperial legislature is solicited. If delay takes place, and if these gloomy apprehensions be realized, it is to be feared that the numerous dependents of the British inhabitants of the West India islands, will not be persuaded that their masters are innocent of their miseries, and their rage and despair may involve our country in anarchy and blood.’\*

The second passage we shall give is said by the committee to be a fair abstract of various communications made by the assemblies of Barbadoes, Antigua, the Virgin Islands, and other colonies.

‘It appears from these communications, that the distress in the Leeward Island colonies generally has been accumulating for a series of years, and that the situation of the planters is now as melancholy and deplorable as it was formerly cheerful and prosperous. The expenses under which the colonists in the Leeward Islands generally labour, render them utterly unable to pay the charges of their civil government, existing, as they now do, not on annual profits, but on their

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\* Statements, &c. relating to the West India Colonies. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th Feb. 1831. No. 120, p. 9 and 10.

actual capital embarked,—every year increasing the debts to their merchants, yet still compelled, from the nature and tenor of their property, to hold estates which they cannot sell; because property which instead of revenue produces annual loss to the possessor, can have no value in the market.

‘It is not the planters alone who are the sufferers. The poor free people of colour, and the slaves, in cultivating the minor articles raised in these colonies for exportation, have their value greatly lessened; and hence the industry of the mass of the population is more shackled than in other places not subject to the full restraints which the colonial system imposes on the old colonies. But the evil does not end here. The slaves are in consequence deprived of many comforts which they would otherwise enjoy from the prosperity of their masters. It is not to be expected that moral or religious improvement can continue to make progress in a community so situated. In such a state of affairs the consequences must be ruinous; the estates must be abandoned; civilization, religion, and morality recede or vanish, as at Haiti, with the white population. The inhabitants of these colonies, conceiving that their distresses are solely attributable to the policy of the mother country, earnestly look for relief from the government of Great Britain at the earliest possible period; and it may safely be asserted that the hope of relief alone sustains commercial credit, and enables the planters, from postponed payment of their unavoidable expenses, to continue their cultivation.’\*

The next statement comes from twenty-six of the first West India houses in England, addressed to his Majesty’s ministers on the 28th May, 1830. The language of these gentlemen is this:

‘The undersigned West India merchants being now occupied in closing their accounts for the sugar crop of 1829, have had their attention more particularly and accurately directed to the subject, and feel it to be incumbent on them to represent to his Majesty’s ministers the state of extreme distress into which the West India colonies are fallen; and to suggest the expediency of affording to them that prompt relief which the necessities of the colonists so urgently require, and which the undersigned humbly conceive may be given without any risk of material inconvenience to the financial arrangements of the country. The experience of the undersigned justifies them in confidently assuring his Majesty’s ministers—

1. That many estates have not paid the expenses of their cultivation for the past year, without charging interest on the capital, or even interest on the debts with which the estates may be incumbered, or anything for the support of the families dependent upon them; and that a debt has thus been actually incurred by the proprietors, in consequence of the expences exceeding the sale of the crop.

2. That many other estates, more favourably circumstanced than

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\* Statements, &c. relating to the West India Colonies. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th Feb. 1831. No. 120, p. 11.

the preceding class, by making better sugar, or by being cultivated at less cost, have not produced enough to pay the interest of the mortgages upon them.

‘3. That the remainder of the estates which are most favourably circumstanced, have yielded so little net income, that, upon the whole, great distress has fallen upon the families of proprietors, and upon all connected with or dependent upon the West India colonies.

‘4. That the prices are now 3s. to 7s. per cwt. lower than they were in June, 1829; and, under existing circumstances, there are no grounds for expecting any material improvement in prices. The results, therefore, of the accounts of crop 1830 will be more disastrous than those of the past year; and merchants acting under the dictates of ordinary prudence, must be compelled to withhold all further advances to planters, either for the maintenance of slaves and cultivation of estates, or for the support of their families.

‘Under these circumstances, unless some immediate relief be afforded, despair and ruin must inevitably overwhelm the colonies and all dependent upon them, and great distress and inconvenience be sustained by the manufacturing, shipping, and other interests connected with the colonies.’ \*

These supplications will disclose the real state of the West Indies far more feelingly and convincingly than any argument we could offer. When men are acting under the influence of strong emotion, or worn down by severe distress, there is an earnestness and simplicity in their language which no affected sufferers can imitate. No appeals were ever more irresistible than those of the West India proprietors and merchants which we have just quoted, and no unprejudiced person can read them without being completely satisfied of their truth. They have hitherto received no contradiction; and those by whom they have been preferred have produced a mass of accounts, calculations, and documents, by which they have, point by point, been conclusively and wofully established. The West Indians have thus done all which, on their parts, it was possible to do. Their condition is no longer unknown or uncertain; and in a case of such overwhelming and wide-spread calamity, it certainly appears to be the duty of a wise and paternal government to afford relief. ‘But how is this to be done?’ the colonists are invariably asked. They have been told by almost every branch of the executive government, ‘We are anxious to relieve you, but are unable to devise the means. If any measures calculated to attain that end should be proposed, you may rely on their receiving our consideration and concurrence.’ Such or similar words of course are used on all occasions, when any subject is broached

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\* Statements, &c., relating to the West India Colonies. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th Feb. 1831. No. 120, p. 11.

into which, from hurry, or any other cause, the speakers have a dislike to enter in right earnest. The colonists allege, and allege justly, that those to whom the government of the country is committed on account of their presumed wisdom and sagacity, might not unreasonably be expected to discover a remedy for distress, even where the sufferers themselves had failed to find it. But the colonists are not quite in this predicament. There are certain measures which, in their estimation, would afford them immediate and considerable relief, but which they do not think the legislature has yet deigned sufficiently to consider.

One of these is a reduction of the duty on sugar. The duty on sugar amounted in 1791 to 15s. per cwt., was raised in 1797 to 17s. 6d., in 1799 to 20s., and in 1806 to 30s. This duty was afterwards reduced from 30s. to 27s., when sugar was under a certain high price; and in 1830 was further reduced from 27s. to 24s., at which it still continues; the last addition having been imposed expressly as a tax which was to continue only during the war. The average value of a cwt. of sugar in the market at present is 24s. 10d., or 10d. more than the tax upon it. If from this the sum of 8s. 6d. be deducted for freight and the charges of sale, the proceeds will be reduced to the sum of 16s. 4d. per cwt. By an extensive average of actual accounts it appears, that the expense of production and manufacture amounts to 15s. 10d. per cwt., which, being subtracted from 16s. 4d., a quotient of 6d. on every cwt. remains. The result then is, that on every cwt. of sugar which the colonist in the West Indies produces, manufactures, and brings across the Atlantic to this country, and for which he receives the price of 24s. 10d., the government levies a duty of no less than 24s., or, as nearly as possible, 100 per cent. By this means the consumer pays 48s. 10d. for every cwt., and the planter gains 6d., being the whole amount of what he receives for capital, risk, and profit. When it is considered, that sugar now is and ever must remain the staple produce of the British West Indies, it can excite no surprise that the colonists find themselves in so deplorable a condition. They have, therefore, petitioned the government for a reduction of the duty. But instead of a compliance with what they thought a reasonable request, they have received a reason why the request should not be granted. They have been told, that as they raise one-fourth more sugar than is consumed at home, that fourth, if it continued to glut the home-market, would sink the price of sugar there considerably lower than its price abroad; and if it is sent to the foreign market, it cannot be there sold for a higher price than that market bears. By no possibility can the price of sugar in the home-market rise above its price in the foreign, while the colonists furnish a larger supply

supply than the home-market demands; and a reduction of the present duty therefore, though it would be a relief to the consumer equal to the duty reduced, could bring none whatever, they are told, to the West India planter. Unhappy colonists! They are so hemmed in on every side by philanthropists and political economists, that whatever operation they propose or resist in their own defence, repulse or discomfiture is sure to await them.

Admitting that a reduction of the present enormous duty payable on sugar would not raise its price in the home market, until an increase of consumption had absorbed the whole of the surplus produce which is now sent to the market abroad, the West Indians are persuaded, that a considerable reduction of the duty could not fail certainly and speedily to bring about that very effect, and consequently afford them most material assistance. They are led to form this expectation from the astonishing increase in consumption which reduction in price has caused in other articles. When the duty on British spirits in 1815 was 12s. 8½d. per gallon, the quantity consumed was 3,443,553 gallons; in 1829, the duty being reduced to 7s. a gallon, the consumption had increased to no less than 7,700,766 gallons. In 1824, when coffee paid a duty of 1s. a pound, the quantity consumed was 8,150,000 lbs., but it appears that in 1829, at which time the duty had been reduced to 6d., the consumption had risen to no less than 18,916,551 lbs. The reduction of duty, which amounted to exactly one-half in the one case, and very nearly to one-half in the other, had more than doubled the consumption in both instances. If an effect, in any degree corresponding with this, should accompany a reduction on the duty on sugar, the colonists would be perfectly contented. Though the West Indians think they have the strongest grounds to complain, that the sugar colony of Mauritius—a colony to this hour as completely French as it ever was in interest and affection, and retained by us, without any rational motive whatever, at the general peace of 1815—has increased the quantity it throws upon the London market, from 93,723 cwts., at which it stood in 1825, to 23,740 tons, or 474,800 cwts., to which it had advanced in 1830—still, they say, the whole quantity of sugar brought to the home-market does not exceed the consumption by above a fourth; and they confidently anticipate, that a reduction of the duty would soon cause this excess to disappear; and by bringing the consumption and supply to a level, would enable them to obtain something like a fair remuneration for the capital invested. Unless, in short, a reduction takes place, and that to a considerable extent, the colonists will not be satisfied, either that the government has kept its faith, or has ever really felt any sincere anxiety to extricate them  
from

from the multiplying difficulties and embarrassments by which they are surrounded.

The admission of rum into the home-market for the purpose of brewing and distillation, at a lower rate of duty than that which it pays at present, is another measure from which the colonists apprehend they would derive alleviation. The duty now imposed on British spirits is 7s. 6d. a gallon in England, and 3s. 4d. throughout Scotland and Ireland. The duty on rum throughout the United Kingdom is 9s. The colonists—and apparently very fairly, ask, why this glaring inequality is not removed, and rum allowed to be consumed upon paying a rate of duty nearer that of British spirits? It is not suggested here, as in the proposed reduction of the duty on sugar, that such a modification of the tax would be inoperative. The opposition to it is of a directly contrary nature. His Majesty's ministers declare, that they have no objection to it, so far as they themselves are concerned, but ask, what reception such a proposal would receive from parliament, and whether the country gentlemen would allow rum to interfere so materially with the sale of barley. To this the colonists reply, that they well know, so long as the burdens imposed upon British land remain undiminished, the landed interest at home must be adequately protected. They do not desire that spirits made from barley should be excluded from the market by rum, but that rum should be admitted to competition with them upon fairer terms. Whenever barley rises beyond a certain price, they contend, that the introduction of rum at a more equalised rate of duty ought at all times to be permitted. And even in ordinary years, they think that there should be such an approximation between the duties on rum and British spirits, as to occasion a considerable increase in the consumption of rum, which might be done without sensibly injuring the landed interest; and even if it did, that it would not be difficult to afford the landed interest ample compensation. The colonists have never exhibited any desire of transferring their own sufferings to any other class of the community. All that they presume to urge is, that the burdens of the country should be borne equally by all its subjects, and that when they suggest a plan for their own relief, not denied to be reasonable, and admitted\* to be efficacious, that plan should not be summarily rejected, merely because it might be viewed with distrust by certain members of the legislature, or cause some additional trouble to the servants of the crown in their financial arrangements.

Besides the benefit which the planters think they would derive from a reduction of the duty on sugar and rum, they consider that their condition would also be improved by an alteration of  
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the laws of those European states, which prevent the introduction of our sugar on equal terms with that of other countries. They complain particularly of the footing on which our sugar trade is placed in Austria, Russia, and Holland. By the Vienna tariff of 1829, clayed Havannah sugar is admitted into the Austrian dominions at a duty of 50 per cent. under what is paid by British crushed sugar of precisely the same appearance, and which has undergone the same species of refinement. As to Russia, by the prohibitory system, which was completed in that empire in 1824, and the tariff since established, our sugar and woollens are placed on a most disadvantageous footing when compared with the commodities of other countries of equal quality, and our sugar, at least, has virtually been excluded from the Russian market. In 1818, our export of refined sugar to Russia amounted to 22,000 hogsheads; and had the tariff continued on its former footing it would, in all probability, have amounted by this time to 32,000. The consequence of the change has been, that in the year ending the 5th January, 1828, only 2½ hogsheads of refined sugar were exported; in 1829, 3½ hogsheads;\* and in 1830, 3089 hogsheads;† and that in 1829 white Havannah sugar sold from 46s. to 52s., while British sugar of equal quality, had it been admitted on equal terms, could have been supplied at from 35s. to 38s.‡ If Russia cannot be induced to permit the entrance of our refined sugar on payment of a duty corresponding with the clayed sugar of other countries, it would be but reasonable to permit our colonies to clay their sugars also before they are sent to Europe, which by 6 Geo. IV. c. 3, § they are now, for the purpose of encouraging our refineries at home, prohibited to do. The hardship to which our sugar trade is subjected by the Dutch is of a different nature. Notwithstanding the spirit of the provisions contained from the 109th to the 117th Articles of the Treaty of Vienna,|| with regard to the free navigation of the Rhine and other waters there specified, and the labours of the commissions which have since sat upon the subject, the transit duties in Holland continue so heavy and vexatious, that the Dutch enjoy a complete monopoly of the supply of sugar to all Alsace, a large portion of Switzerland, many of the best markets in Germany, and other places to which it is conveyed by that important river.

To exculpate themselves from the charge here implied, our

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\* Parl. papers, Sess. 1829. No. 223.

† Parl. papers, Sess. 1830. No. 313.

‡ Statements, Calculations, &c., p. 14.

§ This Act imposes the enormous duty of 8l. 8s. per cwt. on all refined sugars imported from the West Indies.

|| Marten's *Recueil des Traités*, tom. xiii., p. 427—429.

official authorities urge, that volumes of correspondence have passed between them and the governments alluded to, but that all has been to no purpose, and that this country has neither the right nor the power to compel independent neighbouring states to adapt their internal regulations to our commercial interests. Whether reason be on the side of the colonists or the government on this subject, we have not a sufficient knowledge of the facts to determine; but our statesmen and diplomatists have been too often foiled and overreached, in instances where they had a perfectly good cause to support, to incline us to put implicit confidence either in their vigour or capacity. If our traders can be shown, from misapprehension or any other motive, to have been placed under a disadvantage by any of the above-named powers, we should think that candid and resolute remonstrance would quickly set them right; and should that prove ineffectual, in the case of one of them at least, we have the means of enforcing redress by an argument, which often succeeds when all others fail—retaliation.

We now come to certain restraints and imposts which the mother-country has laid upon the colonies for the extension of its own trade, the partial or total abolition of which, if it should be thought expedient, would greatly diminish the heavy expenditure to which the colonists are now subject. Such of our readers as wish to obtain full information respecting the nature of these restrictions, and the annual additional expense to which they are supposed to put the colonists, we beg leave to refer to a collection of statements, calculations, and explanations, lately submitted to the Board of Trade by the West India Committee, and printed by order of the House of Commons.\* As want of space and the fear of becoming tedious prevent us from inserting them at large in this place, we shall subjoin the recapitulation of them which has been drawn up by the committee.

*Recapitulation of Restrictions on Colonial Trade.*

**Fish :**

From Newfoundland, enhancement of cost . . . . .	Digest vi.	£ 75,544
From Great Britain, ditto. . . . .	Digest vii.	68,668
American Supplies :		
Enhancement in cost . . . . .	Digest ix.	86,677
in freights . . . . .	Digest x.	94,801
Restrictions & Disadvantages in sale	Digest xi.	187,576

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**Total enhancement in the cost of American or Transatlantic articles, caused by the restrictive system** **£ 513,266**

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British Manufactures :			
Enhancement in cost	. . . Digest xiii.		372,575
Freights :			
Enhancement in, to and from Europe	Digest xiv.	438,274	
On surplus produce	. . . Digest xv.	75,550	
		<hr/>	513,824
			<hr/>
			1,399,665
Deduct net revenue derived by the colonists in diminution of the aggregate amount of these several restrictions,			
Digest viii.	. . . . .		7,312
		<hr/>	
			£ 1,392,353*

We are not quite sure that we fully understand all the items contained in the preceding recapitulation, but we believe that, in forming an estimate prospectively of the loss which the colonies sustain under this head, the sums contained under Nos. 9, 10, and 11 of the digest, and forming together an aggregate of 569,054*l.* ought, in consequence of the renewal of the intercourse between the colonies and the United States, to be deducted from 1,392,353*l.*,—the sum total shown by the preceding recapitulation; and a sum of 75,340*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* ought to be added, being the amount of certain annual duties collected in the West India colonies, in 1828, on the importation of various articles from the United States—the expense of collecting which duties, however, it well deserves attention, comes to no less than 68,028*l.* 15*s.*, or within 7312*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* of the whole sum collected. When these corrections have been made, there will still remain the sum of 1,098,639*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.*, said to be annually drawn from the colonies, in addition to the enormous duties which are levied on rum and sugar. On the whole of this statement we shall only observe, that, if it should be true that the colonies have for so many years submitted to this heavy loss for the direct and indirect advantage of the mother-country, we do not see how she can refuse, in the day of their distress, either to abandon the restrictions altogether, or to grant to the colonists an adequate compensation.

The last, and by far the most effectual, source of relief pointed out by the West Indians, which they have anxiously solicited the government to procure for them, is the full execution of the treaties which have been entered into for the abolition of the slave trade on the coast of Africa. It is painful to reflect that, after all the concessions, sacrifices, and exertions we have made in the cause of humanity, instead of annihilating this odious trade, our labours have hardly had any other effect than to augment the

\* 7th Feb., 1831, No. 120, p. 60—71.

prosperity of the settlements of Spain and Portugal, by which states, in defiance of the most express stipulations, it is still notoriously continued. It appears that, since 1814, we have paid the enormous sum of 5,700,000*l.*,\* merely on account of the slaves which have been seized on their passage and afterwards liberated, and 400,000*l.* annually. With what benefit this well-meant but prodigal expenditure has been accompanied, either to the natives of Africa in general, or to the liberated slaves in particular, the evidence we have already quoted, and that we are about to adduce, will testify. Mr. Jackson, one of the judges of the Mixed Commission Court, a preceding part of whose evidence our readers probably remember, on being asked, by the Committee of the House of Commons on Fernando Po, how far he thought the cause of humanity had been served by the course pursued by us for the suppression of the trade, made this reply :— ‘ I think the case of those poor slaves is greatly aggravated by the course now adopted, for the trade is now illegal, and therefore whatever is done, is done clandestinely. They are packed more like bales of goods on board than human beings ; and the general calculation is, that if, in three adventures, one succeeds, they are well paid.’

Captain Spence, to whom also we have before referred, expresses himself thus, when examined by the Committee :—

‘ It appears to me that the present system, which has been acted upon for so many years, has totally failed in its object ; it is very evident to those who have been constantly trading on this coast, that this horrid traffic is on the increase ; and if there has been any relaxation of this disgraceful trade on certain parts of the coast, it has arisen more from the difficulty of procuring those poor victims by the native chiefs, than any check they may have received from the efforts of the squadron, maintained, at so heavy an expense to the nation, for that purpose.’†

So completely were these representations confirmed by the other witnesses examined before the Committee, and so satisfactory was the continuance of the trade proved, and the evil consequences of the constant accession of numbers to the slaves already liberated, that they came to the following resolutions, which no one who has read the entire report will suppose to be stated too strongly :—

‘ Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the management of the settlement of Sierra Leone has not hitherto been productive of advantages to the extent which were anticipated, either to the liberated Africans located there, or towards effecting an intercourse

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† Parnell on Finance, p. 228. Third Edition.

\* Report on Fernando Po. Papers for 1830. No. 631, p. 80.

with the interior of Africa to promote its civilization, although the expenditure by government for that purpose has for many years been very large.

‘Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that the progress of the liberated Africans in moral and industrious habits has been greatly retarded by the frequent change of system in their location and maintenance, and by the yearly influx of thousands of their rude and uncivilized countrymen; and it therefore appears to be absolutely necessary, for the future prosperity of the liberated Africans already located, that one uniform system should be pursued towards them, and that a check should be put upon the influx of their captured brethren.’\*

To show the extent to which the importation of slaves is carried in Cuba alone, Mr. Macleay, our commissioner at the Havanna, in one of his despatches, states—

‘That in the year 1827 there cleared out from the port of the Havanna twenty-seven vessels for the coast of Africa. Of these, thirteen have returned in safety, one has been captured, and another destroyed, by his Majesty’s schooner Skipjack, and a third destroyed on the Florida Keys in her attempt to escape from his Majesty’s schooner Nimble. The fate of the remaining eleven I am unacquainted with. In the year 1828, no less than twenty-eight slave vessels arrived, while the departures, during the same year, have increased to sixty-three.’

He adds :—

‘Since the establishment of his Majesty’s commissions here, no seizure of a slave vessel has ever taken place but on their interference and denunciation, and even then such seizure has only been made to be instantly followed by a perfect acquittal in the Spanish tribunals. Without doubt the most effectual mode of suppressing this profitable traffic would be to declare it piracy; but if this cannot be effected, it is at least to be hoped that the actual state of the Spanish law, on the subject of slaves, will be altered. If the Spanish government be sincere in their wishes to abolish the slave trade, they ought not to allow vessels to sail from the Havanna publicly for the coast of Africa, from which the custom-house reports, as well as the construction of the vessels, show, that they bring nothing back but slaves. Africa has, indeed, no other produce for the Havanna trade.’†

There is less precise information to be had respecting the importation of slaves into Brazil; but from the papers which have been laid before parliament, it is said to appear that upwards of 600,000 slaves have been carried to transatlantic countries since the peace, the greater part of which have been transported to Brazil and Cuba,‡ and the unprecedented increase in the quantity of sugar

\* Report on Fernando Po. Papers for 1830. No. 631.

† Statements and Calculations, p. 52.

‡ Considerations on the present State of the West India Colonies, p. 8.

which

which is raised in these two places makes it more than probable that this estimate is far below the truth. If so much is revealed, where concealment, on the part of all those who are concerned, is so industriously practised, it is impossible to form any conjecture about that which will never see the light. The slave population now existing in Cuba alone is calculated to amount to 450,000 or 500,000, and their numbers are said to be annually increasing. Three-fourths of the entire slave population there are employed in the cultivation of sugar. All the slaves on sugar plantations work six days in the week. Males chiefly are imported, and on some estates there are two hundred and fifty men and not one woman.\* A recent traveller's account of the horrid masses of *male negroes* kept in stables together in the Brazils, must also be fresh in most people's recollection.

We have now accumulated facts sufficient to show the present state of the trade and its consequences; and the contrast which they present to the hopes and assurances held out by the abolitionists, on the accomplishment of the ostensible suppression of the trade, might be expected to moderate the confidence of themselves, the legislature, and the public, in the success of the further measures of which these same parties are perpetually urging the adoption. It cannot be denied, that for purposes at present undiscoverable by us, our benevolent and disinterested intentions have been almost wholly disappointed. We have effected no diminution of the trade—aggravated the horrors of the middle passage—produced no amelioration of the fate of the slaves on their arrival—and fruitlessly exhausted our men and treasure in maintaining a squadron on the coasts of Africa. All this *our* colonists see and lament, and it must add largely to the poignancy of their regret to feel, that unless the treaties for the abolition of the trade be more honestly fulfilled, they and the slaves whom they have conducted to a more advanced stage on the road of civilization than any of their kind and colour ever reached before, must ere long be involved in utter misery and ruin. The real remedy would be for all the powers of Europe to allow the right of search, and declare the contraveners of the law, pirates; but this, it is said, or anything beyond what has been already done, our government is unable to effectuate. We are slow to believe, that a country, whose navy rides triumphant in every sea, and whose influence is felt in every cabinet on this and the other side of the Atlantic, is incompetent to complete the victory it has begun, and which would be so honourable to itself and beneficial to its colonial subjects. Express and positive engagements have been undertaken both by Spain and Portugal, for which they have received an abundant equiva-

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\* Statements and Calculations, &c., pp. 50 51.

lent ; and if, instead of being amused with correspondence and diplomacy, we were to satisfy them, by our acts, of our fixed determination to exact the fulfilment of the contract, by all the means which Providence has put in our power, a blow would, probably, be dealt to the trade in slaves, from which it never would recover.

These are the principal means, from the employment of some or all of which the colonists think they might receive assistance. But be it that they are mistaken. If they did nothing more than present themselves before the throne, with a representation of the grinding distress under which they are wasting away, we think they would have a title to expect that those distinguished individuals, to whom the government of the country is from time to time entrusted, on account of their experience and wisdom, should be able to devise some plan for their benefit, though none had occurred to themselves, however anxiously they had sought it. It is only in such cases of difficulty that those who arrogate the name of statesmen can vindicate their title to the character ; and they seem to us to stultify themselves when they renounce the duties inherently belonging to their office. We repeat, then, that if under such pressure, as the West Indians have alleged and proved, they were to do no more than to raise their voice, and lift up their hands for help, they might, in a case of calamity so severe and extensive, look confidently to the executive and the legislature, for aid as well as commiseration.

It is, however, one of the circumstances which has touched the West Indians most nearly, that their situation has never, of late years, sufficiently attracted the notice of the country at large, or been made the subject of serious deliberation and inquiry in either house of parliament. They have been treated as extravagant, grasping, oppressive men, with whom we have hardly any dealings or connexion, instead of intelligent, industrious subjects, forming an important and integral portion of the empire. This has happened invariably when their interests have been brought under discussion, and never more strongly than in the House of Commons on the 21st of February, 1831. All members admitted the urgency of their distress ; but there their kindness ended. Even Sir Robert Peel, to whom they have, in various instances, been so much indebted, expressed himself thus :—

‘ To the terms of my noble friend’s motion, therefore, and the manner in which it has been brought forward, I do not object ; but if the motion of my noble friend means anything, it must mean a reduction of duty on West India produce. I am placed in this difficulty, therefore, that though I fully admit that the West India colonists require relief, yet if I vote for the resolution of my noble friend, in the present state of the budget, I may be encouraging the expectation, that some  
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fiscal reduction will be made for the relief of the West India interests, which hereafter it may be found impossible to effect. Now, in the present state of the budget, and of the country, the noble lord having pledged himself, as I understand, to the reduction of the duties on coals—as I have not heard a satisfactory explanation of the taxes that are to be imposed, I cannot with due regard to the paramount duty of supporting the public faith, pledge myself to concur in the taking off any other taxes.

‘Nothing can be more just than the observations which the right honourable baronet has made upon the paramount necessity of maintaining public credit; and it is upon the single ground of public credit that I am indisposed to entertain this motion at present. It is not with reference to the state of parties, or to political considerations, but solely in reference to the public credit, that I cannot give my vote for the motion; and I trust, therefore, that my noble friend will not persevere in it. With regard to the offer of a committee, which has been made by the noble lord opposite, I hope my noble friend will not accept it, because I do not think that a select committee upon the West India trade would do any good. I thought it was distinctly understood last year, that the question was to be left with the responsible advisers of the crown; and if the members of two different governments have not been able to prepare any measure calculated to afford relief, it proves not that the government needs facts or materials such as a committee could furnish them with—not that they do not desire to afford every possible relief to the West India interests; but the difficulty arises from this circumstance, that the state of the public revenue does not permit the government to effect the remission of duties from which such relief must be derived.’\*

What, we may be allowed to ask, is the practical inference to be deduced from this language, coming from such a person? It appears to us to admit of no other interpretation than this—that a season *may* arrive when the flourishing state of our finances *may* render it expedient to consider whether some relief *may* not be granted to the West Indians—if relief should then be of any use; but that, however insupportable their griefs may be, the whole of the colonies *must* be content to sink into decay, before one of the public creditors shall have withheld from him the smallest fraction, either of principal or interest, which he is entitled to demand at the exchequer. More weighty matters than these declarations involve have never been broached in parliament; and it is to be deplored, that the financial circumstances of the state should have led to their announcement. But they have been heard—not once, or twice, or from a single member, and have not been overlooked by those whom they concern. With all the respect we entertain for the judgment of those from whom we differ, we find it impossible

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\* *Mirror of Parliament* for February, 1831.

to reconcile ourselves either to the justice or expediency of acting upon the principles here recognised. If a disastrous emergency should arrive, in which unforeseen and unprecedented sacrifices should become requisite, it seems contrary to all the dictates of natural equity or of that understood compact by which society is every where held together, that any one class of the community should be completely pressed to the earth, before any of the others are compelled to lend their shoulders to the burden.

We doubt whether it would be wise, even if the West India colonies were willing, to subject them to such extremity. From the indifference with which they are sometimes mentioned, it might be supposed that they were only a few specks in the Atlantic ocean, the superintendence of which had accidentally been thrown upon us, but by whose prosperity or adversity we could be in no degree affected. We must crave leave, in very few words, to remind our readers what these plantations of ours really are. They consist of about seventeen islands or groups of islands, together with certain large tracts of land on the continent of South America—contain about 65,000 white, and 850,000 people of colour and negroes, and employ about 438,000 tons of British shipping, and 23,000 seamen. The exports to them exceed four millions annually; the imports amount to nearly nine millions; and they bring about seven millions altogether every year into the national treasury. We acknowledge it to be our opinion, that the prosperity of possessions, bringing with them such vast and varied advantages, and which we have kept so long, and, but for our own fault, may keep for ever, ought to form an object of no ordinary solicitude; and that if we clearly saw our own interest, the whole, subjects as well as creditors, of the mother-country have the strongest inducements to consult their welfare and protection.

In some way or other, however, an impression prevails that, after all, the distresses of the colonists are more apparent than real, and that as their state has always been more or less fluctuating, their present troubles will not be accompanied with the dismal consequences with which we have been threatened. Strange as it may seem, we believe that, even among the higher orders of society, this is a very ordinary delusion. From the time of the deluge to the passing hour, nothing but the shock of the event usually awakens mankind to a sense of that which the ordinary exercise of their faculties would have shewn them must inevitably happen. If the colonists have been guilty of no exaggeration, and if no relief be afforded, bankruptcy and ruin must soon sweep, like one of their own hurricanes, over the whole West Indies. It will not indefinitely await the leisure of the British legislature, and every season makes the danger vastly more imminent. Whether, in order to deliver themselves from the storm before its full fury has begun  
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to descend upon them, it may not enter into the minds of the colonists to withdraw from us altogether, and attach themselves to another country which will deal towards them more kindly, is a subject it does not fall within our present province to prosecute. We refer our readers to the following remarks of Mr. Barclay, to whom we have been already so much indebted.

‘ If, as has been said, a spirit of discontent is rapidly spreading among a people hitherto famed for their loyalty, it well deserves the attention of his Majesty’s ministers to inquire into the cause of such a change. The Abbé Raynal long ago predicted that the West India islands would one day belong to America, on which they were dependent, as they still are, for the great necessities of life. I would by no means insinuate that the hearts of the colonists are yet turned against the land of their fathers, notwithstanding the tide of animosity that has there run so violently against them; but there is a limit to endurance, and it is impossible to look at the changes in that part of the world, and not see the increased probability of such an event. Our West India colonies are unable to oppose the power of the parent state in enforcing measures of the most injurious tendency; and hence they may be treated with less delicacy than is deemed necessary with some other colonies belonging to the crown; but in the event of a war with America, it will not be found wise to treat them in such a manner as may make it desirable for them to pass under the protection of that power, “*to which*,” as the President of the United States in his last message to Congress observed, “*they geographically belong*.” The cession of Florida to the republic was the stepping-stone to the island of Cuba, which may, even now, be considered as in the grasp of the United States. True, no avowal of their intention has yet been made, nor is it necessary, so long as none of the European powers interfere; and every advantage that actual possession could give is derived from a complete monopoly of its invaluable trade. But though no overt act has yet announced their design, the feeling on this point in the United States is well known. In fact, the possession of the Havannah, as commanding the Gulf of Florida, and consequently the coasting trade of America between New Orleans and New York, is now regarded as necessary to their safety; and this is the plea that will assuredly be urged when the proper time shall come to enforce it.’ \*

As a parting request, we earnestly intreat all those to whose lot it may fall, either in or out of Parliament, to bear a part in the discussion or settlement of the various questions to which their attention has here been directed, not to regard the dangers against which Mr. Barclay has cautioned us to beware, as either imaginary or distant. Within these few days rumours have reached us of an intended congress of deputies from the various British West India islands to consider of the best means of promoting the common safety in the present crisis, which is intended to be held at Barbadoes. Whether they be true or false, the

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\* Barclay’s Effects of late Colonial Policy, p. 46.

fact of their circulation proves unanswerably the progress of the sentiments which Mr. Barclay states to have been for some time secretly gaining ground among the colonists. The patience of the most loyal subjects and adherents, when too long tried or disappointed, may at last become exhausted. If we do not bethink ourselves in time, and correct the language used, and measures pursued by us for some years back towards our colonies in all parts of the world, they will be torn from us one after another, until we are left to lament—alone and unpitied—our contracted and misguided policy, and ponder, when it is too late, over the departed greatness of our empire. But yesterday, if the king's present ministers had been able to carry their measure about Canada timber, they would have placed the British parliament in direct collision with the legislative assemblies of all our North American colonies.\* Let them consider well, ere they proceed further in the spirit which dictated that so nearly fatal measure.

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\* We beg leave to direct attention to the irrefragable proofs of this statement in the Appendix to the third edition of Sir Howard Douglas's 'Considerations on the Value and Importance of the British North American Provinces,' (just published). When this gentleman, justly preferring duty and character to the advantages of a high and lucrative office, put forth the first edition of this tract, he rendered to those provinces the greatest service they ever received at the hands of any individual. He furnished the facts and arguments which overthrew the ministerial measure—and lost his government of New Brunswick accordingly; but the statements which he put forth as to the political effects of the measure, if carried, are already confirmed and strengthened, in every particular, by addresses forwarded by all the local assemblies on the first rumour of what was intended reaching their ears. To give one specimen—the Petition to the King from the Council and House of Assembly of New Brunswick (dated 23rd Feb. 1831) contains these words:—

'That the commercial intercourse between the United Kingdom and the Northern Colonies, especially this province of New Brunswick, would be very greatly reduced, if not altogether annihilated, by withdrawing the protecting duties on our wool, and the consequent increase of supply of this article to the mother country from the northern powers of Europe, we fear is too evident to need any proof, and we therefore contemplate the disastrous consequences of such a measure with no small degree of discouragement and dismay.

'But the commercial evils which would ensue to these Colonies, are not the only ones which we apprehend; we very much fear that the ruin of the wood trade with the United Kingdom would be viewed by all the North American Colonists, as such an abandonment of their interests in your Majesty's Councils, as could not fail to excite discontent, and have a strong tendency to shake the loyal affection, which they have hitherto cherished with such honest zeal towards the parent state; and there is no political evil which the inhabitants of this province would more seriously deprecate, than a weakening of their ties to that country, which they, and their fathers before them, have so steadfastly adhered to throughout every change of fortune, prosperous or adverse.'

From Quebec, Halifax, &c. &c., the language is equally strong and decided. Who can without alarm read such language from the North American colonists, consider the actual case of the West Indians, and recollect that the authors of the Timber Bill are still at the helm; that they still avowedly persist in their opinion on that subject; and that their organs of the press are at this moment denouncing the opponents of the Canada Bill, as 'the advocates of dry rot both in our constitution and our timber?' The meaning of course is, that a reformed parliament would, among its first acts, sever the connection with the North American provinces. What then?

ART.

- ART. VII.—1. *Would Reform in Parliament be a Benefit to the Country?* By B. S. Escott, Esq. Second Edition. 1831.
2. *Essentials of Parliamentary Reform.* By George Grote, Esq. 1831.
3. *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform.* By the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. Edinburgh. 1831.
4. *Reflections on the Ballot.* 1831.
5. *A Dialogue on Election by Ballot.* By William Henry Ord, Esq., M.A. 1831.
6. *The Real Character and Tendency of the proposed Reform.* Tenth Edition. Rooke & Varty, 39, Strand. Price 1d.
7. *The Speech of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker on the Reform Question.* 1831.
8. *A few Words to the Electors of Guildford, on Reform.* By Charles Baring Wall, Esq., M.P. 1831.
9. *The Mirror of Parliament.* Parts LXXVIII. LXXIX. LXXXI. 1831.
10. *View of the Representation of Scotland in 1831.* Second Edition. 1831.
11. *Dissection of the Scottish Reform Bill.* By a Member of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple. 1831.
12. *Observations on the Ministerial Plan of Reform.* By Sir John Walsh, Bart., M.P. 1831.
13. *The New Constitution: Remarks by P. Pusey, Esq., M.P.*

**T**HE *Movement* is still on the advance, and just now at full tilt. His Majesty's ministers have fairly thrown aside the reins, and, surrendering themselves and the country to its impulse, have adventured on a leap which has astonished equally their friends and their opponents. It was long ago foretold by Montesquieu, that the British constitution would perish whenever the legislative body should become more corrupt than the executive. The prophecy has something in it of Delphic ambiguity; but in whatever sense it may be read, it obviously has little or no application to the actual dangers of 1831. The curse now impending over the institutions of our country comes from a very different quarter,—from a source which least of all perhaps Montesquieu would have suspected, but whose potency of mischief has been amply developed by the experience of a later generation;—it comes from one of those dispensations which Frederick the Great held to be the most severe of all conceivable inflictions on a nation,—the government of a set of persons of that rash and speculative class miscalled philosophers, to whom history is as a dead letter, and even living experience without instruction,—who begin where they ought to end, by framing to themselves an ideal system,

system, and, without respect for precedent or fear of consequences,—unembarrassed by any of those nice scruples, those compunctions of self-distrust, which sometimes visit the conscience of the practical statesman, can see no rational object before them but in the advancement of that system, and are ready, for its sake, to bend, break, and destroy, until all existing things be squared to an exact conformity with it.

We return to this momentous question of Parliamentary Reform, under circumstances most materially altered since the date of our last publication. Up to that period, or at least till the nearly contemporaneous appearance of Sir John Walsh's and Colonel Stewart's pamphlets, the reformers had held for some time undisputed possession of the field; on all the main parts of the question, their assumptions had been allowed to stand for argument; and, save on the isolated point of the ballot, the discussion, properly speaking, could scarcely be said to have commenced. Now, the project of government has, for upwards of six weeks, been before the public: the subject has been canvassed in all its bearings, both in Parliament and out of Parliament, in speech and in print; it has been the unceasing theme of the daily press, and the hourly topic of private conversation; and it may be doubted, if any political question within the memory of man (the Catholic question not excepted) has ever engaged, within so short a space of time, so large a share of thought and consideration. Yet, after all this, a much longer, fuller, and certainly a calmer and more deliberate discussion, we fear, is still wanting, before it is at all likely to be thoroughly and generally understood. We have listened with patience, and sometimes, we confess, with amazement,—always (if we may so far trust ourselves) with a sincere and candid desire of instruction, to the arguments of those who have professed to advocate the measure. We do not hesitate to say, indeed, that we have been most anxious to be convinced;—for who would not rid himself, if he could, of those painful and overwhelming apprehensions with which we have all along regarded the possibility of any such scheme being successfully propagated? It may be our infirmity or misfortune, that the very reverse of conviction has been the result. So it certainly is, however, that we now resume the argument, not only with faith undiminished in the strong reason of our case, but with an assurance not easily to be shaken, that whatever may be the fate of this miserable bill, *that* reason will eventually (and perhaps at no very distant period) be acknowledged by a large proportion even of those who at this moment are the most pertinacious in its denial. Unfortunately, the subject itself is of so complicated a nature,—so delicate in many of its relations,—so mixed up with a thousand sinister interests, prejudices,

prejudices, and passions, all at this moment in a state of active ferment,—and so easily distorted, obscured, or disguised by a little false colouring, that perhaps there never was a question propounded for any practical end, inviting the opinions of all men, and largely affecting the welfare of every individual in a community, that was in reality so little familiar to ordinary apprehension, so unlikely to find unbiassed judges, or so hard to be disentangled or accurately appreciated by careless or unpractised thinkers. The scheme of the reformers has all the advantage of a specious and plausible exterior, but, to find its intrinsic rottenness, you must seek for it at the core. Unfortunately too, that experience which is the usual corrector of error, and, under all common circumstances and on common questions, is sure to bring the public to a right way of thinking in the long run, can be of no avail in a case where experience would come too late. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, in spite of the utmost efforts of a most powerful and numerous faction of the press, leagued to the cause not merely by the ordinary links of interest, but by new incentives of personal ambition springing out of the occasion itself, and directing all their artillery on this single point, with a skill, audacity, and combination unexampled in any similar discussion,—in spite of the acclamations of the half million of individuals, who (according to the ministerial calculation) have been invited to share in the spoils of denounced corporations, the truth is at this moment, to our certain knowledge, gradually, but surely, making its way, and in the end will as surely prevail. But will it prevail in time to save the country? That is another and a more fearful question. It is one, however, from which we cannot but indulge the most consolatory hopes of a happy extrication, through the powerful and persevering aid of his Majesty's ministers. They have produced a bill, doubtless cunningly devised enough in one or two of its leading features, but so utterly absurd and impracticable in its details,—so devoid of all intelligible principle,—so unjust in its spirit,—so replete with palpable inconsistencies, contradictions and blunders in every clause, that even if all the world were agreed on the general expediency of the measure, it could scarcely, without a miracle, be palmed in its present shape, or in any thing resembling its present shape, on any rational assembly. All that we want is *time*,—time for cool reflection,—for clamour to subside and common sense to operate. Let this be gained, and we have no fear for the issue. We have no fear, but that intelligence, property and station will ere long revert to their natural alliances,—will resume their natural influence over the impetuosity of the unreasoning and misguided, and will afford an effectual and safe support to the verdict of an upright legislature.

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For our general views on the great leading principles by which this question is to be judged, we must refer our readers to the article on Parliamentary Reform in our last Number. It will be sufficient here to remind those who have honoured that article with an attentive perusal, of the main points which it was our aim there to establish, and which were briefly as follows; viz.

That no extensive change in the ancient institutions of a prosperous and civilized country, can be justified on any other ground than that of practical expediency; and that those who propose such a change are bound to make out a strong case of such expediency,—to prove that, by adopting their project, the country will in fact obtain a better government,—a government more efficient for the practical and useful ends of government, than it has previously possessed;—but that no such case has been or can be established by the reformers.

That concessions to mere popular clamour, on the principle of conciliating the people and preserving the public tranquillity, without reference to the wisdom or justice of the thing to be conceded, can only be defended on the supposition, that at least such concessions are not pregnant with any positive mischief or danger; and that the concession must always frustrate the very end for which it was designed, unless it embrace the *entire grievance* complained of, and so put a final end to all further agitation on the same subject;—two conditions, in which the case of reform is most conspicuously wanting.

That the small and close boroughs, against which the batteries of the reformers have been more especially directed, and which it is proposed by the bill now before parliament in a great part to abolish, are one of the least objectionable branches of the existing representation, in respect to their moral influence on the people, and have hitherto been nearly the only channels through which the youthful talent of the country has found access to parliament, and some of the most important classes and interests of the community (including all the great mercantile, colonial, and funded proprietors) have been admitted to a voice in public affairs.

That by the aid of the same machinery of the boroughs, not only is the business of the nation more efficiently conducted, and property in all its relations better protected than they probably would be by any other system that has yet been proposed, but the aristocracy and the crown are enabled to obtain a hearing, and to exercise a certain influence on all great questions affecting their interests or privileges, through their virtual representatives in the lower house; that thus the House of Commons, being, as it in fact is, the depository of the  
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supreme power of the state, has fortunately become, at the same time, the arena in which all political contests between the three estates of the realm are conducted, and in ordinary cases decided; and that by such means those collisions, which have proved fatal to the existence of mixed monarchies in every other part of the globe, have, in this country, been almost entirely avoided.

That by adopting, therefore, the alterations proposed by the reformers, we should be parting with the very spell, by whose virtue the frame of the constitution has hitherto been held together, and wilfully and irremediably entangling ourselves in a system which all experience has proved to be impracticable.

That any reform, by which the democratic influence in the lower house should be materially increased, would, in the ordinary course of things, and under the influence of the same powers that are now in the ascendant, lead to a *second* reform, *that* reform to a *third*, and so on through the successive stages of vote by ballot, universal suffrage and annual parliaments, to the extinction of the aristocracy and the monarchy, and to the entire prostration of rank and property at the feet of a Jacobin faction.

That the first important step in this series of causes and effects would be necessarily and certainly irrevocable.

That even if the condition of the country were as deplorable as the radicals delight to represent it, and that condition could be so clearly traced to the corrupt state of the representation as, in the absence of all lights from without, to justify the desire of a change on mere experiment, and at the hazard even of making things worse than they were before, it would yet be exceedingly preposterous to precipitate such a change at a time, when the very same experiment is on trial in five or six neighbouring states, and when we may have a full and early opportunity, therefore, of judging of the result at the expense and risk of others.

And lastly, that these projects of the reformers, pretending to no authority from experience, professing no defined or tangible purpose of use or beneficence, but sent abruptly forth into the world big with danger and menace to all existing establishments, borne along by the foul breath of calumny and faction, by vain promises for the credulous, and terrors as idle for the reluctant and the timid, it behoves every man who holds a stake in the community, or feels for the peace and welfare of society, to fortify his heart, and nerve his arm against them.

There were, besides these, some minor and collateral topics, to which we have the less need now to revert, as they have no very important

important bearing on the actual position of the question. The argument on the vote by ballot, for instance, which has been treated with no inconsiderable ability in two of the pamphlets whose titles are prefixed to this article, may be considered for the time as *postponed*. And we shall probably have a better chance of engaging the attention of our readers, if we confine ourselves, for the present, to those points which are pressing on the country for its immediate and unalterable decision. In this view of the case, therefore, we, in the first place, propose attempting a cursory examination of the arguments in defence of the general principle of parliamentary reform, or in answer to the objections of its impugners, on which the Whig advocates of the bill in parliament, and their organs and supporters out of doors, profess to rely; and then applying a few observations to the specific provisions and practical tendency of the bill itself.

The first of these heads will not, we trust, detain us quite so long as we had once apprehended. Out of the huge pile of adverse controversial materials which has been growing up from day to day since we first approached this subject, it is quite marvellous to think how little of real argument it has been possible for us to extract, after a very diligent and conscientious sifting. It is scarcely going too far to say, perhaps, that almost the only attempt on that side of parliament, fairly to grapple with the great principles affecting the measure, was the ingenious speech—or spoken essay, rather—of the Lord Advocate for Scotland,—a speech, indeed, which we humbly flatter ourselves may not be found at all points impregnable, but which, we are bound at the same time to acknowledge, contains more matter than all the other speeches from the ministerial benches put together. The dexterity of the majority of these orators is displayed, indeed, rather in a cautious avoidance of the most important points in debate, while the attention of their auditors is distracted to some petty cavil on some matter of secondary moment,—a cavil too, that requires generally but to be stripped of a very flimsy tunic, and exhibited in its naked shape, to effect its own refutation.

And here we may be allowed, perhaps, to advert for a moment to our own very subordinate share in this conflict, in order to direct the attention of our readers to the very striking and characteristic contrast exhibited in the two classes of strictures, which the article in our last Review had to sustain from two distinct bands of assailants. To the attacks of the ministerial portion of the press, very nearly the same observations which we have ventured to apply to the speeches of their advocates in parliament will be found most remarkably apposite. There was much skirmishing about the outworks of our position,—abundance of small

misrepresentation,—and a most captious eagerness to pick out every apparent contradiction in the statement of our case. Because we asserted the opinion, that a dread of physical force was the chief motive of the multitude of seeming conversions to the cause of Parliamentary Reform which had shown themselves *since* the ‘Three Days’ of July at Paris, we must be charged with the absurdity of maintaining, that there never existed, from the beginning of time, such a thing as a reformer from conviction; and we are asked with an air of triumph, ‘if Mr. Pitt was actuated by fear when he advocated reform in 1785, or Lord Grey in 1793!’—Then our allusion to the conflicting prettexts, by which false proselytes as well as real partisans are in the habit of vindicating their new-sprung faith to themselves and others, is treated as equivalent to an allegation of two incompatible causes for a single effect; and we are accused of representing those recent converts to reform, as impelled at one and the same time by bodily fear and by a motive of reason and principle. Of hard names too, and contemptuous abuse, we come in for rather a flattering share. But for any attempt at direct and sober refutation, there appears so little disposition—the least allusion even to the more substantial points of the case is so sedulously shunned—that, could the entire budget of paragraphs be conveniently appended to this Review, they might very safely, we believe, be intrusted to our readers without one note or comment.

From the radical press, on the other hand, our reception was as different as possible. To our surprise, we found ourselves there quite among friends,—exceedingly frank, plain-spoken, and civil persons,—who greeted us with much the same sort of knowing recognition as we can imagine to pass, on certain occasions, between the thief and the thief-taker. Our argument they met in full front without hesitation,—generally with a show of fairness and candour,—nay, in terms sometimes quite complimentary;—admitting, usually, the full force of our conclusions, and only differing from us in this,—that what we deprecate as the most deplorable results which the mind of man can imagine, are just the very results which they most laud and desire.

Of those incidental and secondary (though in this instance certainly not unimportant) topics, which engrossed, as we have said, so large a share of the attention of parliament, there was none more hotly contested than the argument in defence of the small boroughs, drawn from the facilities which they afford to the introduction of young men of talent into the legislature. And the various shifts and devices by which this argument was attempted to be parried, may afford a pretty fair specimen of the general character of the debate on the ministerial side of the house.

Sir

Sir Robert Peel, in the course of a speech which, for strong sense and manly eloquence, reminded us of the best days of parliament, produced a list of twenty-two individuals, including almost every illustrious name which, during the last fifty years, has adorned the national councils. And of those twenty-two persons, it appeared that *sixteen* were, on their first entrance into public life, returned for boroughs which it is proposed by the bill before parliament to disfranchise ; while, of the remaining six, who had owed their return, in the first instance, to a more popular constituency, *five* had, at a subsequent period of their public career, found it convenient to quit that constituency and betake themselves also to a close borough. The necessary and almost insurmountable difficulties opposed to the success of any young man, however gifted, who aspires to represent a county or great city without the advantages of a previous parliamentary reputation, or of local or aristocratic connexion, require but to be named to be allowed. That the same difficulties, at least, do not embarrass the candidate for a close borough, is equally undeniable. And when a presumption, thus founded on admitted probabilities, has been corroborated by the concurrent experience of half a century, it is not very easy to understand how its force can be resisted by any candid or well-conditioned mind. The question, as it seems to us, is reduced to as plain an issue of fact as ever was propounded ; and those who would still deny the inference in favour of the general tendency of the borough system to infuse new talent into the legislature, must be prepared either to disprove the truth of Sir Robert Peel's statement, or to match it with a list of names equally illustrious, from the returns of county and city members. The first has not been attempted ; and, for the last, to eclipse this galaxy of talent, Lord John Russell, after three months' consideration, succeeds in calling up one solitary example of a man of eminence raised to the legislature by the free acclamations of a popular body ; and who, think you, may the prodigy be ? Why, no other than his own learned colleague, his Majesty's Attorney-General, the present member for the town of Nottingham ;—which Attorney-General, most unhappily for Lord John Russell's argument, was, in point of fact, originally introduced to parliament in 1818, on the nomination of Mr. Calcraft, by the unanimous suffrages of the one hundred and twenty independent voters of the borough of Wareham,—and whose name therefore might, with the greatest possible propriety, have been added to Sir Robert Peel's list, had it been exactly of that grade which would have entitled it to such a distinction. With regard to his recent return for Nottingham, we are sure we shall not be suspected of the least intentional disrespect to the acknowledged abilities of

Sir Thomas Denman, when we presume to suggest that, possibly, the principles to which he owed that elevation may not, after all, be found to differ very widely from those which recommended Mr. O'Connell to the freeholders of Waterford, or Mr. Hunt to the potwallopers of Preston; and that, but for certain exciting passages of his past political life, and his actual position as the chief legal adviser of a reforming cabinet, he might have waited long, ere the same preference had been accorded to his mere eminence as a lawyer or reputation as a statesman.

Hemmed in thus by facts, how then do these assailants of the close boroughs try to escape from their difficulty? Why, one of them really 'cannot believe that any reform we can make will prevent wealth, learning, and wit from having great influence!'—Another consoles us with the assurance, that 'it was not for the happiness or glory of such illustrious characters as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Fox, that they found their way into this house by any other road than the free choice of the Commons of England!'—A third seems to think, that the genius of these great men had something of the subtle quality of woman's wit—which, if 'you make fast the doors, will out at the casement; shut that, and 'twill out at the key-hole; stop that, it will fly with the smoke out at the chimney;' and verily believes that, 'if every rotten borough in the country were closed, it would still be impossible to keep them out!'—A fourth treats the whole phenomenon as 'a happy accident,' and contends, that any other mode of election which you could name would bring some men of eminence into power; that, were you to choose for your legislators 'the hundred tallest men in the country, or the first hundred names in the Court Guide, you would find some among them excelling in qualifications for their functions!' but he does not condescend to favour us with the name of any hundredth illustrious squire, or hundredth gifted alderman, whom similar happy accidents have sent forth from their respective societies to instruct and delight an admiring nation.—A fifth does not absolutely venture to deny, that the borough system may have been the means of sending to parliament nearly every statesman of extraordinary ability, whose name illustrates the history of our own times; but is so unconscionable as to quarrel with it for not having sent more, and turns round on you triumphantly to ask, what you have to say for all the 'dull, stupid, drowsy' blockheads, whom the patrons of those boroughs have thrust into the house, and who, to your men of talent, are in the proportion of forty to one?—Nay, there is yet a sixth, who, when you suppose that your whole case is conceded to you, stands ready to knock you down with the startling affirmation, that these men of great talent in reality 'do

more harm than good,'—who thinks that, after all, the 'dull, stupid, drowsy' blockhead may, perhaps, be as good a legislator as another—that what the nation wants, is not governors whom it can respect, but tools whom it may command,—not so much men capable of understanding or managing its affairs, as honest, well-meaning mouthpieces—the faithful and unthinking interpreters of the wisdom and will of their constituents;—and who scruples not even to avow, in the language of an orator, than whom never was ally welcomed by his late bitter antagonists with louder plaudits, that 'if every one of the great statesmen named *had perished* before they entered that house, *the country would not have been any thing the worse for it!!!*'

Such are the vague generalities—the palpable schoolboy sophistries—the tainted oblations to low and malignant prejudice—which, glossed with a metaphor or a truism, and uttered with a potent emphasis and a voice of authority, can win at times the cheers of a reasoning assembly, and pass with half the world for argument and eloquence. But the British House of Commons is a dangerous audience to tempt far with such inanities. They may bear for a while, with tolerable patience, a dry metaphysical experiment on their intellects; but beware how you approach the verge of practical absurdity, or rudely trespass on the sensitive precincts of good taste or good feeling. You will find yourself detected and exposed, with a quickness of tact and perception, against which even the most practised impudence feels it difficult to stand unmoved. So long as the invective was directed against a *class*, it seemed as if nothing could be uttered too gross for the appetite of the party; but the moment the orator began to *apply* his detractions—the moment he was found proceeding to mangle piecemeal the illustrious dead, and had the temerity to tell a society of educated Englishmen, 'that the people of this country neither *know nor care* any thing' about such a man as Edmund Burke, and that, 'if those who praise him or who *receive his pension*, would *give up that pension*, the country would be ready to give a receipt in full for the eulogium on his merits!'—the words fell on his audience like ice;—not one friendly 'hear' responded to the sentiment, but the most eager of his late applauders shrunk back in silence and disgust from the new-formed fellowship.

That a mind whose whole energies have so long been subservient to the cravings of a restless and vulgar ambition,—whose highest quality is a selfish, calculating, unflinching audacity of purpose,—and whose weapons are the cunning of a special pleader and the coarse sarcasm of a mob haranguer, should have little sympathy to spare for the recollections of departed genius,—that the shocks of a long public life, spent amid ceaseless cabals, and sustained

tained by the daily incense of popular adulation, should have left behind them no heart to understand or venerate that high and single-minded philanthropy—that profound acquaintance with the springs of human action—that enlarged and almost oracular wisdom, enriched from every store of ancient and modern knowledge, which has set up a light to all times and generations,—is no doubt, natural enough. But there are few men who, in the common tear and wear of society, do not pick up enough of self-knowledge and discretion, at least to avoid topics on which they can hope for no sympathy, and to spare invectives which can hurt no one but themselves.

One word here, by the way, on this very constitutional doctrine, which maintains, that representatives are sent to parliament, not to exercise an independent judgment, but to speak the will and obey the instructions of their constituents, and which, if pushed to the utmost, would obviously deprive parliament altogether of the character of a deliberative assembly;—a doctrine which has long enough been in favour on the hustings, but hitherto rarely hazarded within the walls of the house itself, and universally repudiated, we believe, by every writer worth naming. The point indeed is properly one of authority and principle, and cannot now be affected by the views which any individual may entertain of what would be expedient or desirable. It has been held so far back as the reign of Elizabeth, that each member of the House of Commons is deputed to serve, not only for his constituents, but for the whole kingdom; and, consequently, that so far from being the mere organ of his constituents' will, he is not at liberty even to consult their interests, except in so far as those are compatible with the interests of the rest of the community. In noticing the first assertion of this great principle, Mr. Hallam observes, that it is 'a principle which marks the distinction between a modern English parliament and such deputations of the estates as were assembled in several continental kingdoms; a principle to which the House of Commons is indebted for its weight and dignity, as well as its beneficial efficiency, and which none but the servile worshippers of the populace are ever found to gainsay.'\* We need not swell our article with quotations, which are in the mouth of every one, from the writings and speeches of Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grattan, and other great men of modern times, all unanimous in the affirmation of the same principle, as a fundamental rule of the constitution. It is a principle, too, as clearly founded in right reason as any part of our ancient institutions. For, to assert that the *will* of the constituent *ought to be the rule* of the representative, is to assert (what is clearly an untenable pro-

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\* Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. ii., p. 362.

position), that the constituent may fairly be presumed as competent to legislate for himself and the nation at large, as the representative whom he deposes;—or, failing that presumption, that the *wishes and caprices* of the constituent ought to be gratified at the expense not of his own interests only, but those of the country. No man, we suppose, will be found to maintain gravely such palpable absurdities. Nor should we have thought the point altogether worth the space we have bestowed on it, but for its bearing on a practice which has of late been gaining ground very rapidly, of shackling the free judgment of members of parliament in regard to particular measures, by pledges demanded and given, either during an election or with a view to secure their return in case of a dissolution;—a practice which we hold to be not only at utter variance with this constitutional principle, but one, in every point of view, of most pernicious influence and example.

There are few members of parliament, we believe, who are not in some degree sensible that, in conceding such pledges, they are deviating from the strict line of their public duty. But it may not have occurred to all of them, that every approximation to the universal adoption and application of such practice is, in real truth, a revolutionary approximation to the very worst sort of republican government,—to a republic, namely, in which the affairs of the state are conducted, not by deputies as in America, but by the people themselves in aggregate masses. Much has been said of late of the evils of election bribery. But what shall be said of that corruption, which, in open violence of the most sacred of all obligations, for the sake of procuring a seat in parliament, betrays the interests of a nation to the passions of ignorant and misguided individuals, paying those individuals with what is poison to themselves? The bribe of an unconstitutional promise may not, like a bribe of money, be an indictable offence, nor sufficient, as the law at present stands (but as it ought not to stand), to render an election void; but in the giver, the moral pollution is, in our humble judgment, greater, and to the receiver the practical mischief may be infinitely more grievous. Nay, we scruple not to add, and it follows indeed as an incontrovertible corollary from the same doctrine, that a course of conduct, which in some instances highly honourable men have thought fit to prescribe to themselves from the most honourable motives, of relinquishing their seats in the house when they have found the wishes of their constituents on any measure at variance with the dictates of their own consciences, proceeds from an entirely mistaken view of the duty of a member of parliament. The duration of parliaments is limited by law; and the period will come round in due course, when the constituent body, with the  
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advantage of time and cool reflection to aid their deliberations, will have an opportunity of rejecting the representative whose previous conduct in parliament they may have seen reason to disapprove. But in the mean while, the representative can have as little right to *abandon* his duty as to *betray* it; and surely it is nothing less than an abandonment, if, in times of popular excitement, he delivers up his constituents to the impulse of delusions, from which he is bound to protect them, and gives *them* the means and opportunity of inflicting that wound on the country, to which his conscience will not permit *him*, by his own act, to be a party.

Another question, which occupied much of the discussion in Parliament, was, whether the scheme proposed by ministers under the name of Reform be or be not in fact a '*Revolution*,' or whether it be more properly described as '*a new constitution*,' or, as others insist, be '*a reconstruction*' merely of the House of Commons. Certainly, if the tendency and ultimate consequences of the measure were likely to be in any way affected by the name which you give it, this might be a matter of some consequence. But as you cannot render it more or less dangerous, by calling it one thing or another, it might be well for its defenders to apply themselves to the real question of that danger, rather than waste their strength in such mere verbal disputes. According to the definition of the very able secretary for Ireland, who contended for the word '*reconstruction*,' a revolution is '*a great change in the institutions of a country, brought about by the application of an unconstitutional force*.' But that definition, as it appears to us, would in its strict sense exclude the first French revolution itself,—that very revolution which those have in their minds, who denounce the proceedings of ministers as of a revolutionary character, and to which, in the signs and circumstances of the present times, they think they can perceive a resemblance:—for, however the subsequent course of events may have been influenced by external violence, it will not be denied, that the Constituent Assembly of 1789 was convoked and its first proceedings sanctioned by the supreme authority of the state, and that the revolution, therefore, had in its origin all the advantage of a legal sanction. And if the alarms with which so many individuals—individuals, we will presume to say, of some authority and reputation for their sagacity and experience—men who have shown a capacity for public affairs, and performed services, which will not perhaps bear a comparison with the financial and diplomatic exploits of the present cabinet, but which have yet been thought respectable,—if the alarm with which such persons regard the progress of this Reform Bill, be not the mere phantasms of a distempered imagination, but the presages of a wise and calculating forecast;—if the

the change be an entire change of the *principles* by which the wheels of the machine have been hitherto kept in their right places ;—if *all* the existing *elements* of the popular branch of the constitution are to be *remodelled*, if a very large proportion of them is to be *extinguished*, and if a mass of *new* elements is to be called into action of whose working we can know nothing but by conjecture ;—and if it *should so happen*, that this ‘*reconstructed*’ fabric, huddled up in haste, in confusion, and in fear, without antiquity, without custom, without character, without any thing but its own merits to recommend it, should fail to realize all the sanguine anticipations of its admirers,—that it should be found to reel a little on its first exposure to the shocks of such another gale as we have lately encountered,—that it should be declared to have *lost the public confidence*, and another *reconstruction* be called for : and so on, till, in short, from less to more, all our ancient institutions should be superseded by the uncontrolled supremacy of a Committee of Public Safety ;—if all this should perchance be brought about by the operation of this Reform Bill, or of some other cause which this bill is to call into action, (and there is nothing in the supposed chain of events so very miraculous,) why, what better epithet, we ask, could be applied to the measure than ‘*revolutionary*’ ? And where should we be able to find an example in more perfect analogy with our reformed parliament, than these very States General of France ? Let those who object to the phrase ‘*revolution*,’ prove to us that the danger is visionary ; and we shall not quarrel with them about the appellation.

All this, however, is still extremely wide from the real mark. Even if the argument were conceded to the reformers on every particular hitherto noticed, we should still be without any thing in the shape of reason or even pretext for the momentous experiment now in contemplation. In casting about for the feasible grounds, if any such there are, on which the authors and abettors of that experiment may be supposed to rest their justification, we meet with one or two very feeble and unsustained attempts to refer it to a principle of natural or legal right. As for the first, we believe there is no person in parliament, except Mr. Hunt, who stands up for the doctrine, that every man, who is liable to pay taxes or serve in the militia, has a right superior to the law, (for if it be not superior to the law, he can have none,) to a voice by himself or a representative of his own election, in making the laws by which his property and liberty are infringed. We think we have once or twice, however, in conning over some of the sixth-rate radical pamphlets of the day, come across some stuff of the same sort,—propounded too as if it were an admitted and incontrovertible truth, and with an air of confidence which might lead one  
to

to suspect, that, among certain classes of society whose prejudices it flatters, this antediluvian theory may still be of greater authority, than we could otherwise have supposed possible in this age of pure intellect and utilitarian philosophy. However dangerous and inexpedient we may think it, to follow out first principles to all their consequences in every case, without looking to the right or to the left, we are yet very free to allow, that no practical question can be investigated to much advantage without some occasional advertence to them. But then we must take care that we get hold of the *true* first principles. And when we find a person entertaining purely practical views, yet bewildering himself in speculations as to what a man's *rights* are in the social state, instead of considering what is *good* for him, we may venture to set it down perhaps, without any very great breach of candour, that such person has not been much accustomed to exercise his reason on subjects of this nature,—else he could scarcely have wandered so far out of the right road. You may as well expect to find the beautiful varieties and conveniences of civilized life among the woods and savannahs of the Illinois, as any principles applicable to the social condition of man in the abstract rights of the species. Those rights have reference only to the state of nature. And were you to adopt them as a pure element of legislation, without reference to their connexion with actual establishments and with the habits and happiness of society, back to the state of nature they would assuredly bring you. A man may have a *natural right* to cobble his own shoes; and, as the matter does not much concern others, the law may allow him in that respect to indulge his fancy; but it is a *right* of which few persons desire to avail themselves, while they know that the office can be so much better performed by the cobbler. Unfortunately, however there are not a few, to whom the absurdity of attempting to exercise a handicraft profession without previous instruction or practice would be sufficiently apparent, yet who cannot be divested of the notion, that they are eminently qualified to cobble the machine of the state without any such preparation. And here it is that it becomes necessary for the law to interfere, not for the cruel purpose of baulking the humour of the party, but to save the rest of the community from becoming the victims of his experiments. Even in their simplest application, discussions as to such points of original right are of all others the most idle and unprofitable. What shall we say then to the folly of resorting to such a source, for rules applicable to a scheme so purely artificial,—so entirely a matter of positive and conventional institution, as a representative system of government? If it be an indefeasible principle of natural law, that no man can be justly called on to pay

pay taxes or to render any personal service to the state, who has not given his previous consent to the same either individually or by deputy; why is the same privilege of choice to be denied the woman whom you compel to the drudgeries of domestic duty,—to the child whom you enslave in the bonds of tutelage,—or the lunatic whom you lock up in a madhouse? By what principle of natural right, again, can a majority pretend to bind a minority? or how can it be said that my will is expressed by a representative whom I not only have not chosen, but whose nomination I have done my utmost to oppose? It will be answered, that these are extreme cases, to which the general principle could not be applied, without inconvenience or injury to society.—Very true: but that very circumstance is the test of the principle. Its absurdity does not become fully apparent till you try to follow it out to such extreme cases, and then you are thrown back at once on the principle of expediency, from which you ought never to have departed.

But if there be little wisdom in searching for the rules of civilized society in the relations of the savage state, we can scarcely think it much wiser to resort to the obscure records of a remote and barbarous age for instruction in the principles of modern constitutional law. In proof of the doctrine, that by the ancient constitution of the realm no man is liable to be taxed for the support of the state, who has not consented, by himself or his representative, to the imposition of those taxes, Lord John Russell refers us to an authority almost as old as the House of Commons itself, the statute 24 Edward I., *De Tallagio non concedendo*,—a statute, we believe, of doubtful authenticity, and enacted, at all events, at a period when parliaments were not summoned so much for the purpose of deliberating on the public affairs or of granting the supplies called for by the general necessities of the state, as of conferring and settling with the crown the sums which the latter, *in its own right* and by virtue of its feudal prerogatives, might be entitled to levy from the different classes of its subjects, and so preventing occasions which might otherwise have arisen for internal strife and dissension. If the testimony\* proves any thing for Lord John Russell's case, it must go the length of this,—that universal suffrage (that is, a right of suffrage in every person above the condition of a pauper) has been, ever since the reign of Edward I., and is at this moment, the law of the land, and that

\* The passage in the statute *De Tallagio non concedendo* relied on, is as follows, viz.—'Nullum tallagium vel auxilium, per nos, vel hæredes nostros, in regno nostro ponatur seu levetur, sine voluntate et assensu archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, comitum, baronum, militum, burgensium, et aliorum liberorum hominum de regno nostro.'

all taxes which have been levied by any other authority than the representatives of the people so chosen, have been illegal exactions;—a proposition which the stoutest lawyer of the party has not ventured to assert, and to which Lord John Russell's very scheme of *reconstruction* has, in fact, quite as little relation, as has the uniform practice of the constitution from Edward I. to the present day. The '*burgenses et liberi homines*' described in this act can no more, we apprehend, be identified with 'all the free inhabitants of the country,' than the 'knights, citizens, and burgesses of the United Kingdom, in parliament assembled,' can be held to mean the whole collected population of England. The words have reference to the 'burgesses and freemen' summoned to parliament by the King's writ, and to no others. And when it is known, that in the reign of Edward I., and for long after, these writs were sent exclusively to the royal boroughs, or to those boroughs in which the king possessed influence, the sheriff withholding them at his discretion, whenever the submissive dependence of the place could not be relied on; and that it was the practice of the king to *name the deputies* whom they were to return to Parliament,\* it will not perhaps be thought that the concession to popular rights was, after all, so very invaluable, or that the system then existing is a very fit subject for the envy and imitation of future ages. The entire machinery of our borough system is of very ancient date—too ancient, indeed, to be accurately defined. There appears to have been the same variety in the constitutions of the boroughs at the earliest periods to which they can be traced, as there exists at the present moment—in some places the freemen, in others the officers of a corporation, in others the freeholders, the burgage tenants, the inhabitants paying scot and lot, the inhabitants generally, or different combinations of these classes, sharing the elective franchise.† And it is equally certain, that the interference of the crown and aristocracy in the election of members of the House of Commons may claim the sanction of very remote usage, if that could avail for its justification, and that at those early periods it was exercised with an openness that, in these days of corruption, would be considered altogether scandalous.‡

From

\* Oldfield's Representative History, vol. i. p. 158-9.

† Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia—England, by the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, M.P., vol. i. p. 354.

‡ Mr. Hallam, with reference to this subject, mentions an anecdote of the reign of Henry VIII. 'Sir Robert Sadler writes to some one, whose name does not appear, to inform him, that the Duke of Norfolk had spoken to the King, who was well contented he should be a burgess for Oxford; and that he should "order himself in the said room according to such instructions as the said Duke of Norfolk should give him from the King:" if he is not elected at Oxford, the writer will recommend him to some

From such facts it may at least be inferred, that the progress of our constitution has not been one of continued degeneracy, as some of its commentators would persuade us. And we shall take leave of this part of the subject by recommending to the study of those who expect to find among the antiquities of our institutions any perfect model by which to reconstruct them, the following admirable observations from the first volume of a History of England, by a Whig authority of no less name than Sir James Mackintosh, published only during the course of the last year, but unhappily too early to have allowed him an opportunity of accommodating his doctrines to the new lights which have since, so unexpectedly, burst on his associates.

‘The Whigs (observes Sir James), with no less deviation from truth, endeavour to prove that the modern constitution of king, lords, and commons, subsisted in the earliest times, and was then more pure and flourishing than in any succeeding age. No one, at that time, was taught by a wide survey of society, *that governments are not framed after a model*, but that all their parts and powers grow out of occasional acts, *prompted by some urgent expediency, or some private interest*, which, in the course of time, coalesce and harden into usage; and that *this bundle of usages is the object of respect and the guide of conduct*, long before it is embodied, defined, and enforced in written laws. Government may be, in some degree, reduced to system, but it cannot flow from it. It is not like a machine, or a building, which may be constructed entirely, and according to a previous plan, by the art and labour of man. It is better illustrated by comparison with vegetables or even animals, which may be, in a very high degree, improved by skill and care, *which may be grievously injured by neglect, or destroyed by violence, but which cannot be produced by human contrivance*. A government can, indeed, be no more than a mere draught or scheme of rule, when it is not composed of habits of obedience on the part of the people, and of an habitual exercise of certain portions of authority by the individuals or bodies who constitute the sovereign power: these habits, like all others, can only be formed by repeated acts; they cannot be suddenly infused by the law-giver, nor can they immediately follow the most perfect conviction of their propriety. Many causes having more power over the human mind than written

some of “my lord’s towns of his bishopric of Winchester.” Cotton MSS., Cleopatra E. iv. 178.—‘Thus,’ continues the historian, ‘we see that the practice of our government has always been alike; and we may add the same of the nobility, who interfered with elections full as continually, and far more openly, than in modern times. The difference is, that a secretary of the treasury, or peer’s agent, does that with some precaution of secrecy, which the council board, or the peer himself, under the Tudors, did by express letter to the returning officer; and that the operating motive is the prospect of a good place in the excise or customs for compliance, rather than that of lying some months in the Fleet for disobedience.’—Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 361—note. See, also, the very excellent speech of Sir Robert Inglis in the late debate.

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law, it is extremely difficult, from the mere perusal of a written scheme of government, to foretell what it will prove in action.\*

We come now to what the Whig reformers appear to consider as their great and unanswerable argument,—the *only* argument indeed put forward in parliament by the noble mover of the bill, (unless the piece of antiquarian pedantry which we have just been discussing can be considered such,) and the argument uniformly pressed with the greatest confidence by all the speakers of ability on the same side of the house; and pressed, we are inclined to think, with the most effect. It is this,—that the House of Commons has entirely *lost the confidence* of the people of England, and that, without that confidence, it is impossible for the government of the country longer to go on. There is a deep-rooted discontent, we are told, which has been growing now through two generations; that the legislature has tried every means in its power, whether of coercion or palliation, to put an end to it—but all in vain—the evil is still increasing from day to day. This argument is made to bear upon us in two shapes: in the first place, as it applies to our reason—to the policy of setting the constitution right again in public opinion, and so calling into alliance with the ordinary principles of good government, all that intelligence which, disgusted with the monstrous anomalies of the system, and deprived of its legitimate weight in the country, is at present working against us;—in the second place, as it applies to our fears—to the prudence of preventing those fatal consequences, which we are told must ensue, if we exasperate by a denial the dissatisfied millions who are just now calling with one voice for redress.

We shall first address ourselves to the point of reason. And here there are few persons, we presume, who will not be ready to admit, that, in the present state of the world, with a free press, diffused intelligence, and habits of free thinking and discussion on all subjects, to a degree certainly unknown at any former period, no institution which has been really and irretrievably condemned by the deliberate judgment of the nation, can long hope to stand. There is a preliminary question, however, which suggests itself at the outset, in considering a case like this—To what cause are we to ascribe this loss of confidence of which you tell us? Is it merely to the *existence* of these anomalies, to which we have just adverted, or to any practical *mischiefs* which have actually flowed from them? On this head, let us hear the case, on the part of ministers, as stated by the Judge-Advocate-General,

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\* Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia—England, by the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh, M. P., vol. i., p. 72.

who treated this part of the subject more at large, and with greater ability, than any of the other ministerial speakers.

‘The House of Commons,’ according to that learned gentleman, ‘now stands and has long stood in’ what he calls ‘a *false position*; and in these days of growing light, intelligence, and education, it will be manifestly impossible for us to maintain that false position much longer. If the *theory* of the constitution is *right*, as it is delivered to us by Blackstone, De Lolme, and all our best constitutional writers, then our present *practice* must be *bad*; and if the practice be correct, then it falsifies the theory. On the first day of the session we depute the Speaker to demand from the crown a full liberty of speech, and that it shall not interfere with our proceedings. On the first day of the session we pass a resolution, that no peer ought to have any influence in this house: and the very forms with regard to election petitions, committees, &c. prove the soundness of the doctrine, that this is essentially the house of the people. Now, the present state of knowledge, the immense diffusion of education is such, that the majority of the population of England are fully able to understand the theories of Blackstone and De Lolme on this subject. There is not a general election, at which the soundness of the principle is not admitted by every candidate, Whig or Tory, in their appeals to their constituents; and it will not do to tell them, that the practice is one thing and that the theory is another: the understandings of men are not yet to be made to see how these two doctrines are to be reconciled. They tell you, you cannot continue to adopt your present system without a breach of the constitution. You put forward one theory, which you contradict in practice, and another which you cannot defend. You confess enough to excite jealousy, and are not willing to do enough to save yourselves from the consequences of your own confession.’

Now, there is certainly, in this view of the case, something which, on the first blush, is not unpalatable. It is not to be denied, that the theory of our constitution, as it is laid down (*erroneously* laid down, as, with great submission, we argue) by the most celebrated constitutional writers, and, what is of more consequence, that the law of the constitution is at variance both with the practice and with that which we and the other advocates of the existing system contend to be its true theory.—It is not to be denied, that while, on the one hand, it is annually declared by a resolution of the House, to be ‘a high breach of the privileges of the Commons, for any lord of parliament to concern himself in the election of members of parliament,’ and by another, to be ‘highly criminal in any minister or servant under the crown, directly or indirectly, to use the powers of office in the election of representatives to serve in parliament;’ it is nevertheless the practice, and, as we contend, the *beneficial* practice, for many peers and servants of the crown largely to influence such elections;

elections ; that while, on the one hand, the procuring the return of any member to serve in parliament by means of any gift or promise, is, in the eye of the law, a highly penal offence, it is, at the same time, a matter of perfect notoriety, that seats in parliament are daily sold for money, and it may be maintained, on grounds which we hold to be incontrovertible, that, if seats were no longer to be obtained for money, the safe and beneficial working of the constitution would be most essentially endangered ;—and that so, through a strange and fortuitous combination of mutually counteracting powers, the vitality of the system is preserved by the continual infringement of the letter of its rules.

We have thus met the case broadly ; and now let us look at it a little more closely. It is alleged, that the people of this country have now become too much enlightened, to bear these monstrous anomalies and inconsistencies any longer,—that such anomalies are too shocking, to stand in the presence of that day of truth which education has poured on us. It may be so ;—but yet it does somehow occur to us, that there is, after all, something mighty *poetical* in this sort of grievance. It strikes us as a thing rather new, that a whole people should be thus up in arms, as they are represented to be, on a mere point of casuistry,—should be ready to rise in revolution,—because their understandings cannot reconcile two conflicting propositions. Surely, we think to ourselves, either this excitement is vastly overrated, or there must be something behind the curtain,—we cannot have heard the real grievance.

But if it be indeed a necessary effect of the general diffusion of education, that men will no longer take experience on political subjects for their guide ;—if education has taught them only just enough to make them presumptuous and indocile,—if it has enabled them to read, merely to deliver them over to the flatteries of the daily press, which, for the future, are to supersede the instructions of history and philosophy ; and if the result of all this is to be, that they are to cast off a system of government under which they have lived and flourished, for one which by daily experience is proved to be impracticable ;—if such, as Mr. Grant's argument would lead us to conclude, be the inevitable fruits of the present system of education, we must say, that we have never heard a condemnation pronounced on that system which, in our judgment, was half so severe or unanswerable.—We really, however, cannot yet consent to relinquish the hope, that knowledge may be found more compatible with the peace and happiness of society. We cannot but cling to the persuasion, that the mischief in this case is not so much, in fact, from *too much* instruction as from *too little* ; and that if half the pains had been taken to dispel the delusions on this subject, which have been employed

employed in spreading them, they might not perhaps have been taken in vain. In Scotland, where the education of the poor was much earlier an object of attention than in England, and where it has been carried to a much greater extent, the manufacturing classes have, in late years, evinced a spirit of subordination and patience under the privations of the times, altogether exemplary. And when we find such sound and rational opinions on such subjects as machinery and wages, understood and professed by two starving mechanics of Glasgow,\* as appear in the examination adverted to in the speech of the Lord Advocate, might it not be worth while to try, if, instead of breaking down the institutions of the country to suit the understandings of that class of society, it might not be possible to raise their understandings to a level with our institutions?—if it might not be possible to communicate to them a degree of instruction equally high, on the principles of civil government, as on those of political economy,—and so, perhaps, reconcile them to difficulties and inconsistencies in our scheme of polity, which have not been found so very revolting to minds more enlightened?

Let us try a little the sincerity of these reasoners, however, by their acts. Because they find it ‘*impossible to maintain in argument*’ the practice of borough nominations, as consistent with the theory of a representative government,—because they see that the people will no longer tolerate a system by which law and practice are thus kept in continual conflict, they resolve on a great measure of reform, which is to sweep away all these anomalies, and base the constitution—for the first time—on defensible principles. These are their grand objects; and, of course, in their new plan, there is to be no more sale of seats,—no more illegal interference of peers at elections, in defiance of the annual resolution of the House of Commons. Is it so? Why, as to the matter of bribery, they seem to have given themselves very little concern; and of the hundred and forty-two boroughs which they permit to remain, we find that there are no less than seventy-five which return members under the direct influence of some patron (noble or plebeian), and that more than three-fourths of the other sixty-seven regularly put themselves up to the highest bidder!! By giving the franchise to the ten-pound householders, these influences may, no doubt, in some instances, be a little disturbed; but, generally speaking, they will remain as they are. And so little, indeed, does it seem to have been within the views of the framers of the bill to exclude them altogether, that Lord John Russell thinks it necessary to vindicate himself from the imputation of any such intention. ‘The aristocracy,’ he tells us, ‘will *always* still be able to hold *as much influence* as it ought to have’ (by law, observe, that is, *none at all*)

all) 'in the election of the members of this house.' And even that pink of radicalism, Mr. Whittle Harvey, holds it out as one of the recommendations of the bill, that it preserves forty-seven seats for as many small boroughs, which will afford an opening, by patronage or money, to men of talents, and the other classes of persons who usually are introduced through such channels to the house. —Really then, Mr. Grant, it does seem to us, that, as far as the principle is concerned, we are pretty much in the same situation as before! You will still, we suspect, be as much puzzled as ever, to give a satisfactory reply to your Benthamite operatives at Norwich, when they ask you how you reconcile these practices with the theory of the constitution. And if it be, as you tell us, their intellectual horror of such contradictions, that is to drive them, by a sort of moral necessity, as it were, to mutiny and rebellion, in case this bill *should not pass into a law*, it becomes a serious question to consider, how their minds are likely to be affected *if it do pass*.

But it is only necessary to look a little at the history of this paroxysm of popular insanity which has been raging through the land, to satisfy every mind not entirely bewildered by passing events, that this metaphysical chimera, which ministers have conjured up as their pretext for invading the chartered privileges of some hundred ancient corporations, has, in truth, nearly as little real foundation in popular feeling, as it has in common sense, or (we may add) in their own purposes at the time when they framed the bill now before parliament. It is a common reproach to the advocates of the conservative system, that they have been living in an ideal world of their own,—that the signs of the times have passed by them unheeded,—that they do not mix with the people, and know nothing of the new elements of power which have sprung up around them, or of that great revolution of mind which is daily and hourly advancing with irresistible strides. But we should like to interrogate a little some of the members of his Majesty's cabinet, as to the results of *their* voyages of discovery into the domains of the schoolmaster. They must have been more fortunate than we have been in such peregrinations, if they gathered much instruction on the theory of government. Ask a Suffolk farmer—ask a shopkeeper of Marylebone—ask a Manchester weaver, what his notions are on the subject of reform. Very possibly each of these three parties will, in the first instance, make you the same answer, 'Certainly, he wants reform.' And why? Is it to set his mind at rest, by putting an end to the enormity of peers committing these constant breaches of privilege, by their interference in elections? Why, ten to one he never heard of the thing before. No! he takes a much more familiar and practical view of  
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the case. The farmer thinks reform will do good, because he has been told, it will relieve him from the payment of tithes. The man of Marylebone has found the periodical visits of the tax-gatherer very disagreeable, and petitions for reform because it is to abolish the house and window-tax. The weaver has been taught by those instructors of the press, who kindly take his affairs under their protection, that the profits of labour ought to be more equitably apportioned between the capitalist and the workman than they now are; he is dissatisfied with the present government, because it will not fix a minimum in the scale of wages, and compel the master manufacturer to employ his operatives at that rate; and for that reason, he too calls aloud for reform. As to the notion of desiring a reform for *the sake of the thing itself*, for the mere conceit of improving the beauty and regularity of the system, no such romance ever entered the imagination of one or the other;—their care is for the ulterior objects, which their flatterers tell them reform is to bring about, and for those only;—and so very gross and common-place indeed are their notions,—so little in sympathy with the refined doctrines of honourable and learned gentlemen touching purity of election, that, if any of them happens to be a householder living in a borough of which he is not a freeman, he will not scruple to tell you, that he wishes for reform because it will *give him a share in the feasts and emoluments of elections*, from which he has been hitherto excluded by the monopoly of a corporation. These are the topics, which form the real elements of popular excitement. These are the true motives, on which the man of the ‘Movement’ calculates on being able to work;—motives far more palpable and intelligible, and (we will add) far more *rational*, than any of those fantasies put forth in argument by the Whig advocates for the bill. The necessities and the rapacity of individuals are the *pabulum* of the flame;—reform is but the torch, which the radical incendiary applies to the stubble, in the hope of raising himself to distinction and power amidst a general confusion of fire and smoke. Of the six hundred and forty-five reform petitions which were poured on the table of Parliament from all parts of the country, between the commencement of the session on the 5th November last, and the 4th March, after deducting one hundred and seventy-nine from Scotland (of which the prayer related almost exclusively to the local grievance of the royal burghs,) there remained four hundred and sixty-six from different parts of England,—of which it appears by the Parliamentary return, that more than half (in all two hundred and eighty) demanded ‘vote by ballot,’—a full third ‘short parliaments,’—a large proportion (from the whole kingdom two hundred and thirty-nine) reduction of taxes,—and seventy the abolition or modification of tithes.

In the whole number we find only one hundred and two which pray for reform in parliament, without reference to any of these collateral topics ;—but what description of reform,—whether extending to universal suffrage or otherwise, does not appear from the return ; and we are left to judge of their general spirit only from the fact, that among these one hundred and two is the Rotunda petition subscribed by ‘ Henry Hunt.’ But, whatever may be the contents of the others, we have at all events the positive, and (as far as we have heard) the yet uncontradicted assurance of the member for Preston himself, that, after a careful examination of all these petitions, he could find only *two* which asked for any thing in the least like what ministers propose to give us !

Is it possible, then, that any council of reasonable creatures can delude themselves with the persuasion, that men urged on by such views and incentives, will quietly relinquish every substantial and tangible object of their desires, and sit down contented with the barren contemplation of a scheme, which they are told is to reconcile, in future, the practice of the constitution with the theory !—that the confidence, which according to them the present House of Commons has lost, will be yielded without reserve to another, destined, in the fond anticipation of the Whigs, by its steady adherence to ancient principles, to blast all the most cherished hopes of those persons,—and this merely because the members of that new House are to be elected on rather a more regular and uniform system !—that when distress shall again visit the land, when the artisan shall be without employment and the labourer without food—(and do what we may, such times will again come round),—‘ they will cease,’ to use the language of an eminent speaker, ‘ to think that that distress has arisen solely from the misgovernment and oppression of their rulers,’ and every motive of dissatisfaction and distrust will subside in the idea, that the House of Commons, though doing nothing and able to do nothing for their relief, though in its measures and course of policy not to be distinguished from its predecessor, is now, forsooth, chosen by householders paying 10*l.* a year rent ! Or, if the assailing waters be indeed so overwhelming as they would now have us believe, can ministers indulge the dream that, after levelling the time-honoured rampart of the constitution to the dust, their miserable shred of parchment is to stem out the inundation ?

The Lord Advocate, indeed, tries to soothe us with the notion, that ‘ *reasonable* reform, though it will not satisfy the *unreasonable*, will satisfy the *reasonable*, and that if you satisfy the reasonable and induce them to unite with you, you will be better able to deal with the unreasonable.’ He ingeniously talks of drawing ‘ a  
*firmament*

*firmament* between the poor voters above and the lakes of corruption below,' and of thus 'uniting all those who have property, and rendering the large body of the people interested in obeying the law, and zealous in defending the constitution of the country.' All this seems vastly plausible. But then the unlucky question occurs—Who are the *reasonable*? Is it the *reasonable* who are making all this clamour? Are the *reasonable* the petitioners to parliament? The *reasonable*, according to the Lord Advocate's sense of the word (and, setting the seductions of office out of the case, we might perhaps venture to include the learned Lord himself among the number), would, for the most part, we suspect, be very well content to let matters remain as they are. Ministers tell us, that they propose this measure to parliament because it is demanded by the unanimous wishes of the country; and if you ask them for the evidence of those wishes, they refer you to the *petitions*. Now, either those petitions speak the unanimous wishes of the community—of the *reasonable* community we are of course to understand,—or they do not: if they do not, then the whole ministerial fabric becomes at once baseless, and falls to the ground; if they do, then it is equally clear that we cannot hope to satisfy this reasonable community, by a measure which does not concede what they ask for. Out of this dilemma, we shall leave the learned Lord to extricate himself as he best can.

And this brings us to that view of the argument in which it addresses itself to our *fears*,—an application not so openly recognized as the other, but enforced with a dexterity and perseverance which prove how much more it is relied on. There was scarcely a speech, indeed, from the ministerial benches, in the course of all the nine nights' debate, which did not begin by deprecating every idea of influencing the decision of so great a question by an appeal to such ignoble feelings, and which did not end by the suggestion of some image or sentiment calculated to excite them. We are assured that 'there must either be a reform, or that *the British constitution must perish*,'—that 'there will be such agitation in this country as has never been seen before,'—and that 'we must have a great and efficient reform if we would *prevent revolution*;'—that 'the people of England present themselves as one man at the bar of this house, and *demand* this boon;'—that '*the thing is done*, and it would now be an act of *madness* to reject the measure;'—that 'the time is come when the wishes of the people with respect to reform *can no longer be resisted*;'—that 'if you disappoint the people, by throwing out the bill, it will put the peace of the country in a state of *jeopardy*, which the speaker *fears to contemplate*!' One orator states, '*not as a threat, but as a reason* for granting reform, his conviction, that unless some such measure be adopted,

adopted, the institutions of this country *will be exposed to great danger*,' and prays, that 'those who resist the measure may not see cause to regret that they had not taken a different course, *amidst riot, confiscation, and massacre!*' Another 'does not mean to use the language of intimidation,' but feels bound to say, that sooner or later, but *more likely soon than late*, if the opinions of an honourable and learned gentleman should prevail, *that catastrophe would arise* which he wishes to avoid! A third would not have it 'supposed, that *he appeals to the fears* rather than to the judgment of honourable members, but he feels that the rejection of the proposed measure will entail a state of things which *no man can think of without shuddering!*' And lastly, there comes the noble mover of the bill himself, winding up the debate with his denunciation of the '*consequence of resisting popular demands*,' and a reference to the '*warning example of Charles the Tenth and Prince Polignac!*'

That all these frightful apparitions of impending revolution, conjured up in such quick succession, and almost indeed, we may say, kept continually before the view, and seconded by still more alarming demonstrations from without, should have had their effect on timid and vacillating minds, is not very surprising. The panic produced by the French and Belgian revolutions has now indeed very much subsided; but that 'dread of physical force,' which we have ventured to assign as the prime motive of most recent conversions to reform among the educated classes, has not yet entirely ceased to operate. Nay, in some instances, it seems to have so entirely mastered the senses of those who have fallen under its influence, as to have scared not only their judgments but their memories, and produced a settled conviction, that the same phantoms, which appear to them just now so terrible, are no new acquaintances, but have been menacing them almost from the hour of their birth. These will continue, no doubt, to maintain their hold, until exorcised by some more potent spirit of the same order,—until, in plain terms, the parties can be brought to comprehend, that whatever they may risk in this case by taking their stand at once against popular clamour, the danger of yielding to it, if not more imminent, is infinitely more certain, more fearful, and more irremediable. Meanwhile, we may be allowed, perhaps, to detain our readers for an instant while we say a few more words as to the circumstances and origin of this agitation, and in support of the opinion we have from the first professed, that it is an agitation by no means of that formidable character, nor springing from those deep sources which many are prone to believe, but is of a nature quite as evanescent as any other of those periodical excitements to which the people of this country

country have long been so proverbially subject, and would probably ere this have passed away like its predecessors, but for the factitious influence which it has acquired, from the extraordinary line of conduct which his Majesty's government has thought fit to adopt.

And here we meet, in the first place, with that most important and, to this day, uncontroverted fact, which was first brought to the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Croker, that during the space of six years, from 1824 to 1829, there was not a single petition on the subject of parliamentary reform presented to parliament. We may date the gradual decline of the cause, indeed, from the period of the riots at Manchester in 1819. After that event, there was the usual reaction of public opinion, interrupted only for a short time by the commotions attending the queen's trial: and, in the course of a year or two more, the subject fell so entirely into discredit, that the demagogue's occupation was gone,—seditious publications ceased to be profitable,—and not an itinerant orator could find an audience. For the truth of this statement we appeal to every man of common observation, whose mind is in a sufficiently composed state to recollect any thing prior to the 'three days' of July. The facts are notorious; and, if they wanted any corroboration, they could not have a stronger than the declaration of Lord John Russell himself, on the 3d of May, 1827, from his place in parliament, in the course of one of the debates consequent on the formation of Mr. Canning's administration. 'Perhaps,' these were the noble Lord's words on that occasion,

'Perhaps the right honourable gentleman expected, that he (Lord John Russell) should introduce the question of parliamentary reform again to that house. It happened unfortunately, however, that the very last time he had mentioned the question in the course of the last session, he had declared that that would be the last occasion of his doing so. And why had he made that declaration? *Because he had found a great lukewarmness on the subject throughout the country; and that growing lukewarmness he believed to be attributable to the improvement which had taken place in the manner of conducting the government. Whether the people of this country were right or wrong in allowing themselves to become indifferent upon such a cause, it was not now for him to examine; but he did believe, that as long as they saw the affairs of the country well conducted, and actuated by a spirit of improvement, they would not look too narrowly into the constitution of that house of Parliament. At all events, such lukewarmness did at present prevail.*'

It must be quite needless to add one word of comment to this testimony. Well,—such was the state of things up to 1829,—when the measure of Catholic emancipation came to agitate and divide the country, and almost entirely to break up the already  
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frittered and discordant Tory party in parliament. At the same time, distresses, which had been gradually encroaching more and more on the springs of industry since 1825, began to press on the lower classes with an intensity that was very alarming. Advantage was taken of these circumstances to revive the cry for parliamentary reform; and the note was first sounded from a quarter whence it was least of all apprehended,—from a small band of the High Tories, whom the measures of government had so deeply offended, that for a time every other consideration appeared to be lost in their eagerness to annoy and overturn it. Meanwhile, the Birmingham Political Union was formed:—difficult questions relating to the currency, to free trade, the poor-laws, and other points more or less bearing on the case of the lower orders, began to be declaimed on in a new spirit of wrath and fierceness; advantage was taken of the reluctance, perhaps somewhat indiscreetly manifested by ministers to submit the distresses of the country to parliamentary investigation, in order to hold up such men as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel as cold, hard-hearted, unfeeling theorists, individually callous and indifferent to those distresses; the radicals came forth from their lurking places; and, though London continued tolerably quiet, the manufacturing districts began to ring once again with the peals of sedition.—The course pursued by parliament in the case of East Retford is supposed by many to have added much to these previously existing elements of combustion; and no doubt it afforded another inflammatory topic, at least in those towns which had expected to profit by the disfranchisement of that borough. But we question if the excitement extended much further. As far as we could observe, the country generally cared very little about the matter. There was no demonstration, at least, in the shape of meetings or petitions, to justify a contrary inference. And we must utterly dissent, at all events, from the now prevailing notion, that a different course of proceeding, on the part of the legislature in that instance, or that any other measure which the legislature could, with the least propriety, have adopted, would have prevented or materially restrained the disorders which, by sympathy with the revolutions of Paris and Brussels, at a subsequent period shook the frame of the commonwealth. Those revolutions unhappily took place at a time when this country was agitated by the struggles of a general election at the commencement of a new reign. Some improvement had indeed by this time begun to show itself in the condition of the population; the spirit of discontent was subsiding;—had time been allowed for the more full developement of those seeds of prosperity which were inherent in the system, and have since been sending up their shoots, some excuse might perhaps even have

have been found for the previous disinclination evinced by ministers to give a too ready ear to the various remedial measures that had been pressed on them;—and that there was no very determined design, on the part of the Ultra-Tories, against the institutions of the state, whatever might have been their personal feelings towards ministers, has since been proved by the fact, that, with one or two exceptions, they were the first to rally round them on the appearance of real danger. Parties, however, were still disunited,—the administration weak,—and all society still smarting from its recent sores,—when these appalling events came like a thunder-cloud to overcast the rising serenity. Faction was not idle to avail herself of the new capacity for mischief, with which circumstances so unexpected and opportune had all at once endowed her. No topic of excitation was spared, which could be likely to inflame the people, or fill them with the idea, that they are the plundered and degraded slaves of a vile oligarchy; and on every hustings the examples of France and Belgium were held up, almost without reserve, as fit objects for imitation. The numbers and the ubiquity of the radical candidates were beyond all precedent. Among other phenomena, the appearance in Yorkshire of Mr. Brougham, in the (to him) novel character of a parliamentary reformer, was not the least portentous. In addressing a meeting of that county in the beginning of August, after reminding them of ‘that *might*, slumbering in the arms of temperate freemen, which, though he hoped the fatal experiment never would be tried, he had a confident persuasion would, if it ever should become necessary, be uplifted as manfully as it was by their forefathers, when they marshalled the way, through blood and danger, to a free constitution,’—he proceeded to say,—

‘Of powers thus exercised, and for so hallowed a purpose, we have now a *glorious example* in a neighbouring nation, which has now made your case its own, and which, after long being, as some say, your enemy, has now become *your competitor in the glorious race of liberty*, which, roused by unbearable oppression, groaning—but that freemen will not groan—has risen in its might, and driven, as your forefathers drove, a *tyrant* from the throne which he had polluted, and from a capital which he had *stained with the blood of free and innocent citizens*. . . . From this castle-yard, at the close of the American war, burst forth a flame in favour of *parliamentary reform*, which, spreading over the country, *eclipsed, during the system of terror and persecution*, by fires of a less pure and holy nature, quenched by the blood shed in the name of liberty by those who called themselves its votaries in France, has at length, now that peace has been restored to us, *burst forth again with renovated splendour* to illuminate your hearts, and with such *vigour* as will ultimately *destroy the abuses of your country*. I hail its progress with *joy and rapture*! *Be it mine to join the flame, &c.!*’

Again,

Again, at the Leeds dinner on the 28th September, we find the same eminent individual signaling his new-born zeal, by the promulgation of a sort of scheme of reform,—a scheme most cautious and innocent indeed, compared to that which he has since sanctioned, though six months ago it was thought sufficiently menacing,—and by declaring that ‘he would leave in no other man’s hands the cause of *parliamentary reform*. He had assisted others hitherto, but he should now stand forward as the *champion of that cause*!’—Mr. Hume’s speeches, delivered about the same time during the course of a political tour in Scotland, are in a similar vein, or even more inflammatory. At a dinner given to him at Glasgow, he observes, that—

‘Enough had taken place of late to make men think who had never thought before. The idea was no longer to be entertained, that *treason could be committed only against the King*. They had seen a King commit treason against his people; and he hoped they would reflect on what had taken place in *France*, and they would see, that *such a system as that of Scotland never could continue*. THERE WERE AS MANY NOW PRESENT AS WOULD CARRY A COUNCIL BY STORM!!’

The revolutionary flame thus kindled and thus ‘fanned,’ spread, as was to be expected, in all directions. A pledge to support parliamentary reform was demanded from many of the other candidates, on the different hustings throughout the country; and, in consequence of its being declined by some of the old members, an unusual proportion of Whigs and radicals, many of them new to parliament, were returned. A powerful attack was now opened on the Wellington administration, through the medium of the press, and particularly by a pamphlet—the second of a series attributed, at the time, to the new member for Yorkshire—which contains the following remarkable passage, in allusion to the then recent events in France:—

‘The lessons, which the Duke of Wellington may learn from this great event, are neither few nor of light account. First of all, it may teach him that an *army* is more to be depended on in the field *than in the city*. Beyond all doubt, he counted on the French troops standing by Charles X. and his insensate ministers, and was somewhat staggered when he saw some battalions of those *brave men refuse to fire upon their fellow-citizens*. Beyond all doubt, also, he expected regular troops, when they did fight, to gain an easy victory over an unarmed rabble. The finest soldiers of Europe beaten by a mob,—the boys of the Polytechnic school destroying five hundred of one regiment, and all the officers but three,—streets in half an hour barricaded, and every house become a garrison, from which the very women and children fired shot, and poured down huge paving stones upon veteran troops! This is the very irregular, unscientific, unmilitary spectacle, which the recent history of France presents to the *tacticians of the Horse Guards*, and

and records, for the encouragement of all freemen and the *terror of all military tyrants*, in all countries and in all times. It is also a page of history which will be read with advantage *by the soldiers themselves*, of all ranks; and may have some *influence* on their minds when they are poring over that other page, wherein is recorded *the great virtue* of those patriotic troops who, in the soldier, forgot not the citizen, and *refused to obey the unlawful command that would have pointed their arms to shed the blood of their unoffending countrymen!*

This certainly was not to be misunderstood. Meanwhile, the burnings and machine-breakings began to spread in Kent,—a clamour was got up in London between the pickpockets and the newspapers against the new police,—and a most alarming agitation was set on foot in Ireland for the repeal of the union between the two countries. A general consternation spread abroad; many of the upper and educated classes seemed to be quite bewildered and confounded, by the menacing apparitions that were starting up on all sides; and not a few had the weakness to imagine, that by truckling to compulsion, and chiming in with the prevailing frenzy, they might purchase security. Even the kindness of heart and popular habits of our excellent sovereign, by giving encouragement to extravagant hopes, rather served to increase the ferment. And, by a piece of hypocritical finesse, which has rarely been neglected through all these agitations, and which remarkably distinguishes them from those which took place at the time of the former French revolution, the most avowed and atrocious purposes of treason were associated, in the same mouth, with the most fulsome professions of loyalty, and the grossest adulation of his Majesty's character and station.—Under these circumstances parliament met. The cry for parliamentary reform, which had been sounded through the country, found an echo within the walls of the house itself. The administration soon discovered, that they had not sufficient strength to carry on the affairs of the government, and were compelled to withdraw and make room for the Whigs,—who entered office under that solemn pledge of 'retrenchment, non-intervention, and parliamentary reform,' so ill-judged in its origin, and so fatal in its results for their own reputation as statesmen, and for the peace,—it may be, for the ultimate destiny, of their country.

We believe this to be a very fair history of the origin and early stages of that moral malady, under which we are still suffering; nor are we aware of having omitted any material circumstance from the relation.—There can surely be no greater error than to dignify an excitement of so ephemeral a character,—generated, or at least fomented, by such violent and extraneous causes, with the name of *public opinion*. It is well observed by one of the

the shrewdest judges of modern times on all points of practical wisdom, the late Dr. Paley, that

‘Large bodies of men are subject to sudden frenzies. Opinions are sometimes circulated amongst a multitude, without proof or examination, acquiring confidence and reputation merely by being repeated from one to another; and passions, founded upon these opinions, diffusing themselves with a rapidity which can neither be accounted for nor resisted, may agitate a country with the most violent commotions, &c.—But when we observe what is urged as public opinion, to be, in truth, *the opinion only, or perhaps the feigned profession, of a few crafty leaders*—that the numbers who join in the cry, serve only to swell and multiply the sound, *without any accession of judgment, or exercise of understanding*—and that oftentimes the wisest counsels have been thus overborne by tumult and uproar—we may conceive occasions to arise, in which the commonwealth may be saved by the reluctance of the nobility to adopt the caprices, or to yield to the vehemence of the common people.’\*

The ministers were impelled by a power which they fancied themselves unable, because they had not the virtue, to withstand. This pledge was cheered by the acclamations of nearly the whole press, which from that moment rose daily in its demands, and urged on the fulfilment with a voice of authority, which the government did not venture to dispute, and for which they were scarcely perhaps prepared. Petitions for parliamentary reform now crowded in from all quarters; and instead of 14, which was the whole number sent up to the House in the session of 1830, during the ‘worst period of actual distress and discontent,’ there were laid on the table, as we have said, before the 4th March, 645.—‘Thus, for the first time since the accession of the present family to the throne, the country found itself in this extraordinary position—that the ministers of the crown, wielding the whole strength and influence of the executive, had arrayed themselves in league with an abandoned revolutionary faction, supported by a large but deluded portion of the middle and lower orders, and a few terrified or fanatical individuals of the upper, for the purpose of effecting a great change in the ancient establishments of the realm,—in opposition to the interests and wishes of the great body of the aristocracy, and of some of the most wealthy and important of the other classes of the community. On the promulgation of the bill, the newspapers put forth their strength with renewed audacity. Not only all argument was sedulously kept out of view which did not make in favour of the measure, but the most undisguised and flagrant system of intimidation was directed against every individual who in any manner set himself in opposition to it, and against the

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\* Paley’s Moral and Political Philosophy, Book VI. chap. 7.

country generally if it should be thrown out. One tries to appal us with the assurance that a 'revolution which shall be provoked by the refusal of reform, and the obstinate maintenance of the present system of corruption, *will indeed be terrific*, for it must be *marked with blood!*' Another, and *that* the professed official organ of every succeeding government, under the *mask* as usual of loyalty to the sovereign, menaces the parliament by innuendo, with destruction and massacre, in words like these:—'Nine hundred and ninety-nine men of every thousand cry reform, and execrate the opposition which is set up against it. Nine hundred and ninety-nine men of every thousand are ready to *proceed to extremity*, to protect the throne against those, who, by disgracing, would destroy it. Nine hundred and ninety-nine men out of every thousand are ready to *lay down their lives*, if needs may be, to defend the principles of a constitution, which, by perpetuating its abuses, others would bring to destruction.' A similar tone is kept up at public meetings,—where, after all, however, there is nothing of that genuine evidence of prevailing popular feeling which was displayed on the Catholic question—where even the concourse of numbers is generally contemptible, and where a small, noisy, indefatigable pack of radical orators, frequently the same individuals, take upon them to represent the wealth, talent, and respectability of the country. *Ten thousand men* are said, at one of these meetings, to be ready, at a call, in Sussex, to *take up arms*, and march to the metropolis, in support of the king against the boroughmongers, if the bill should be defeated in the house! And an evening newspaper backs this threat with the information, that there are *two hundred thousand* prepared to come up from the north! The utmost ferocity of the press has been more especially pointed against those representatives in parliament of the boroughs proposed to be disfranchised, who have dared to deliver their sentiments in opposition to the measure of government. And, even within the house itself, there have not been wanting individuals to assert gravely the monstrous principle, that such members ought to consider themselves excluded, by their position, from any deliberative voice on this question;—a principle which, if once adopted in any popular assembly, would, for ever after, insure the victory in political struggles to that faction which should be the first to proscribe its antagonist. The king's name and authority have been put forth in support of the bill, with scarcely even the ordinary reserve of official decency. The reluctant and doubtful are spurred on by the powerful hint of a dissolution. And, at the bidding of ministers, a new shoal of petitions is brought up from the country, almost by return of post, demanding the unqualified adoption, in all its parts, of a measure affecting irrevocably

irrevocably the fortunes and liberties of Englishmen to the latest generations,—yet which, to this day, probably not one in a thousand of those petitioners understands.

And such are the counsels to which we are invited to surrender our intellects and our consciences! But it has ever been thus. ‘The same course’—as is well observed by one of the most sensible pamphlets\* that have appeared on this question—‘The same course has been invariably adopted, *first to inflame and mislead the people, and then to appeal to their decision.*’ This, we repeat, is no new case, in as far as concerns the *agitation*;—it differs only from former precedents in this, that instead of the agitation being restrained, discountenanced, or suppressed by his Majesty’s ministers, those ministers are *themselves the agitators*. It is *they*, who call on us to fall down and worship the demon to whom they have sold themselves, and who point to the terrors of confiscation and massacre as the alternative of our refusal! It might be well if men, who thus assume to themselves the capacity of looking into futurity, would condescend to take a few lessons from the past. Have they never heard, nor read, that ‘he who has once bowed the knee to *force*, must expect that *force will ever after be his master.*’† The words are not our own; but a maxim of more certain truth,—a maxim more deeply founded in the nature and condition of man,—was never pronounced by historian.—England has never yet been without her grievance. Agitation is with us a living principle of social existence,—it is the price which we pay for freedom,—and to seek its extinction by an eager subservience to its fantasies, is the most vain and visionary of pursuits. If there be any feature, indeed, in the British constitution, which, more than another, may be considered its beauty and its boast,—which more than any other has attracted the wonder and the admiration of foreigners,—it is, not that it has *preserved* us from paroxysms of civil strife and commotion, but that it enables us to *bear* them. We have had an example lately of agitation in Ireland, infinitely more threatening in its aspect, than was this clamour for reform, before his Majesty’s government became its patrons:—and we put it with confidence to ministers themselves to say, what, in their opinion, would have been the consequence, if, instead of meeting that agitation manfully and resolutely,—instead of asserting the supremacy of the laws and vindicating the public peace, they had degraded themselves into slaves and tools of the agitators, and consented to bring a bill into parliament for the repeal of the legislative union? We ask them, if all Ireland would not have been up, as one man, to cheer them

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\* ‘Would Reform in Parliament be a Benefit to the Country?’

† The passage is Mr. Hallam’s—we quote it from memory.

on in their mad and mean career?—if the table would not have been covered with petitions from every city, and town, and village of the island, praying, applauding, commanding the adoption of the measure?—if the Protestant gentry of the country, deserted by their natural allies, and impelled by fear or despair, would not, in all likelihood, have joined in most instances the petitioners, and if the voices of all thinking men would not have been drowned, for a time, in the mingled clamour of fear and frenzy?—We shall also venture to put another case to them, and suppose that, at the meeting of parliament in November last, instead of taking up the cause of parliamentary reform as a stepping-stone to power, they had, in contempt of all party motives, and in consistence (we believe) with the recorded opinions of nearly a majority of their own number, set themselves in calm opposition to the insensate passions of the multitude, and following the example of the Whig noblemen of 1793, had united with the government of the day in a temperate, patriotic, and dignified stand for the principles of the constitution; we ask them, if there be the least reasonable ground to presume that such a course would not, in a very short time, have conciliated general acquiescence, and restored tranquillity and obedience? All that we wanted then, all that we want now, is *a strong government*,—not strong to compel, but strong to influence and direct the people in the path of their true interests. Let those then, at least, who have so lately had occasion, in the case of Ireland, to prove the efficacy of an authority, consecrated by time and so many powerful associations, have the manliness to repose a little more confidence in the institutions from which that authority springs; and, above all, let them beware how they wantonly forsake those institutions for others, which, in the hour of trial, may haply prove less enduring!—Let them beware how they trust the familiar who now comes at their beck, and grins in malignant derision as he acts their bidding,—lest at an hour when they least expect him, he demand his reward, and, fancying themselves his masters and his patrons, they too soon find themselves his victims! We deeply lament, that a measure like this should ever have been pressed on parliament, or permitted to convulse the nation under the sanction of the ministers of the crown; we should lament it (if for no other reason) from the interest which we feel in the characters of some of them as public men,—characters which, however we may have differed from them on some questions, we have never ceased to regard with respect, and which we would have wished to have been spared the stain of so foul a reproach. The measure, however, having once been laid before the public, and the agitation which it was calculated to produce having now been endured, we deem it most fortunate, that it has  
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not been prematurely crushed, nor its progress thus far baffled by any direct intervention of power. Our sincere desire now is, that it should continue to *agitate* the public, *till it be thoroughly understood*. We wish it only to be dissected, shred by shred, till it be manifest to every peer, to every fundholder, to every merchant, to every artizan, to every peasant of the land, how it is calculated to work for his particular advantage, and for that of the community to which he belongs. Sure of this we are, that there never was a measure proposed, of so momentous a nature, that was less qualified to stand such an ordeal;—and that, if that ordeal be but allowed, it will ere long be decried and condemned much more than it is now lauded. Even since the first pages of this article were sent to the press, the reaction of public opinion has been manifesting itself more and more every day. Let it but have its full scope, and, with God's blessing, we shall chain the hydra, if we cannot slay it.

Allusion has been made by some, in the course of this argument, to the case of the Irish Roman Catholics, as affording an analogy to that of the English Reformers; and the evil consequences alleged to have arisen in the first case from 'the delay of remedial measures until they had no longer the healing virtue of an act of grace and justice,' have been held up as a lesson to direct us into a wiser course in the present instance. The opinions on the subject of the Catholic Relief bill, advocated by this Journal, are well known, and this is no fit occasion for reverting to them. We shall assume, for the present, that the measure had all the merits which have ever been claimed for it by its warmest admirers; and still we contend that, on their own showing, no just parallel exists between the two cases. The Catholics of Ireland are a *caste*, having certain common feelings, interests, and prejudices, distinct from those of their fellow-subjects. Whatever doubts might have been entertained as to the safety or expediency, with reference to the interests of the rest of the empire, of relieving them from the disabilities under which they laboured, it never was a question, but that they (the Catholics) had a reasonable object to contend for,—that they had been taught to consider those disabilities as a stigma,—that they ardently and unanimously desired their removal,—that they had contended for that removal long,—were *conscientiously* supported in their views by a powerful party in the legislature,—and in all probability would not be satisfied until it should be conceded. But how very different is the position of their case of reform? Here the matter concerns the welfare of the whole empire,—not two distinct sections of the empire opposed to each other, and mutually treating (as it were) for their respective interests. And here, so far is it from being no question,  
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whether the reformers have a reasonable object to contend for,—an object beneficial to the interests of the community for which the reform is sought, and which that community unanimously desires, or at least will so desire when they shall better understand it,—so far is all this from being a matter of no question, that therein consists *the whole question*.—There is also this further distinction between the two cases, that the Catholic Relief bill, though it might not preclude the ulterior agitation of certain other questions, was at all events a complete solution of the specific question at that time agitated, and gave to the Catholics exactly what they asked, and all that they then asked. It was a complete measure in itself,—which, it can scarcely be necessary to say, the Reform bill is not. Those who appeal thus to the case of Catholic emancipation for an analogy in favour of the immediate adoption of their reform bill, might draw, perhaps, a more wholesome lesson from that page of history, if they would rather consider a little, how far the present agitation may be indebted for what is formidable in its mechanism and character, to the previous triumph of a regular and concerted system of agitation in Ireland; and what influence the example of another such triumph, so immediately following on the first, might, by possibility, exert on the future destinies of the country, and more especially of that New Constitution\* which will thus be placed in front to stand all the buffets of the tempest.

An attempt has been made to throw a doubt on the reality of that efficacy, which the infusion of aristocratic influence into the House of Commons, by means of peers' nominations, has been thought to exercise over the deliberations of that house, in checking the first progress of measures at variance with the interests and opinions of the peerage or the crown; and so preventing frequent collisions between the respective branches of the legislature. It has been said, that the peers of England have, in fact,

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\* 'The New Constitution' is the title of a pamphlet just published by Mr. Pusey, the member for Chippenham—one of the best, both for reasoning and language, that have appeared during this crisis, and well worthy of being bound up with those two admirable tracts which have secured for Sir John Walsh a high and permanent place in the political literature of his country. The outburst of fresh talent on the conservative side, since these struggles began, has, indeed, been splendid. Besides the two gentlemen we have been alluding to, we may point to the vigorous argument of Mr. Baring Wall,—the two clear, elegant, and pointed addresses of Lord Mahon,—the manly and energetic efforts of Lord Stormont, &c. &c.,—and ask, with some confidence, if we are ever to hear more about the rising intellect of the age being all with the innovators? We may also be pardoned for asking whether, among those of a somewhat more advanced standing, the Whigs have produced any specimen of classical and statesmanlike eloquence to be named in the same day with those speeches, which satisfied all who heard them, that had Mr. William Bankes and Mr. North chosen, they might ere this time have taken rank second to none among the public men of their time?

no lawful privileges requiring any such protection; that they have nothing but their rank and titles, and their character as hereditary legislators; and we are asked, if any one can name the battle in which those borough nominees have been distinguishable in parliament as the champions of aristocracy and royalty? It has further been contended, that the boroughmongers, as they are opprobriously called, constitute, in fact, an *oligarchy* distinct from both the aristocracy and democracy, and greater than both,—that it is an oligarchy, not representing property, but only some fragments of property,—not supporting so much the interests of the crown as those of the ministry of the day.

A very slight examination, we are persuaded, will suffice to lay bare the fallacies which lurk throughout this argument. It may be very true, that the nominees of close boroughs are not generally to be distinguished in debate as the champions of aristocracy and royalty; and for this very obvious reason, that a considerable proportion of those nominees represent, in fact, other interests, while those, who may be considered as the more especial organs of the sentiments of the nobility, are mingled in the house and form one party with a powerful phalanx of the landed gentry, whose interests, in all ordinary cases, are identified with those of the titled aristocracy. The latter may not inherit any extraordinary privileges, like those of the old noblesse of feudal countries, but they have still to assert and uphold the privileges of their political station, and their rights and interests as the principal landed proprietors of the country. The spirit, besides, of all this class of society is naturally and necessarily opposed to measures of hasty and inconsiderate innovation; and it is chiefly as a barrier against the rash adoption of such schemes, before they have been sufficiently canvassed, and have found their proper and permanent places in public opinion, that the aristocratic influence shows itself in the lower house.

The borough nominees form thus one of the main props of the conservative system; and though found sometimes acting on one side of the house, and sometimes on the other, their preponderance is generally thrown into the scale of the government; and they would all be found ready to unite in resistance to any direct attack on the existence or privileges of the House of Peers, or to any violent or intemperate proceeding which might threaten to bring the two houses into direct conflict. It may be considered, indeed, as one of the chief recommendations of the system, that it rather *silently prevents*, than openly or *forcibly restrains*, such occasions of *collision*. No man in the House of Commons, as at present constituted, would even think of proposing a measure, which the peers would be likely to consider an attack on their  
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order, or which would in any respect, indeed, be very offensive to their habitual feelings and opinions. No man, for instance, would think of moving a repeal of the law of primogeniture, or the suppression of the bench of bishops;—because it is obvious, that the very suggestion of any such measures would be scouted on the instant, by the preponderating aristocratic influence within the house, which, however divided on other points, would, on one of that nature, make common cause.\*

We have said, that (in ordinary cases, at least) the weight of the borough influence is thrown into the scale of the government; and by the government we are quite content to be understood as meaning the administration for the time being, rather than the abstract prerogative of the crown. It can rarely indeed happen, however, that the interests of the crown should be at variance with the measures of an administration nominated by itself. And though it may be said, that the borough proprietors, by combining together, have it in their power to force any ministry on the king whom they may think fit, we have not the slightest hesitation, notwithstanding all the assertions on this subject which we daily hear, in expressing our utter and unqualified disbelief in the existence, or (under ordinary circumstances at least) the possibility of any such combinations. The absurdity indeed of the notions on this head, which commonly enough pass current, cannot fail to be apparent, when it is considered, that the number of individuals (peers and commoners together), exercising an influence more or less direct in borough elections, is no less than 158,—very much divided, and in many instances opposed to each other in their views and opinions,—but all of them having a tendency from interest to join with the ministry of the day; that, in this country the interests

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\* We cannot resist this opportunity of quoting the following passage from Mr. Hallam, in support of our opinions on this part of the subject:—

‘It is to the high prerogative of the English crown, its extensive disposal of offices of trust which are the ordinary subjects of contention, its power of putting a stop to parliamentary disputes by a dissolution, and, above all, to the necessity which both the peers and the commons have often felt, of a mutual good understanding for the maintenance of their privileges, that we must in a great measure attribute the general harmony, or at least the absence of open schism, between the two houses of parliament. This is, however, still more owing to the happy gradation of ranks which renders the elder and the younger sons of our nobility two links in the unsevered chain of society—the one trained in the school of popular rights, and accustomed, for a long portion of their lives, to regard the privileges of the house whereof they form a part, full as much as those of their ancestors; the other falling, without hereditary distinction, into the class of other commoners, and mingling the sentiments natural to their birth and family affections, with those that are more congenial to the whole community. It is owing also to the wealth and dignity of those ancient families, who would be styled noble in any other country, and who give an aristocratical character to the popular part of our legislature, and to the influence which the peers themselves, through the representation of small boroughs, are enabled to exercise over the lower house.’—Hallam’s *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 22, 23.

of the crown and aristocracy always have been, and under most conceivable circumstances must continue to be, identified with each other; and that this list of borough proprietors, therefore, consisting of eighty-nine peers and sixty-nine wealthy commoners, (forming together a large and influential portion of the natural aristocracy of the realm),—however prone they may be, from besetting temptations, to become subservient to the crown,—can have no obvious motive, if they had the necessary unanimity, for opposing or setting themselves above it.—The head and front of their offending amounts indeed just to this,—that out of their body is composed generally one of the principal phalanxes which rally round the ministers of the day, and on whose support, under circumstances of difficulty or temporary unpopularity, they can generally place the most reliance,—such members not being liable to lose their seats at the return of a general election, like the representatives of more populous places, and being consequently less under the influence of every passing murmur. This no doubt is all very much at variance with the refined notions of many persons, about the purity of the representative system, and the independence of parliaments. But in this very violation—this seeming violation of principle—lies the redeeming virtue of the whole:—for, if a minister could not reckon with tolerable confidence on being supported by a majority of the house on what Dr. Paley calls all ‘*indifferent*’ questions—that is, questions which admit perhaps of a good deal of argument on both sides, but on which there is at the least an equal chance of the ministers being in the right,—it is obvious, that the machine of government must stand still. Were all opposition to the measures of government, indeed, grounded on principle only, then might principle be relied on also for their defence. But as it is notorious that other motives are continually at work against the administration, it is necessary that the latter, in self-defence, should be armed likewise with other means than the mere reason of their case. And when we find that, in spite of all these counteracting influences, the democratic principle is still gaining daily strength, and that, without such influences, it has hitherto been found impracticable to hold that principle in safe and permanent connexion with an hereditary monarchy, it cannot be that any sane person should desire to exclude them, until he had found at least some other element of stability, equally sure and potent, to perform their office.

The power, indeed, of returning members to parliament is not a necessary incident to wealth; it belongs only to a limited number of individuals. But then it is a power that admits of being transferred from one to another, by the sale of the specific property to which it is attached. And it naturally centres at all times in  
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the richest proprietors of the kingdom ; for they alone have the means of gratifying, at so large an expense, their love of influence and power. The nine peers, who possess among them thirty-two of these boroughs, are lords also of the noblest landed estates in the kingdom. By this intimate and indissoluble connexion with Legislative authority, wealth is thus guarded in its large masses,—in those masses which, at seasons of trouble, stand as prominent marks for envy and rapine ; and the *principle of property* thus derives a security which it could scarcely gain from any other arrangement. The large masses, if they can protect themselves, are sure to protect the smaller ; for in their safety is preserved the *principle*, where it is most open to violation. But it is very doubtful indeed, how long great wealth would be able to maintain itself in the present state of society, if altogether disconnected from power. Among the calumnies daily heaped on the borough system, we have heard it indeed asserted, that many of the boroughs are not held by men of property, but have fallen into the hands of speculators and adventurers, men of no real substance or stake in the country, who have bought them as the means of profitable jobbing or other corrupt traffic. There may have been instances of such speculations ; but after a pretty diligent inquiry, we cannot discover that at this moment any single borough in all England is possessed by a person of this description, or by any other than a man of solid property.

But it has been said, if this practice of nomination is to be permitted at all, it were better that the thing should be done openly ;—that every peer, for example, with an income of 10,000*l.* a year, should have a member to sit in the house to represent him, and every commoner with 20,000*l.* the same ; that the privilege would then be a proper appendage of rank and wealth, instead of being as now a monopoly. Why, certainly, if every thing must be shaped by rule and line to please these system-mongers, it might be wiser to consider what could be done in this way, than to break up at once the whole fabric. On a similar plan we might correct all our anomalies ; the interference of peers at elections might be sanctioned by act of parliament ; and the bribery act might be repealed, so as to legalize the sale of seats ! Stations of trust in the army are permitted to be daily transferred for money ; even civil offices were at one time, to some extent, the subjects of sale in this country ; and in France, under the old regime, the produce of such transactions formed an avowed and considerable branch of the revenue. Why, then, it may be said, should not the privileges of a legislator be the subject of an equally open traffic ? It will be time enough to discuss speculations of this sort, when they shall be embodied into anything like a practicable proposition, and seriously

seriously brought forward for adoption. Meanwhile, we shall merely venture to express a doubt, in passing, as to the likelihood of our position being much bettered by such a change. We doubt if it would place the privilege in better hands for the public advantage, than those in which it rests at present. And we fear that the anomaly, even after it should be made consistent with the law, would still not cease to be considered as an anomaly, nor stand less exposed than at present to the cavils of ignorance and prejudice, and the assaults of faction. There can be no graver error in considering any social institution, with a view either to correction or reconstruction, than to treat man as if he were a being purely intellectual, and capable of being swayed only through his reason.

And this brings us, in conclusion, to that very ingenious and specious (because in most respects, save its application, certainly just) view of the principles of the question, put forward by the Lord Advocate, when he attempted to deduce the expediency of reform from a reference to the necessities of a growing civilization. But let us judge his Lordship by his own words:

‘Liberty,’ he eloquently observes, ‘is the daughter, not the mother of riches. Thus, and thus only, arose the Italian republics, the free towns of Germany, and the germs and seeds of our own liberty; towns and corporations being the first to be emancipated from the oppressions of feudal tyranny. When wealth was accumulated, liberty flowed from the acquisition; for one of the principal inducements to acquire it, namely, security to property, could not exist without it to any great extent. As wealth accumulates, and makes men anxious to have protection from vexatious and illegal interferences with their concerns, so the increase of civilization and the diffused intelligence which wealth has created, requires more vigilance on the part of the legislature, and demands a more minute acquaintance with the wants of the community. The fact is deducible from principles which admit of no question, that *as nations continue crescent and progressive in wealth, they outgrow the dimensions of their political institutions, and it becomes necessary to alter, adapt, and enlarge those institutions, in order to accommodate them to meet the great, additional, and accumulating difficulties which grow out of such complicated interests.*’

Now, we shall not stop to canvass too curiously the historical part of this dissertation; though we are inclined to think we could cite quite as many instances in which riches have proved the grave of liberty, as the Lord Advocate has adduced in evidence of their being her cradle. But we shall at once broadly admit, and accept his whole argument, as a good argument,—a conclusive argument,—not for his case, but for ours. We accept it, in the first place, as an answer quite incontrovertible to all the trash that has been propounded as to the statute ‘*De Tallagio non concedendo*,’ and  
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about restoring our constitution to the state in which it was in the time of the Plantagenets. In the second place, we accept it as the most severe condemnation that has yet been pronounced on the measure of reform now before parliament;—for we defy the Lord Advocate, with all his address and ingenuity,—we defy the whole united wisdom of the Whig conclave to make out for their bill, on this ground, a case plausible enough to impose even on themselves;—we defy them to show, that by that bill the institutions of this country ‘will be *altered, adapted, or enlarged*, so as to *accommodate* them to meet the *great, additional, and accumulating difficulties* which the increase of *wealth* has created.’ Their bill does precisely and diametrically the reverse. Among the happiest incidents of our constitution,—our old constitution—has been its faculty (by eccentric perhaps, but effectual contrivances) of adapting itself to the progressive changes in society. As new modes of industry have been invented, as new forms of property have been generated, they have, through the agency of this very condemned borough-system, found means successively to conciliate the care and protection of the legislature, and to establish for themselves an influence within the walls of parliament, that secures to all cases affecting their interests an intelligent and impartial hearing. There is no variety of occupation, however humble,—no vested right, however subtle,—no enterprise of trade by sea or land,—no colonial concern, however remote, which does not find some individual in the House of Commons qualified to illustrate it by his knowledge, or guard it by his advocacy. And what does this reform bill propose to do? Why, to sweep away all this machinery!—as far as its scope extends, to shut the doors of Parliament against these commercial, funded, and colonial interests, and to bring things absolutely back to the primitive principles of those feudal times—that golden age of the constitution, when the crazy tenements of a little market-town were the only marks of civilization on the face of the land, and the only indications of property on which a scheme of representation could be founded!! Nay, even the new franchises which it proposes to confer on the great manufacturing communities, it takes care to regulate on such principles, that the members whom they are to return, as we shall presently see, shall represent nothing so little as the real wealth and interest of those important places.

We have thus travelled over every single topic of argument which our most careful researches have enabled us to detect amidst the pile of verbiage, declamation, and iteration now before us. And here let us suppose, for a moment, that the intelligent foreigner so repeatedly introduced in the course of the late debates, that this person, who had heard in other lands of the fame of this country,

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of its unparalleled wealth, its unrivalled civilization, and freedom unequalled in the history of the world, and who, desiring to be informed as to the system, on which her legislators and the guardians of her liberties are chosen, is assumed to be so excessively surprised and shocked when he is shown the green mound of Gatton or the old stone wall of Sarum, &c., and told that these places send two members each to parliament,—let us suppose, that this individual were now at our elbow, and having heard that this wise nation was about to adopt a vast change in those institutions, which had produced the results so universally celebrated in other countries,—and, anxious to know the overpowering reasons which had impelled us to so extraordinary a determination, should have an abstract put into his hand of the arguments which we have just been detailing,—that he should be told, that truly the people of England had grown tired of their constitution, because there were two theories of it, and the practice agreed with only one of them, and not the other,—that there was a statute passed some five or six hundred years ago, the effect of which nobody now exactly understands, but which, nevertheless, is thought by certain individuals to contain a constitutional principle, much better than any of those which have been allowed to govern in practice from that time to this,—that a great many new interests have sprung up in this country of late years, from the great increase of wealth, and that truly, although all those interests are just now tolerably well represented and protected, we have reached the epoch when a more enlarged basis for that representation must be established by calling in the 10% householders to choose our representatives,—and, lastly, that nine-tenths of the people are mad for a reform, without knowing exactly what or why, and that ‘come what come may,’ this reform bill, and no other, they must have, without a moment’s delay! We can well suppose the amazement with which he would listen to such a recital. We can imagine him exclaiming—‘*And is this all! Is it possible that these can be the only reasons which you have to allege for overturning those establishments of your fathers, the inheritance of so many centuries of prosperity, under which you have accumulated all this unheard-of wealth, acquired this unrivalled civilization, and outstripped every other nation on the globe in the race of freedom! Truly, then, this must be a doomed people! Quem Deus vult perdere, &c.*’—‘The proverb is somewhat musty,’ but of irresistible application. We can assure his Majesty’s ministers, however, that this stranger is no ideal personage. There are now in this metropolis citizens of other countries, men well known to the world, of mature observation and sagacity, and endowed by nature and practice with a profound insight into human affairs,

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who, from a station removed above the passions and turmoil of faction, have been unceasingly watching their career, and with like sensations of amazement and horror.

Having heard now, however, all that the Whig advocates of this reform measure have to say in its defence, let us, before we take leave finally of this part of the subject, advert for a moment to what they have *omitted to say*.

In the first place, they have not offered even the slightest attempt to establish any case of prospective practical benefit to the country, as the probable or possible result of their measure of reform. They have stated no grievance to be redressed—no great measure of public relief which the reformed parliament is to carry into effect, and which cannot be carried without its aid. From one very young statesman only, there was rather a chivalrous piece of rigmarole about the *century of misrule, misgovernment, and extravagance*, under which this miserable country has been groaning,—all exceedingly disconcerting to one's vulgar notions, in which this latter period has been more usually associated with a course of prosperity and glory unknown to any preceding age. But, with this exception, we certainly could perceive no disposition to underrate the advantages, which we have somehow contrived to enjoy in spite of our rotten boroughs,—and still less, specifically to state any advantages which we are to derive from their abolition. Is it that ministers, then, really anticipate no consequences whatever from that operation,—that their reform is to be a mere change of formalities, without fruits,—and that, in all other respects, things are to go on afterwards as they did before? Are ministers really the dupes of this opinion, or have they not thought on the subject at all? Or are there indeed certain consequences which they do anticipate, but which they do not think it prudent, in the present stage of the business, to disclose? As to the plea of any considerable reduction in the public expenditure, *that* seems, at all events, to be out of the question—that seems to be now fairly thrown overboard by ministers themselves.\* They have prepared, indeed, (at a moment, we trust, of happy omen,) a chastisement and humiliation for their successors, by the magnanimous sacrifice of a per-centage from their own salaries. But this, we believe, has been really their boldest effort towards the redemption of that

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\* Mr. Ward, the member for London, in the course of his speech on the reform bill, introduced a short but important summary of the retrenchments effected by preceding governments, in answer to the imputations of extravagance and profligacy often so wantonly and unjustly cast on them. Since the peace, he stated, taxes have been taken off to the amount of 31,000,000*l.*; and within the last nine years, no less than four thousand places have been struck off from the list of government patronage, fifty-eight of them carrying salaries of from 1000*l.* to 3000*l.*, and the emoluments of the whole amounting to 600,000*l.* per annum.

pledge so prodigally and unthinkingly given in the first transports of their accession to office. And whatever miserable savings they may have effected in other departments, by cutting down the pay of small clerks, or pensioning off supernumeraries, have been far more than counterbalanced by the extraordinary expenses of their military and naval armaments.

The puppet economy has now then, we suppose, done its part, and may go down;—its services, we fear, have latterly been more chargeable than efficacious;—and overworked as it is, halting, broken down, and discarded by all parties, (save only one, who will no doubt cling to it to the last,) we shall probably hear little more of it for some time,—unless, indeed, the radical shall, in the mean while, step in, and lay the axe at once to the tree. Of the spirit in which this puppet is usually put forward, and of which we have just had so delicious a sample, and of the motives and ordinary course of conduct of its patrons,—no new actors certainly on the stage of party politics,—we may form perhaps a pretty fair judgment from the account given of them, now nearly sixty years ago, by Dean Tucker, in one of his tracts, published early in the American war. It is as follows:—

‘The first on the list here in Britain, (for different countries have different sorts of firebrands,) I say the first here in Britain is the mock patriot and furious anti-courtier. He, good man, always begins with schemes of economy, and is a zealous promoter of national frugality. He loudly declaims against even a small annual parliamentary army, both on account of its expense and its danger; and pretends to be struck with a panic at every red coat that he sees. By persevering in these laudable endeavours, and by sowing the seeds of jealousy and distrust among the ignorant and unwary, he prevents such a number of forces by sea and land from being kept up, as are prudently necessary for the common safety of the kingdom. This is one step gained. In the next place, after having thrown out such a tempting bait for foreigners to catch at, on any trifling affront he is all on fire. His breast beats high with love of his country, and his soul breathes vengeance against the foes of Britain. Every popular topic, and every inflammatory harangue, is immediately put into rehearsal; and O, liberty! O, my country! is the continual theme. The fire then spreads. The souls of the noble Britons are enkindled at it, and vengeance and war are immediately resolved upon. Then the ministry are all in a hurry and flutter; new levies are half formed and half disciplined; squadrons at sea are half manned; and the officers mere novices in their business. In short, ignorance, unskilfulness, and confusion are unavoidable for a time; the necessary consequence of which is, some defeat received, some stain or dishonour cast upon the arms of Britain. Then the long wished for opportunity comes at last;—the patriot roars; the populace clamour and address, the cabinet trembles, and the adminis-  
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tration sinks. The ministerial throne being now vacant, he triumphantly ascends it, adopts the measures he had formerly condemned, reaps the benefits of the plans and preparations of his predecessors, and, in the natural course of things, gains some advantages; this restores the credit of the arms of Britain. Now the lion is roused; and now is the time for crushing our enemies, that they may never be able to rise again. This is pretext enough; and thus the nation is plunged into an expense ten times as great, and made to raise forces twenty times as numerous as were complained of before. "However, being now victorious, let us follow the blow, and manfully go on, and let neither expense of blood nor of treasure be at all regarded, for another campaign will undoubtedly bring the enemy to submit to our terms." Well, another campaign is fought—and another—and another, and yet the enemy holds out, nor is the *carte blanche* making any progress in its journey into Britain. A peace at last is made; the terms of it are unpopular; schemes of excessive economy are called for by a new set of patriots, and the same arts are practised to dethrone the reigning minister which he had employed to dethrone his predecessor. Thus the patriotic farce goes round, ending in a real tragedy to the country and to mankind.

When we turn, in the second place, to that most important branch of the question, the argument drawn from the analogies of history, and the unhappy results, more especially, of the many efforts made by different nations in our own times, to establish for themselves a scheme of representative government, we encounter a silence and reserve equally profound on the part of the advocates of this measure of *reconstruction*. They have cited not a single parallel case from history, in proof of its practicability or safety. They have suggested no single reason, why we should precipitate the change with such breathless eagerness, in defiance of all past experience, and in contempt of those new opportunities of instruction which the revolutions springing around us are spontaneously offering from every quarter. But one allusion, we believe, was made in the whole course of the debate on that side of the house, to the example of France,—and that allusion had reference, not to the struggles of parties in the reigns of Louis XVIII. and Charles X.,—not to the wretched working of that scheme of constitutional monarchy which perished in July, 1830,—but to the troubles (God knows! so ominous enough) that are following in the train of the new system,—troubles which are even now daily providing ample materials for reflection to the admirers of revolution,—the Citizen-King among the rest—but which have not yet reached the maturity which would entitle us to pronounce a final judgment as to the practical success or failure of the Palais Royal system itself. The allusion dropped from one of the honourable members for Westminster, the younger and far more consistent

consistent of the pair, who contended, that 'if the experiment in France should not succeed, it is a mistake to suppose that it would be on account of the Legislative Assembly being too much a representation of the people. If the parties there now are nearly going to war, it is *because the Chamber of Deputies is not enough a representation of the people.*' Exactly so—this is just the sort of argument which we expected. And had Mr. Hobhouse only condescended to go a little further, and to inform us *how* such a chamber *ought to be constituted*, in order to be *enough* a representation of the people,—to indicate the *precise point* in the scale of constitutional representation, at which the democratic elements would be found to harmonize with the aristocratic and monarchical, and which once attained, the wars of party would subside, and the success of the experiment would be secured, he would have conferred an infinite benefit on the world; for then, certainly, would have been *solved the whole difficulty*—a difficulty which, whatever may be Mr. Hobhouse's notions or speculations on the subject, he must allow us to say, has as yet received no solution whatever, either from any connected chain of reasoning *à priori*, or even from that, of late, we admit, rather unfashionable thing, called practical example.

The question may or may not be a question merely of *degree*. There may be a certain *degree* of democratic influence which may be capable of being combined in constitutional balance and peaceable co-operation with the efficient authority of an hereditary king and peerage, each acting independently of the other. But surely when we find that, in *whatever degrees or proportions* these respective powers *have been combined in any known instance*, the combination has uniformly failed of success, such results ought to teach us a lesson of caution how we engage rashly in similar experiments. We find nearly all persons who have succeeded in convincing themselves, that a republican form of government is compatible with such a state of society as exists in England, and who therefore openly avow republican principles, concurring with us in opinion, that the idea of a balanced government of king, lords, and commons,—each *estate* invested with the powers allotted to it by the so called British Constitution of De Lolme and other ingenious speculators,—and each acting separately and for itself, is an utter chimera. By far the most ably conducted of the daily journals which advocate this class of doctrines,—(one that has advocated them with every appearance of sincerity for many years past, under every successive administration, and which no human being classes with the base, time-serving things that we have all heard bellowing with equal zeal for Canning, and Wellington, and Grey;

Grey; disgracing governments of all possible shapes and shades by the same, we hope unwelcome, partizanship of malignant mendacity and hypocritical bluster,)—this honest and candid journal, at once the most respectable organ of the existing cabinet, and the open avowed enemy of the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the church of England, in commenting on the article on Reform in our last number, very fairly admits, that ‘if the English constitution corresponded with the theory of that constitution, as laid down by popular English writers, *such a monster could not exist for a month.*’ Those who reason in this way, and desire a reform of parliament only as a step to a republican form of government, are at all events intelligible and consistent. *They* have, at least, a *defined*, if not a very *rational*, object. But we really cannot feel the same indulgence for those who, professing to dread the introduction of republican institutions, are yet eager advocates for the adoption of such a ‘*monster*’ as the editor of the Morning Chronicle here alludes to; and we might almost be induced to question their sincerity, if such a doubt could be reconciled with their character and station in the country. We certainly have heard nothing yet to shake our own conviction, ‘that an *independent* House of Commons,’ concentrating in itself, as now, through its control over the supplies, the supreme power of the state, would be found ‘incompatible with the existence of the monarchy.’ And if a Chamber of Deputies, like that in France, chosen by men of property, possessing each a qualification equal to from 50*l.* to 60*l.* English per annum, found itself, at so early a period after its first creation, placed in a position of direct conflict with the crown, by its disposition to encroach on the powers, or oppose the will of that branch of the legislature;—we really cannot understand how the chances of such a conflict could have been in any way diminished by its constitution being more democratic. We should have supposed, on the contrary, that the more democratic the assembly, the more prone it would be to such encroachment and opposition, and that this appetite would only be fully appeased, when the institutions of the state should have become entirely republican, and there should be nothing more left to contend for. Mr. Hobhouse may very likely say indeed, that in the contentions between the French Chamber and Charles X., the king, and not the chamber was the party to blame:—in like manner, as he has imputed the failure of the attempts to establish constitutional governments in Sicily and Spain to the indisposition in one case of the restored family to popular government, and in the other to the violent intervention of Ferdinand VII., assisted by a French army. But this is not the question. The question is not, which party was in fault,—it is not whether these constitutions

constitutions were destroyed by popular or by regal violence. The question is, whether, in such schemes of government, the popular and the regal authorities be not *ipso facto* placed in such adverse positions with relation to each other, as to render it *morally impossible*, consistently with human nature and the ordinary influences which regulate human actions, *that they should long continue to act together in cordiality and harmony*. Let the catastrophe come from which side it may, sooner or later it must come:—if from successful violence on the part of the monarch, the case will, of course, have the sympathy of the member for Westminster; if from that of the populace, *we* might perhaps be disposed to consider that as the more unhappy issue of the two.

But there is as yet a third estate, beside King and Commons—and it has been suggested, that the reason why the constitution did not work well in France, was because in that country the Chamber of Peers is not a ‘natural aristocracy;’ because the peers there are distinguished from the rest of the community only by their titles; that they have no hereditary root in the soil, no great landed estates, none of the influence which attaches to property; and, therefore, that the case of France can have no legitimate analogy to that of England, where the nobles are also the principal proprietors. Now, we venture to assert that this argument is altogether false in principle. It may be quite impossible, we grant, to construct a Chamber of Peers efficient for any legislative or other purposes, unless you have a natural aristocracy for your basis. But it does not follow that a natural aristocracy, merely by the weight of its proprietary influence, would be able to maintain the exercise of an independent legislative authority in opposition to a popular assembly, unless, through some means or other, it could command an equal share of political power. Wealth united with such authority is irresistible, but, disjoined from such authority, it is more feeble than poverty itself; for it has the disadvantage, as compared with poverty, of being an object of envy, and is exposed, from that circumstance, to assaults from which poverty is exempt. It appears to us very clear, therefore, that if our House of Lords were in a situation to be entirely controlled by the Commons, (as it would certainly be, if it were entirely deprived of the influence which its members exert through their borough nominees,) its hereditary possessions and station in the country would be no barrier at all against the encroachments of the other house, but would rather, on the contrary, hold out invitations to attack,—and that, in no respect, therefore, would it have any advantage, in point of weight or efficacy, over the Chamber of Peers in France.

But it is not the example of France alone that proves the impracticability,

practicability, under any hitherto ascertained circumstances, of a scheme of government constituted on the principles which his Majesty's ministers are ambitious to adopt. We alluded in our last to various other instances, and might have adverted to more, including, indeed, every analogous experiment of the same sort in history.

We might have adverted to the case of the Sicilian constitution, which had nearly two years of feverish existence, from its first establishment to the restoration of Ferdinand III.—an interval signalized by unceasing conspiracies, discontent, and altercations between the new parliament and the court, conducted in a spirit so little conducive to the ends of good government, that the whole system eventually perished, as much, we believe, with the general concurrence and to the general satisfaction of the island, as did the government of the Cortes to the delight of the population of Spain, in spite of the foreign intervention by which *that* was immediately brought about, and to which the national feelings of the Spaniards were so naturally and so strongly repugnant.

We might have instanced another abortive attempt to establish a constitution on the British model, and in immediate allegiance to the British crown, in the island of Corsica, during the short period of the last war in which we occupied that territory. This constitution was one that must have been quite after the hearts of our reforming philosophers; for it invested every male inhabitant of a *pieve*, who was twenty-five years of age, and possessed any portion of land, however small, or by whatever tenure, with the elective franchise,—and the parliaments were to be biennial. The deputies met at Corté on the 10th of June, 1794; and Sir Gilbert Elliot opened the assembly with a speech, in which he told them, that ‘from this day they were *quiet and free*.’ So little, however, did this beautiful system of quietude and freedom prove adapted to the wants, or qualified to command the respect or attachment of the Corsicans, that we doubt if the parliament ever reached a second session. Ere ten months had elapsed, insurrections broke out;—the people refused to pay the taxes, burned the public magazines, seized the person of the viceroy, and soon after, by common consent, expelled from the island the English and their constitution together.

We might have carried back our readers to a troubled period of our own history, that interval between the reign of prerogative and the reign of influence, when, for once at least, England herself had a pretty fair experience of what is to be hoped from an independent House of Commons,—to the period when that house used to menace the peers, that, if they refused to pass the bills sent up to them, they (the Commons) would join with the minority

minority in representing them to the king, — when they impeached a nobleman for some trifling words of offence spoken in the upper house, — and were accustomed to ‘imprison individuals who presented or prepared respectful petitions in behalf of the established constitution, while they encouraged those of a tumultuous multitude at the bar in favour of innovation,’\* — and when a subsequent parliament set aside the ‘authority of the lords altogether, by a resolution, declaring that the House of Peers is useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished!’

We might have turned for admonition to another mine of knowledge on this subject, — the history of our own colonial legislatures in the West Indies and North America. There is scarcely a page of that history which does not serve to illustrate or exemplify the same great political truth. We see in those legislatures the natural and necessary working of a representative system, unfortunately established without the provision of any influences fitted to counteract ‘*that restless arrogating spirit, which, in popular assemblies, when left to itself, will never brook an authority that checks or interferes with its own.*’† We have long had before us in those regions the instructive spectacle of a number of small and subordinate communities, for the most part weak and helpless in themselves, not only incapable of resisting (by any means *hitherto* seriously contemplated) any direct authority which the mother country might be disposed to exert, but dependent on her for their prosperity, their protection from a slave population, and a powerful (hitherto dreaded) neighbour, and almost their very existence. Yet scarcely a year passes, that one or other of them is not involved, by its colonial legislature, in some dispute with the king’s government, — conducted frequently in a spirit of intemperance and pugnacity, and sustained by menace, and even actual resort to such extreme measures, as the British parliament itself has never once entertained on any occasion since the revolution.

So far back as the year 1764, the Assembly of Jamaica stopped the supplies, on a quarrel with the governor about a question of privilege. ~~And~~ we need not call to the recollection of our readers, the violent altercations which from year to year have been agitating that colony since the commencement of the present century, — and which, alas! have not yet ceased, — first, about the payment of the expenses of the garrison, and latterly on the subject of the amelioration of the slaves, — the spirit of uncompromising hostility which the Assembly, by its resolutions, has repeatedly evinced during that period, — its denunciation, in 1804, of a speech from

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\* Hallam’s Constitutional History of England, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Paley’s Moral and Political Philosophy, vol. i., book vi., chap. vii.

the lieutenant-governor, as a breach of the privileges of the house;—or its suspension, in 1826, of the allowances to the British troops.—Even in the petty island of Dominica, it has been found necessary, during the same period, to dissolve the Assembly in consequence of its withholding the supplies. And it is but very recently, that in the course of a protracted struggle between the House of Assembly of Lower Canada and his Majesty's government, the former had recourse to a like course of proceeding. Fortunately, the irritation which such doings might, under other circumstances, have been calculated to produce, has been hitherto mitigated by the moderation of the stronger party, and its consciousness that a system of conciliatory firmness is alone consonant with the dignity of the empire. We are not expressing any opinion *now* as to the intrinsic merits of the measures thus successively opposed by the Colonial legislatures; but we call on every thinking person to look at the form which this colonial opposition has so often assumed, and then to say, what might not have been the probable consequences, if assemblies so constituted, and subject to such impulses and excitements in the exercise even of those subordinate and local functions with which a superior legislature had invested them,—what might not have ensued, if such assemblies had occupied the high and commanding position of a British parliament?

The example of the United States of America is frequently referred to in dissertations on this subject. But, without adverting further to the distinctive circumstances in the situation of that country, which as yet enable it to bear republican institutions that would be quite inapplicable to any European condition of society, we shall merely stop to ask those who would justify, from that example, such a measure as this Reform Bill, if they are aware of the existence of that powerful conservative principle so wisely embodied in the original frame of the American constitution, for the express purpose of guarding against the encroachments to which that constitution must otherwise have been liable, from the innovating spirit of a popular legislature, invested with unlimited power?—if they are aware, that no amendment or alteration of the constitution can even be proposed, without the sanction, in the first instance, either of *two-thirds* of both houses of Congress, or of two-thirds of the state legislatures,—and that, when proposed, its adoption does not rest, in any respect, with Congress, but can only be determined in the affirmative by the concurrent voices of *three-fourths* of the states? \* The result of this precaution

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\* 'The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of  
VOL. XLV. NO. LXXXIX. X two-

caution has been, that changes have been very rare; and it is the undoubted opinion of many of the most sagacious Americans with whom we have happened to converse, that if no such provision had been thought of, but this constitution had been left at the mercy of an omnipotent legislature, like the British Parliament, with so many disturbing popular elements in action, the fabric could not possibly have held together to the present day.

We have to observe, in the last place, that no attempt has been made on the part of ministers to prove, that their measure is to be a *final* measure, and not (as we contend that it is calculated, from its nature, to be) the commencement merely of a series of reforms, each bringing us nearer and nearer to the triumph of radicalism, and the ultimate dissolution of society. Lord Althorp, indeed, very gravely assures honourable gentlemen, that they are quite *mistaken* if they suppose, that ministers 'do not mean to make this measure a *final settlement of the question*.' It so happens, however, that Lord John Russell had just before told the house that, though ministers had thought it 'of importance not to burden this measure with any other,' it would still remain open for any member hereafter to propose any measure which he might think fit for shortening the duration of parliaments; and, though professing himself indeed individually unfriendly to the vote by ballot, he does not intimate that there will be any objection to the future discussion of that question also. It is not, however, what Lord Durham may *mean*, or his mouth-pieces may *think*, that is here in question, but what a *reformed parliament* will *do*;—and it is, at all events, very clear, from the eagerness with which (in the first instance, at least) the radicals grasped at the bill, what *they* expect from it. Not one of them even pretends to care much for the thing on its own account. Mr. Hume opines, that 'it is best not to hazard a first defeat, by *proposing too much at once*,' and that 'it will be better to *put off* the two questions (about the duration of parliaments and ballot) until we have made trial of the present changes.' Mr. O'Connell, in like manner, 'as a radical reformer, heartily accepts the bill;' and says, that, 'whoever *speculates on getting more*, will now be cautious how he *does any thing* which may *endanger* the passing of the measure;—for it either will demonstrate that greater extension of suffrage and vote by ballot would be of no advantage, or *will give the vote by ballot safely, securely, and certainly*.' Mr.

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two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments; which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as parts of this constitution, when ratified by three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided that no state, without its assent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.'—*Constitution of the United States*, Art. 5.

Hunt,

Hunt, with a candour still more striking, tells the house, that ‘all the country is indeed *delighted* that this measure of reform is introduced into parliament, but that they are not *satisfied* with it.’ He thinks, however, that ‘if the noble lord’s bill passes into a law, his own proposition, for excluding placemen from parliament, *will be carried as a matter of course.*’ But all this is nothing to the cutting satire and contempt with which the ministers’ declaration, that *they did*, forsooth, propose making this measure a final settlement of the question, was treated in the opening paragraph of the Examiner of the following Sunday.\* We quote not from a newspaper rendered ludicrous and contemptible in all men’s eyes by the coxcombical impertinences of a Leigh Hunt—a mere babbler about the theatricals, and poetical walks to Primrose Hill. The Examiner is now in far other hands—the cleverest and shrewdest radical print of its class, out of doubt.

‘Ministers’ (this candid junto exclaim) ‘have far exceeded our expectations. The plan of reform, though short of radical reform, tends to the utter destruction of boroughmongery, and will prepare the way for a complete improvement. The ground, limited as it is, which it is proposed to clear and open to the popular influence, will suffice as the spot desired by Archimedes for the plant of the power that must ultimately govern the whole system. Without reform, convulsion is inevitable—upon any reform, further improvement is inevitably consequent—and *the settlement of the government on the democratical basis, certain.* If we supposed that the plan before us could be *permanent*, we should declare it *insufficient*; but we have *no such apprehensions* in an age of onward movement; and we hail it as a first step to a greater good, and as a first step abandoning an abhorred vice. *It does not give the people all they want, but it takes the arms from their enemies.*’—[Do our readers remember what we said in our last Number about purses and pistols?—‘Like *Sinbad*, we have first to dash from our shoulders the *Old Man of the Island*, and afterwards to complete our deliverance. The plan is all good in its operation of breaking up the old system—its faults are in its constructive arrangements—and the great deficiency, the omission of the ballot. We have repeatedly asserted, and again declare our conviction, that no reform is efficient without the ballot; but *it is not more certain that day will succeed night*, than that, in the present state of the people’s political knowledge, *the ballot will follow.*’

In their frenzy of joy, some of these gentlemen of the press seemed indeed to have lost all command for a time over their discretion. And one of the most notorious of their contributors ventured even to chuckle with very sensible complacency over the possibility of certain little *mutations* of property following eventually on the ministerial measure; very justly observing, that,

‘supposing even property should change hands, *there is no loss to the state—the property still exists*, and is made equally applicable to the general purposes of society;’ a most consolatory and encouraging reflection surely to those supporters of reform, who may happen to possess any property, and who are told, ‘*that they may suffer, they may be destroyed, but their estates cannot be destroyed!!!*’ \*

It presently began to be discovered, however, that too much of this sort of honesty might ruin the whole plot; and then the press took quite a new tone. Some of the most determined of the apostles of radicalism absolutely set themselves, with a grave face, to persuade the nobility and landed gentry that this bill was to be their salvation; and we had Joseph Hume writing circulars for distribution in Scotland, urging ‘*that public meetings should be held immediately to petition in favour of the plan, and no objections to be stated to the details, or any demands as to the duration of parliaments or vote by ballot, should be made at the present time, but entire confidence should be expressed.*’

We have always said, that the radicals know what they are about—whether or not his Majesty’s ministers do, they can themselves best tell. The course which they have chosen appears sufficiently plain to one’s perception, but vastly puzzling to one’s judgment. They are exceedingly adverse to vote by ballot, they scout the idea of annual parliaments, and declare everlasting war against projects of universal suffrage. They positively *refuse* all these boons to the demands of the radicals; while at the same time, by this bill—this final settlement of the question—they give to the radicals the *power of helping themselves to every one of them!* They may deny, indeed, that *their bill* will have any such effect—a part of the question to which we shall come presently. They may say, ‘*that the people have no interest in disorder;*’ ‘*that the people of England do not forget what is due to the privileges of their sovereign or of the peerage; that they desire not a reform of that kind, nor is it desired except by a few crazy radicals, whom the very boys point at in derision!*’ It is very true, that the people have no real *interest* in disorder; but that is not much to the point, unless it could be shown, that the people always know and *act* according to their real interest. The immediate question, however, has not so much any proper reference to what the people may accomplish by means of *disorder*, as to that which, with the assistance of a reformed parliament, they may accomplish *by law*; and as to their present loyalty, and their ‘*not forgetting what is due to the privileges of the king and peerage,*’ supposing the fact to

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\* See Radical’s Letters in the Times.

be as it is stated, their present dispositions in such particulars, we humbly submit, can afford no guarantee, that, after passing a given point, they will cease to be acted on by those influences—by that ‘movement’—to which ministers propose giving so tremendous an impulse. The boroughmongers are the first bugbears to be hunted down. Let them be got rid of, and higher game will soon enough be started.

We come now to apply a few observations to the specific scheme of reform, which Ministers have embodied in the bill of Lord John Russell. And after having detained our readers so much longer than we had intended, on the principles of the general question, we shall spare them any preliminary recapitulation of the details of that scheme;—presuming, that few will have accompanied us thus far, who have not previously read some abstract of the bill, or, if there be any such, that they will be able to collect, as they proceed, all the information requisite for a right understanding of our comments.

And first, as to the point of disfranchisement. It is proposed, entirely to disfranchise sixty boroughs having a population of less than two thousand souls,—to deprive of one member forty-seven others, whose population falls short of four thousand,—to reduce the representation of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis from four members to two only; and in all the boroughs whose privilege of returning members is preserved, to withdraw that privilege from the corporations, and vest it in the householders paying 10*l.* per annum rent. The power of the legislature to inflict this, or any other sentence of forfeiture, which, in its wisdom, it may think fit to ordain,—on parties charged with no offence,—without inquiry, and without compensation,—it may be difficult perhaps to question, because there is no higher authority in the constitution to which we can appeal. A *supreme* and *despotic* power,—a power superior to all civil rights, and against which no other power can stand, must, perhaps, by a necessity incident to the common imperfection of human institutions, be vested somewhere in every state. And with us it is vested in king, lords, and commons. The House of Commons may, for aught we know, or shall venture to allege to the contrary, be competent to pass an act, declaring the confiscation of the private estates of half the nobility of the realm, and directing that the same shall be divided among its own members; and if it can obtain, by whatever means, the concurrence of the other two branches of the legislature, it may claim obedience to that act. But the question is not a mere question of power. There are certain rules,—certain constitutional principles,—by which the House has always submitted itself to be governed in the exercise of its power;

power ;—and of those principles there is surely none more sacred than that which forbids any interference with personal rights, except in a case of justice irrefragably established by evidence, or of public expediency altogether paramount and overwhelming. But can any man gravely contend, that such a case of justice or expediency has been proved in the present instance? Admitting even for a moment, that the grand doctrine of the Whig Reformers is maintainable in argument,—that it has become indispensable so to enlarge the scale of the representation as to admit to a direct voice in the legislature those great manufacturing towns which have sprung up in the progress of modern civilization,—does that of itself establish any overwhelming necessity, any necessity above law, above precedent, above justice, for depriving others of what you propose giving to them? Is there no mode by which the claims of these great communities can be satisfied, without destroying the hereditary privileges of some hundreds of thousands of individuals,—privileges handed down to them from their fathers, and as ancient as the foundation of the constitution?

It is said, that the elective franchise in boroughs, though a vested right derived from charter or custom, is yet by no means a right which can be considered as standing on the footing of private property,—that, properly speaking, it is only a trust, created for public purposes, and subject therefore to be modified or even extinguished whenever the public benefit may require. Very true—it is a trust ; but it is also a *beneficial* trust ; it is a trust coupled with an *interest* : an interest, in some instances, acquired by purchase (for corporation privileges are not dispensed to all the world gratuitously), in others by descent,—an interest not limited, temporary, nor contingent, but absolute and for ever ; not only concerning the actual possessor, but, by reversion also, his posterity,—and protected from infringement and obstruction by the shield of the common law. It does seem to us, therefore, quite impossible on the one hand, that, consistently with the principles either of natural or municipal law, you can treat such an interest as anything less than private property ; or, on the other hand, that you can so divest either the trust or the interest from the mutual relation in which they stand respectively, as to consider and deal with the one apart from the other. It is such another trust as the king's prerogative, the proprietary rights of the church, or the hereditary privileges of the peerage ; and it differs only from the trust committed by charter to any great public corporation like the East India Company or the Bank of England, in the latter being for a limited term, while this is perpetual. You cannot, therefore, invade the one, on any pretext of necessity, less urgent than would justify you in invading the  
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the other. A wanton attack on any class of prescriptive rights is an attack on all; for it is an attack on the principle by which they all exist.

When the disfranchisement of the boroughs was denounced in parliament as a project of spoliation, the uniform and only answer was, a reference to the analogous case of the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland,—as if the perpetration of one act of injustice could be a good reason for committing another. No one of all the pro-catholics has ever stood up to defend that act of disfranchisement on its own intrinsic merits. It could only be justified, they all said, and still say, by a compelling necessity, which it was impossible in reason to withstand; and if the concession of the Catholic claims was really called for by a necessity of that description, the same plea will probably be admitted in favour of the measure of disfranchisement, without which, it was all along admitted, the measure of Catholic relief could not have been reconciled with the tranquillity or security of the country. To make good this argument, however, the supporters of the present measure must not only prove the necessity for disfranchisement in the case of the Irish freeholders, but prove that an equal necessity exists in the case of the English boroughs. However effective, therefore, it may be found in debate—however effective as a taunt to those who voted for the disfranchisement of the Irish electors—to designate *that* measure as a happy precedent for robbery—in point of pure reason, the argument from precedent neutralises itself, and can offer no substantial foundation for a sound judgment. The real question still turns on the strength of the necessity. A good precedent can be no just defence of a bad measure; nor a bad precedent of anything at all.

Independently of reason, however, it must be allowed, that precedent has an extraordinary influence on the mind of man, whether it be to preserve or to destroy; and that, when a first inroad on any established usage or principle has once been permitted, we feel much less difficulty in reconciling ourselves to a second. It might become those, therefore, who now press the example of the disfranchisement of the Irish freeholders,—freeholders to whom their franchise was proved to have been no better than a badge of vassalage, and who considered themselves much more than compensated for its abstraction by the boon with which that was accompanied,—it might become those who now press this example as a conclusive vindication of the uncompensated disfranchisement of a long array of English corporations, each inheriting a really beneficial interest in its several franchise,—to weigh well how the interests which they still desire to preserve, may be affected by the precedent of such a spoliation,—and to think for a moment, how  
irresistible

irresistible a weapon that precedent will become, when pointed against any of those interests, by some new agitator in their reformed parliament. If, without offence imputed or proved, even *one single borough* shall be sacrificed, for *the avowed purpose*, and no other, of conferring its privilege on some town of larger population, the *principle* is as effectually *gone*, as by the disfranchisement of all the *sixty*. From that fatal hour you can have no defence to set up—none, but by the inculcation of your own previous act—for any borough which may hereafter be assailed, while there exists another place in the kingdom containing a greater number of inhabitants than that so assaulted borough. The silken bonds of prescription, older than law, and stronger than parchments, when once rent, can never be reunited. And in renouncing this gentle efficacy, you dissolve for ever your surest tenure of property, privilege, honour, liberty—whatever is sacred or estimable in civilized life.

That all these considerations may yet be overborne by a case of necessity, or even of expediency sufficiently powerful, we have not denied. But if the rest of our argument be good for anything, it is good for this, that no such case has been proved, or even indicated, by the ministerial reformers. Let us look now, however, a little nearer at the practical tendencies of their project.

The *cost* of a seat in parliament is one of our securities for the respectability of the parties offering themselves for representatives, which, especially with so near a prospect of the establishment of a more popular system of election, it might not be altogether prudent to dispense with; but the crying evil of our borough system,—the evil about whose reality and pernicious influence all are agreed, however they may differ as to the policy of the system itself, is the *corruption* practised at elections;—and we should certainly have expected, that statesmen who had undertaken an experiment of no ordinary boldness, with the professed purpose of renovating this system, would have directed some portion at least of their attention to perhaps the only real malady that enters into its composition. But, no—we have various regulations proposed for diminishing the *expense* of elections, but not one for restraining the *bribery*. On the contrary, the bill absolutely creates new facilities and temptations for bribery in all the boroughs whose privileges have been preserved. Nay, by thus closing the door, as far as possible, against every other description of *expense*, while to corruption it leaves an unbounded latitude, it has raised a new obstacle to the adoption of any future measures for the effectual correction of the latter evil, inasmuch as the direct bribes paid to the voters will, under this system, be nearly the only items of expense like *y* to fall heavy on the candidate. By cutting off entirely

entirely the non-resident voters, and permitting the poll for the counties to be taken at the same time in different districts, much outlay for the hire of post-horses, and other travelling charges, will no doubt be saved, and the innkeepers will lose their wonted harvest. By restricting the duration of the poll to two days instead of fifteen,—by the establishment of an uniform principle of qualification, and by the proposed plan for the annual investigation and registration of the votes, something further too, perhaps, may be saved in the way of attorneys' fees and the like, at the county-town, or borough,—though possibly that point may be a little more problematical. All this, however, will, no doubt, be very agreeable to the candidate. But then this class of expenses, which ministers have been so sedulous to retrench, happens, unfortunately, to be the honest and innocent portion of the expenses of an election,—just the very portion, which, in a rational reform of the system, it would be most desirable to leave untouched,—unless, indeed, it could be proved to be wise and prudent, as we are inclined to think it is not, that elections should be conducted in future free of all cost whatever to the parties. This honest portion of the ordinary expenses of an election will be retrenched under the ministerial system; but will the whole burthen of those expenses be therefore mitigated to the candidate? We doubt it grievously. We doubt, if a shilling will be saved to him in the item of post-horses, which will not be added to the item of bribes. The entire borough representation of the kingdom (the only branch of the representation to which, generally speaking, it has, hitherto at least, been supposed, that a person not enjoying the hereditary local influence derived from a great landed estate could with safety aspire) is to be reduced by one hundred and twenty-six members; and had ministers consulted the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, on their 'budget of Reform,' he would, no doubt, have told them, that by diminishing the *supply* of any article in the market, while the *demand* continues the same, you are always sure to *raise the price*.

On the other hand again, the least consideration will show us, how admirably ministers have contrived, by their scheme, to provide materials for this new competition of corruption to work upon. In the first place, while they have declared inexorable war against the class of small nomination boroughs—in which, if the seats are occasionally the subject of sale, the pernicious effect of the transaction is comparatively as nothing—they have carefully preserved that class, in which the demoralizing influence in question has full scope to act on a pretty numerous population, and where its exercise has at all times been the most flagrant. Then, in the second place, by taking house-rent as their

their standard of qualification, and fixing it so low as 10*l.*, they confer the suffrage on all persons occupying a dwelling rated to the house-tax; and consequently, as nearly almost as possible, turn every borough into a scot and lot borough. Now, if you at any time chance to hear of a borough whose corruptions have been a scandal to the country,—which has been pre-eminent among its neighbours for profligate and unblushing venality; and if you will take the trouble of turning to any of the ordinary books of reference on such subjects, then to one but you find that that borough is a scot and lot borough. But, in addition to these scot and lot voters, we are for the present, and, until the existing generation expires, to have all the freemen, burgage tenants, and potwallopers who enjoy the franchise under the present system; nay more, where the number of voters in a borough falls short of three hundred, it is to be made up from the adjacent parishes and chapelries. So that,—to say nothing of the portentous absurdity of telling us that this mighty change is imperatively called for, on account of the existence of such voters as out-freemen and potwallopers, and yet framing the new law so as to secure, for one generation at least—the actually suffering generation, the continuance of this horrible evil;—so that,—passing over the consequences, *for our time*, of this at once gross and mean violation of their own principle *in limine*,—without at all improving the quality of the voters, by selecting them from that class of society which might be supposed superior to the acceptance of a bribe, you for all time coming raise the price to the candidate by increasing the number that are to be paid. In the third place, a new form and fruitful occasion of fraud and corruption is to be opened out, in the contrivances which this 10*l.* qualification will be sure to bring into immediate activity. It cannot be doubted, but that in all that class of boroughs, where, from the limited number of voters, the right of suffrage will continue to be a lucrative privilege, an immediate rise of rents will take place on the passing of this act, in regard to all the smaller class of tenements, by the mutual concurrence of landlord and tenant;—that houses, which have heretofore paid 7*l.*, 8*l.*, or 9*l.* yearly, will in future pay 10*l.*;—that the difference between the old and the new rent, however, will not perhaps be very rigorously exacted from the tenant, until near the eve of an expected election, when it will become of importance for every elector to register his vote, and the benevolent interference of the candidates claiming interest in the borough will be required to enable him to do so, by paying his rent, rates, and taxes (as required by another clause of the bill), up to the time of registration!—And lastly, by taking away one member from so many boroughs, the bill puts an effectual bar for the

the future to that system of compromise, by which, in such of them as are not absolutely under the nomination of a single patron, the two political parties which divide most towns in England have generally agreed to return one member from each interest,—and so ensures to each of those communities, at every future dissolution of parliament; the riots, the debaucheries, the aggravated briberies, and all the other admitted evils of a contested election.

We have stated our objection to the clause for excluding the non-resident voters, considered in the light of a measure of economy; and as the only pretext on which this clause is supported, is the diminution of expense to the candidates, if that pretext cannot be upheld, the case of ministers, as to this branch of the measure, comes of course to the ground. The fact, however, is, that these non-resident voters perform a most important and beneficial function in the present machinery of our borough system, and could not be spared without very serious inconvenience and derangement. They are, for the most part, a body of individuals, who, by industry or talent, have been enabled to raise themselves above their original sphere in life, and to make their way in the world by the exercise of some calling or profession at a distance from the place of their birth or apprenticeship. They are not likely, therefore, to be the individuals least qualified of any in the corporation, by acquirements or character, to exercise an independent and sound judgment in the use of their franchises. And it is, indeed, through their identical agency, and the connexions which many of them are, by their local residence, enabled to form with men of fortune and talent, composing the mercantile, monied, legal, and other important classes in the metropolis, that the constituent body in the open boroughs is principally enabled to attract candidates from those classes, and that vitality and efficiency are thus imparted to the general scheme of the legislature, as a representation of all the great interests of the empire.

And this brings us to the most important consideration of the whole in relation to this bill,—the manner and extent in which these great interests are likely to be affected by its enactments. And first, with respect to the landed interest. On this head there has been great delusion. Amidst the innumerable blunders, contradictions, and absurdities which disgrace every page of the bill, there does appear to be this one point at least, on which ministers have exercised no inconsiderable powers of address and contrivance. A first view of the details of the measure is certainly calculated to favour the impression, that, however it may dispose of the other interests of the state, it takes special care of the landed gentry. The addition of fifty-six county members to the representation of England is the imposing feature more especially

especially relied on for this object. In private society—we pledge all our character is worth for the fact—the greatest imaginable pains have been taken by these ‘friends of the people’ (in their own manners and habits unquestionably among the haughtiest of the human species) to propagate the notion, that the measure is essentially a most *aristocratic* measure; and you even hear the notion not unfrequently thrown out, that if there be any point in it objectionable, it is, that it will give *too much power* to the proprietors of the soil. Not a few have fallen into the snare. Nay, we have reason to believe, that no circumstance contributed more than this to the progress which, during the first two or three weeks after its introduction, the bill was observed to make in the favour of the upper classes—even those who, at the outset, had been most full of alarm, both in and out of parliament. By the force of discussion, the mystery (no very deep one after all) has been a little unravelled; and some of these early converts are already, we observe, undeceived. It shall be our part, as far as we may be fortunate enough to engage the public attention, to complete the undeception. The question may very nearly, indeed, be reduced to one of vulgar arithmetic: and in whatever point of view it is considered, it appears to us, that never was there a proposition more demonstrably fallacious, than that which these partisans of the bill have been putting forward with so much zeal and plausibility; not, indeed, exactly and openly in speech or in print, but morning after morning in their club coteries, and evening after evening in those silken saloons, where, if a radical appears at all, he must needs be of that vanity-blinded class which an ingenious foreigner has lately described so exquisitely under the appellation of ‘*Milord Radical*.’

In the first place, of the one hundred and sixty-eight borough members, whom it is proposed by the disfranchising clause of the bill to unseat, there are no less than ONE HUNDRED AND TEN, or very nearly two-thirds, who are either country gentlemen, or near connexions of the aristocracy, and all of whom, therefore, may be considered as belonging to the great body of the landed interest, and contributing, on every important question which concerns that body, to its weight in the legislature. These one hundred and ten members the landed interest must lose, if this bill should pass into a law. And when you add to that number the new representatives to be given to the manufacturing towns,—to the metropolis,—and to other populous places,—amounting in all to FORTY-TWO, in whose election the landholders can, by no likelihood, have the smallest voice,—you have altogether, at the very outset, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-TWO VOTES to be set in the opposite scale against the fifty-six new county members whom the landed

landed interest expect to gain, MAKING A BALANCE AGAINST THEM OF NINETY-SIX. But this is not all. As to the old boroughs which are to continue still to return representatives, it may be, that, when their existing constituencies shall have died out, and the 10*l.* householders shall be the only voters, they may afford a field (supposing them to be permitted to exist so long) for the extension, in some cases, of the aristocratic influence, in a degree that may be sufficient to counterbalance the weight likely to be thrown into the adverse scale, by opening to such popular bodies, as the inhabitants of Bath, the exclusive privileges of a corporation. But, in the meanwhile, the number of voters in all these boroughs must be increased, and the effect of that increase must be favourable, we apprehend, to the democracy. —Nor are the interests of England to be considered alone with reference merely to her own representation. It must not be forgotten, that, according to the new arrangement for Scotland, nine members are to be returned by large and populous communities in that part of the United Kingdom; and that all the other Scotch burghs are to be reconstructed on the same principles which it is proposed to apply to the English system;—nor that the bill for Ireland will give to a Catholic population, acting under a republican influence, the power of returning two-thirds of the thirty-five borough members, (to be further increased by the bill to thirty-nine,) at present elected there by Protestant corporations.

If these considerations should not be sufficient to satisfy the landed gentry, of the state of insignificance and decrepitude to which the ministerial measure threatens to reduce them, we would beg them to advert for a moment to the manner in which the *county* elections are likely to feel its influence. It will be recollected, that the franchise in counties is to be extended to copyholders possessing copyholds to the value of 10*l.* per annum, and to leaseholders paying an annual rent of 50*l.* Now, the new voters which these provisions will bring into action, will not be entirely, nor (in most parts of the country) principally drawn from the agricultural population. The inhabitants, indeed, of any city or borough having the privilege of returning members to parliament, are to be excluded from voting in the county, on a qualification derived from the same property which gives them their vote in the city or borough. But this exclusion does not extend to the inhabitants of other towns and villages not separately represented. And it will be found, we believe, by a comparison of the number of houses occupied by persons in trade, (that is, the small shopkeepers and artisans,) in communities of that description, with the number occupied by persons engaged in agriculture, as respectively detailed in the population returns of 1821, that in most counties of England the preponderance is on the side of the

the town population. It will, moreover, be observed, that by one of the innumerable anomalies of the bill, as it at present stands, the proprietors or holders of land or tenements, of the yearly value specified, in any city or town, *being a county of itself* (e. g. Hull), are to have votes, as it would appear, in the county (York), as well as in the borough (Hull); thus adding a further reinforcement to the body of shire-electors from the towns and villages. Now, the respective proportions of *freeholders* in town and country entitled to vote, (those of the separately represented boroughs excepted,) will not certainly be affected, either in one way or another, by this measure. But if we are not misinformed, a very large preponderance of *copyholders* and *leaseholders*, particularly the former, will be brought into play from the towns and villages, and, by acting together, will have it in their power, at any time, to turn the scale in a contested election. The landholders will, no doubt in time, try to counteract this new influence, by creating a multitude of small leaseholds, and so spreading over the face of the land a degraded rural population, alternately servile and rebellious, like the forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland. But even this melancholy remedy cannot be immediate. An entire change of system will first be necessary;—for in the great proportion of the agricultural counties, particularly those in the centre of England, (Yorkshire and Shropshire for example,) the lands are let, we understand, almost universally to tenants at will, and leasehold tenures are scarcely known.

We recommend these important facts (which, though our time has not yet permitted us to investigate all the details so fully as we had once proposed, we believe in the main to be correctly stated) to the diligent inquiry and reflection of the landed proprietary of the kingdom. And we beg them, at the same time, to bear in mind the very altered circumstances under which all county elections will be conducted, after this bill shall have passed into a law. Hitherto, strangers have been deterred from interfering in county elections, by the system of concert on which the local aristocracy have generally acted, and the enormous expense incurred in bringing voters to the poll. After the addition of two members to Yorkshire, however, the gentlemen of that county could no longer conveniently supply the means of competition for so many seats, and were obliged to give way. First, Mr. Marshall, and afterwards Mr. Brougham, was returned,—neither of them, we believe, possessing a foot of land in the county. And Mr. Brougham, we believe we are correct in saying, was supported and carried triumphantly through his election, almost exclusively by the population of the towns. But now, observe, the expense of county elections is to be reduced to comparatively nothing, by taking the poll in districts,  
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and limiting the duration of the election to two days; can, then, the landed aristocracy of England really flatter themselves, that with the new facilities for interlopers, to which so entire a change of system must give occasion, they will be permitted to retain their influence in those elections undisturbed? Can they imagine, that the ardent spirits which are now invoking earth and heaven to 'push them from their stools,' will be laid for ever by the cabalistic virtue of the six letters, whose potency these Whig magicians in fear and in darkness are essaying? Do they suppose, that ambition and rapacity will relinquish their objects when they are just within their grasp?—or that, after they (the landholders) shall have timidly and simply relinquished their stay in the close boroughs—their sure resource in all times, and through all fluctuations of popular temper or opinion,—their comparatively precarious and casual supremacy in the counties will be left unassailed? Very recent events may teach them, that, however docile may be the general character of our agricultural classes, they are not at all times proof against the contagion of an evil spirit and evil example, and that if they (the gentry) look to uphold their own stations in the country, or any part of our institutions which may survive the shock of the present conflict, the uncertain and giddy humours even of the most confiding and peaceable population may prove to them but an unstable reliance. 'All elections purely popular (says Paley) are, in this respect, uncertain—in times of tranquillity, the natural ascendancy of wealth will prevail; but when the minds of men are inflamed by political dissensions, this influence often yields to more impetuous motives.'\*

To pass from the esoteric doctrine—ministers tell *the public*, that the object of their bill is 'to give weight in the representation to the middle classes of society;' 'that they have taken population as their rule for disfranchisement, but property as the basis of representation.' It is among the inexplicable caprices of their scheme, that they have chosen to adopt two principles, and those frequently at variance with each other, when their object might have been much more simply and intelligibly attained by adhering to one only. But it must be acknowledged, that they have treated both principles with equal impartiality,—for they have followed out neither.

The admission of copyholders to a parity of privilege with freeholders, in the county elections, is, perhaps, among the least objectionable features of the measure. And there might be little difficulty even in conceding the same rights to the leaseholders, were it not for the tempting and dangerous facility which exists, of creating tenures of that description calculated and de-

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\* Moral and Political Philosophy, Book vi. chap. 7.

vised for mere election purposes. Freehold, and copyhold, generally even a leasehold estate, here in England, is a substantial and tangible property,—and may afford, at least, a presumption that its possessor is to some extent an independent person. But an expenditure of 10*l.* a-year in house-rent is neither property in itself, nor an indication that the individual who pays it is a proprietor. In the smaller class of boroughs, the 10*l.* householders are mostly shopkeepers and small tradesmen. In towns of a better description, again, there are few dwellings to be found at a lower rent; and the occupants are, in many instances, paupers, who let out to pauper-lodgers the tenement which they hire.—What beggar in St. Giles's does not spread his straw in a 10*l.* house?—Now, it is certainly very difficult to understand, why the freemen of a corporation, or a community of burghage tenants, should be deprived of their ancient prescriptive privileges, for the purpose of conferring them on men, so very little better qualified to exercise the franchise than themselves. Ministers have thought fit, however, to designate these persons as the *middle classes* of society; and propose not merely giving them a certain 'weight in the administration,' but investing them, it should seem, with the entire government of the country; for it is proved by the population returns, that two-thirds of all the dwellings in England are rated under 30*l.* a year, and that in eighty-five of the boroughs, two-thirds of the same are rated under 20*l.* a year. In all elections, therefore, but more particularly in the great towns, these small shopkeepers, and other householders of the poorer class, will have the prevailing voice;—they will be the real legislators of England;—and it will not be long ere they discover their power. However their dependence and poverty may, in ordinary times, secure their subserviency to the local interests, there is no order of the community more open of access to the demagogue, or more prone to receive his lessons. Many of them belong to certain classes of the dissenters, among whom who is ignorant that the old Roundhead leaven has never ceased to ferment?—Nor, when we find even the freemen of the old corporations panic-struck in some instances, by clamour—consenting, on the demand of the reformers, to surrender into their hands the privileges which they have been taught to consider as their lawful inheritance,—can we expect from these new electors, when their day of trial shall come round, and they shall be assailed in their turn by a new popular tide, rolling in from below,—can we expect from them, it is to be feared, any more determined display of personal firmness or patriotic energy.

The Lord Advocate derides the idea of a qualification of 10*l.* per annum for the borough electors having a tendency to increase

crease the elements of democracy throughout the empire, seeing that one of only 40s. for the county freeholders of England has been proved by the experience of centuries so entirely compatible with the public security; and enlarges on the beneficial influence, which the offer of this new privilege is likely to exercise on the industry and general character of the borough population, by furnishing the proprietor of a house or estate, valued a little below the standard of qualification, with a new incentive for improving or adding to his property, in order to acquire the rights and dignity of an elector. Unfortunately, however, the whole of this ingenious argument proceeds on a mistake on the part of Mr. Jeffrey, as to the nature of the qualification indicated by the bill,—which he supposes to be the possession of a *freehold* estate worth 10*l.* per annum, instead of what it really is,—the occupation merely of a tenement valued at that yearly rent. No two standards of qualification, indeed, could well be wider from each other, either in their essential nature, or their applicability to the purpose in question; and the influence of that selected by ministers, we apprehend, could not fail in the end to be eminently favourable to the advancement of the democratic principle. We are told, that it is based on property:—on what property? On mean dwelling-houses, in many instances tenanted by paupers, and rarely belonging to the individual who thence derives his qualification! Is it the merely local interests connected with those dwelling-houses, and the humble concerns of their inhabitants, which are thought of sufficient importance to require, in each instance, the services of a specific guardian in parliament? Are these interests of sufficient importance to justify the absolute exclusion even of that small portion of representation which our present system affords, through the potwalloping boroughs, to the interests and wishes of the lowest grades of society? The bill professes to confer the elective franchise on Manchester, Birmingham, and other important towns, which have not hitherto been directly represented in parliament. But how are the manufacturing and commercial concerns of those communities to be represented by individuals chosen by the class of small shopkeepers? Let us turn to past experience; and we shall find scarcely an example of any large constituency, framed on very popular principles, which has been in the practice of selecting its representatives from those classes of society, who, by their experience or habits of thinking, may be supposed capable of instructing the legislature on any question connected with any great interest of the state. The usual objects of their choice are popular politicians, skilful orators, demagogues—sometimes men who have acquired distinction by their military or naval services. The mere municipal interests,

indeed, of the city of London may, in general, be very adequately represented by the members chosen by its corporation. But what member even for the city, much less for Westminster or Southwark, is ever looked to as a very high authority on any question affecting the great commercial or monied interests of this metropolis? What, then, is to be the fate of those interests, and, indeed, of all the mercantile and other collateral interests of the kingdom, and of its vast dependent colonial empire, under the reign of a reformed parliament? The question admits of an arithmetical solution, nearly as simple and as conclusive as we have just applied to the case of the landed aristocracy.

Two or three of the county members, and (we believe) about as many members of the upper house, are proprietors of West India estates; but, with these solitary exceptions, we know of no individual in parliament competent to give an opinion on any question regarding either the commercial concerns or the civil administration of our possessions in the West Indies or the East,—no individual connected with the funded interest,—no banker, no merchant, no ship-owner,—who is not the representative of a borough, and very generally of a small borough.

The Judge-Advocate seemed to think he had got a triumphant answer on this point to the argument of the opposition, when he discovered in the parliamentary list the names of four East India directors and three West India proprietors, sitting for places, whose privilege of returning members to parliament would not be touched by the 'well-considered bill.' It would have been extraordinary indeed, had not some of the representatives of these two great interests been saved by the 'happy accident' of a position above the ideal line of demarcation drawn by Lord Durham. But, for the purpose of our argument, it will be quite sufficient to state, that out of *thirty-nine* merchants of all classes now sitting in the house for boroughs, the effect of the bill will be to unseat *fifteen*; out of *ten* members connected with the West Indies, either as proprietors or merchants, to displace *four*; out of *twenty* individuals, who are competent to take a part in questions relating to the affairs of our Asiatic empire, either from long local residence, or commercial connexion, or in the capacity of directors of the East India Company, there will be removed *ten*; out of *thirty-one* city and country bankers, and members of the monied interest, the legislature will lose *fourteen*; out of *three* ship-owners now sitting in the house, *two* will be excluded, and the same proportion of the same number of manufacturers.

If to this summary (which may not perhaps be exact to a figure, but which we have no doubt is, in the main, correct) we add the consideration, that, while the contemplated opening of the corporations

tions will disturb all the existing interests in the reserved boroughs, the disfranchisement of the non-resident voters will deprive them of the channel through which they have heretofore formed their connexions with strangers,—it will be obvious that, when this bill shall pass into a law, its effect on these interests, if not equivalent to total exclusion, must very nearly approach it. And with so plain a case before us, we will confess, that nothing more excites our wonderment, than to see honourable gentlemen on one night eagerly opposing ministers as to the timber duties or slave-amenelioration questions, or about a tax on the transfer of stock or on East India cotton,—and the next night voting for the reform bill, as if these things had no earthly connexion.\*

There are a variety of other important topics in the provisions of this bill, on which, if our space permitted, we might be tempted to enlarge. We have already waived the time-serving cowardice of that clause which preserves to the existing race of borough electors the enjoyment of their franchises during their lives, after having denounced the continuance of that franchise as dangerous to the commonweal, by withdrawing the privilege from their successors.—We might dilate on the objections, which have been so justly urged to the proposed bisection of the counties;—and on that most novel and unconstitutional project for conducting such partitions, and for patching at discretion those boroughs whose voters are less than three hundred, by the addition of districts from the adjoining parishes, (an operation which, it seems, no less than eighty English boroughs will require to undergo before they can exercise their new elective franchise at all,) through the agency of a travelling commission of the Privy Council! We know not, however, that any observations of ours could add force to the ample strictures on these particulars, which are already before the public;—and having already prolonged this article far beyond the limits which we had originally assigned to it, we must now hasten to our conclusion. We have thought, that we should best consult the useful purposes and cha-

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\* We would just recommend to the careful digestion of those confiding gentlemen alluded to in the text, the following passage from the *Times* of the 7th April:—

‘Let the government but persevere in a steady course of economy and of financial improvement, and let them be supported by the intelligence and virtue of a reformed House of Commons; and it may be doubted, whether the great advances already made in our national wealth, industry, and trade, may not in future years be far exceeded by a new development of prosperity. But to achieve these objects, there must not be such miserable trickery practised as was witnessed in the debate on the timber duties. We must not any longer see men opposing their own measures, not to defeat a budget, but to check the progress of reform. Those gentlemen who have condemned the people of England to pay high prices for a bad article,—those partisans of the dry rot, both in our houses and in our constitution—*must be for ever excluded from power*, before a full measure of relief can be afforded to our people, and a due security to the liberties of England.’

But already, we believe, the Colonial Interests are sufficiently recovering from their mistake. They truly may say, ‘*de visceribus agitur.*’

racter of this journal, by confining our consideration mainly to the great principles and views of policy which this momentous question embraces. As for the multitude of monstrous anomalies in the details of the bill; the enormous, and (for a new—we beg pardon—for a re-constructed constitution) the altogether capricious disproportions which it maintains between representation and population in some instances, and in others between representation and that description of property which the framers of the bill have assumed as the fittest basis for representation,—the arbitrary nature and frequently iniquitous effect of the lines of distinction drawn between different classes of boroughs, disfranchising some totally, some partially, and preserving others untouched,—the utter confusion that exists, as to the facts by which the classification of the boroughs has been determined, from the want of a more recent census than that of 1821, from the borough being frequently only a portion of a large parish, and from the population of the parish being sometimes included in the census and sometimes not, and from other similar incidents—these and such like topics may be safely left to the dissection of the eminent lawyers who have been giving their attention to this bill in its progress through parliament: or, if our readers desire any further illustration on this part of the subject, we recommend them to seek it in the excellent publication of Mr. Pusey, already adverted to,—and in another very able and acute pamphlet, entitled ‘Notes on the Reform Bill, by a Barrister.’

There is one feature, however, in the bill for England, which we cannot allow to pass without a distinct notice, before we take final leave of this branch of the subject,—and that is the most extraordinary feature perhaps of the whole,—we allude to the utterly gratuitous and wanton disfranchisement of boroughs returning no less than sixty members to parliament, for no other end than that of reducing the numerical strength of the house. Were there any general principle pervading the bill that required such a sacrifice, it might be another case. Had the unsparing retrenchment of all boroughs, in which patrons exercise a privilege of nomination, been the thing resolved on, there might then have been something like a pretext at least, for so sweeping an invasion of private rights. But even Lord John Russell himself will scarcely, we suppose, affirm, that there are no nomination boroughs above the population line of four thousand inhabitants. What then is his justification? Why, forsooth, that in the first place, ever since the union with Ireland, the time of the house has been taken up by too many talkers, and the dispatch of business sensibly impeded;—and then, in the second place, that in a reformed parliament, seats will no longer be sought after, for the sake of fashion,

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by individuals who neglect all parliamentary duties, sometimes absenting themselves for two or three years together, 'to the inconvenience of those who do attend to their public duties!!' How admirably Lord John brings his two reasons here into juxtaposition, in order that one may confute the other! If his second reason means anything, it is, that the idlers alone, or principally, are the parties whom the proposed reduction of the number of members will exclude. What then becomes of the first branch of his argument?—if all members in a reformed parliament are to be busy and efficient members, how does he get rid of his other evil, the superfluity of talkers? Really one should think, that if there be too many talkers already, the idlers must be at least a very *harmless* class, who might well be left alone, without any grievous detriment to the state. We must, however, after all, do the ministers the justice to admit, that there does exist a reason,—nay, a most potent and unanswerable reason, for the excision of these sixty members,—a reason beyond all comparison more palpable and cogent than any one motive which they have assigned for introducing this bill into the house,—though it is one which their modesty (shall we call it?)—has not permitted them even to whisper. The reason is this, that among the sixty members proposed to be excluded, there will be no less than *forty-one Tories!* By one of those 'happy accidents,' as Mr. Macaulay would call them, which have been so propitious to the Whigs throughout all these arrangements, an extraordinary proportion of those boroughs which have great Whig noblemen for their patrons, hold a place, in point of population, *somewhat* above the line of disfranchisement. Out of five nominations, Lord Fitzwilliam loses only one;—out of the same number, the Duke of Norfolk loses but two;—and the Duke of Devonshire, who also holds five nominations, retains them all! On the other hand, among the one hundred and sixty-eight members to be displaced by the bill, there will be one hundred and sixteen who are either nominated by Tories, or have themselves usually voted with the Tory party,—thus giving a proportion, as we have said, of forty-one to the sixty who are gratuitously expelled! Need we ask a better reason?

One most alarming and mischievous result of this reduction of the number of English members of the House of Commons, while five members are added to the representation of Ireland, and five to that of Scotland, will be the alteration thereby produced in the relative proportions of the number of members allotted to each of the three kingdoms respectively, first, by the act of union with Scotland, and afterwards by the act of union with Ireland. With respect to the case of Scotland, no political consequences

consequences of much importance may perhaps at present suggest themselves, as likely to result from this change; but in regard to Ireland the question is very different. In Ireland, as observed by Sir Henry Hardinge, five-sixths of the *property* are Protestant, while five-sixths of the *population* are Catholic. Two years only have elapsed, since the reluctant concurrence of many able men and sincere friends of the church and state in this country, was conciliated to the measure of Catholic emancipation, by that change in the elective franchise of the Irish peasantry to which we have already adverted, and which was thought by those persons at the time to afford at least some reasonable security against the exercise of any very extensive or improper influence by Catholic demagogues or priests in the election of members of parliament. We have scarcely yet had any practical experience of the fruits of that great change—and such experience, alas! as we have had, is not without painful doubts and forebodings—when now this other innovation is presented to our adoption, which is at once to set at nought that only security for the preservation of the church of Ireland, on the faith of which the first measure was conceded. Twenty-four Protestant borough corporations are now to be dissolved, and their franchises distributed among a population, in which the proportion of Catholic voters will be as two to one, and, in some instances, much more. In Dublin, it is calculated, that the franchise will be extended to no less than 18,000 individuals, of whom 14,000 will be Catholics. Under this arrangement, it can scarcely be doubted, but that two-thirds of the Irish borough members will, in the present temper of that division of the empire, be virtually returned by the member for Waterford, who must be acknowledged thenceforth (what perhaps he is already) the most formidable subject that a king of England ever had,—a subject, armed with powers at his beck to control any ministry, to command a repeal of the Union, or to carry any other measure which his fancy or his ambition may suggest.

One word now as to Scotland—that country which we have the authority of the Lord Advocate himself, speaking from his personal and official knowledge, for saying, was through all the period of our recent troubles, ‘quite loyal—free from disorder—and not discontented’—not discontented till now, that this firebrand of Reform has been dashed among her peaceable and industrious population—not discontented till now—in spite of the unceasing efforts, during the last thirty years, of a most able and skilful press, conducted all along by a compact body of indefatigable Whigs—with no less a person than this learned Lord himself at their head. The country held fast by its attachment to our existing

existing political institutions—until now—and although now, we are bound to admit, a very dangerous feeling has been successfully excited among certain classes, we have too much knowledge of the Scotch people, as a people, too much reliance on their sagacity and probity, not to be satisfied that this dangerous feeling will very speedily disappear from among them. Their sense of probity will prevent their being gulled (as one or two of their members appear to have been) by the offer of increased representation to Scotland, combined with a proposal for seriously diminishing the representation of England. They will scorn to purchase a petty, and really worthless acquisition, by lending countenance to a wholesale scheme of spoliation; and when they proceed to the details of the measure immediately affecting themselves, they are far too shrewd and reflecting a race not to perceive that the ministerial *recipe* would pour poison into the very springs of their social order—and that, though fortunate enough to be announced and extolled by the beautiful rhetoric of Mr. Jeffrey—it cannot possibly have been devised by any person practically acquainted with Scotland. We must defer our dissection of this twin-abortion, until another number—it has already been tolerably cut up by a gentleman of the Middle Temple, whose pamphlets, named at the head of this paper, will in the meantime, we hope, be widely circulated and attentively considered. The Lord Advocate's bill (so called) has all the faults of Lord John Russell's—in an aggravated shape; and it has, moreover, so many peculiar to itself, that whether the English measure should be called *a revolution*, or only a scheme of *revolutionary tendency*, there can be no doubt at all that the former description applies here.

It, in the first place, utterly annihilates every charter by which any Scotch gentleman holds his land of the Crown, taking from him at once, and without any hint at compensation, a privilege, in his eyes important, and recognized as his lawful property by every court of law, and every legal authority of his country, during the whole period of her history. It virtually, supposing it to come into immediate operation, transfers the elective franchise in Scotch counties from the landed gentry—(for the clamour about *paper votes* is mere moonshine; the fact is indisputable, that the Scotch county members are at present chosen by the landed property of the district)—to the holders of 10*l.* houses in the little country towns. It is true, that, with the view, real or pretended, of restoring in some sort the influence of the gentry, it gives votes to such of their tenants as pay 50*l.* of rent, and hold nineteen years' leases; that is, it offers to the gentry a direct temptation to cut down their estates into small farms,  
which

which, in the agricultural districts, would put an end to agricultural improvement, and in the pastoral districts disjoint the whole frame-work of society; displacing, in effect, one of the most useful classes of British subjects—the great store-farmers, who, over many extensive tracts of the northern territory, discharge in reality the duties of a resident gentry. But, even supposing this great evil not to be done, what possible good could accrue to the leasehold voter? They can know absolutely nothing of what men and manners are in that country, who sincerely believe that, these remaining as they are, he could ever oppose his landlord's candidate—unless he had the ballot. Land in Scotland is not considered as a mere investment;—happily for her the soil is, with rare exception, in the possession of those whose fathers have held it from the beginning of the monarchy: they are a very ancient hereditary *noblesse*, almost all resident, and bound to their people by feelings of attachment and kindliness, which are on all occasions appealed to with confidence, and which in reality render the apparent bargain in the lease a very minor part of the practical arrangement contemplated and acted on between the parties.

The details set everything like principle so completely at defiance, that the only wonder is how such a lawyer as Mr. Jeffrey could have read them without laughing. Property, they tell us, is the rule; and what follows? If A. B. C. D. F. and G. take a great farm on the Buccleuch or Sutherland estate at 1200*l.* rent—A. and B. shall vote for the county member, but C. D. F. and G. shall have no vote. But if H. and K. take a small farm at 100*l.* rent, they shall both vote. Again, the lease must be for nineteen years; but it so happens that a very great part of the Scotch soil is held under entails which strictly forbid, under pain of forfeiture, the granting of leases of anything like this duration. It will be said, *minutiae* can be altered in the Committee:—true; but, then, why does the first law-officer of the Scotch crown draw a bill so crammed with ignorance and blunders—and yet call upon us to receive it as part and parcel of ‘a wise and well-considered measure?’ No committee, however, could ever cure the great pervading mischiefs of this bill. Admit its principle, and you are between the horns of an inevitable dilemma—you either disfranchise the gentry or degrade the tenantry. In either case, you strike at the root of that social system under which Scotland has been, for generations, the happiest as well as most improving and prosperous country in all Europe; and for what?—to please whom? Not the upper ranks in Scotland—they, all but a fraction, consider the bill as equally ruinous and unjust: not the clergy—

clergy—they are no longer the ferocious presbyterians of the seventeenth century, an organized band of republican zealots—they have long since laid aside the rancorous prejudices of a struggling sect, and form a body of sober, orderly, loyal ecclesiastics, sharing in all things, except the technical fabric of their peculiar discipline, the views and feelings of their brethren of the established Church of England, with whom, as they well know, they must stand or fall. They see in this bill the certain downfall of the hierarchy here; and, thoroughly convinced that in the fate of that hierarchy the cause of all protestant establishments, of all ecclesiastical discipline and government whatever, is bound up, they are, we are assured, not less distinctly hostile to the measure than the gentry. The farmers never dreamt of political franchises until this bill was thrust on them; and now that it is, they see nothing in it, except the ruin of that system of farming under which they have risen to be the most enlightened and thriving body of tenantry in the world. The only class among whom any strong feeling, favourable to the bill, has been manifested, are the holders of 10*l.* tenements in the obscurer country towns, whom it invites to an immediate participation in the county franchise, and the lower orders of the great towns, whose corporation charters it at once abolishes. That the elective franchise might be gradually opened, perhaps, so as to take in ultimately the *commissioners of supply*, in the Scotch counties, and the corporation charters of such places as Edinburgh and Glasgow modified, and all this with the entire concurrence of the parties at present exclusively privileged, we have often heard maintained by temperate Scotsmen, Tory as well as Whig. But this bill is a mere crude conglomeration of ignorance, presumption, and robbery—such a thing as could have been ushered into the world under no other auspices than those of what the Marquis of Wellesley so well describes,—‘that monster in politics of which, as the very notion implies a contradiction of ideas, the name cannot be expressed without a contradiction of terms—a *revolutionary government*.’\*

Passing from secondary considerations, let us pause now for an instant, to picture by anticipation, what may be the probable character and composition of that reformed parliament, which is to restore to *the people of England* those invaluable rights and liberties enjoyed by them under the reigns of the Plantagenets. It was thrown out in debate by Mr. Hobhouse, that ‘in his opinion the complexion of the House will not

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\* We quote a well known speech of the Earl of Mornington in the House of Commons (1794.) *individually*

*individually be much changed by any reform.'* . . . 'He does not see, why gentlemen who have shown such able advocacy of what he trusts is a sinking, and has long felt to be an untenable cause, should be excluded from a reformed parliament,—why it should not be the wish of a free constituency, to choose them as the advocates of their rights and the expositors of their interests. He trusts they would be so chosen; and that is one of the many reasons that induce him to vote for reform.' Now this is, we confess, a sort of proposition which we do not very well understand. If there really is to be no change of men, and if those men are still to retain the same opinions (and no reason is given why they should change them), and still to act on the same principles, it is not, we must say, very intelligible to us what all this fuss is about. Surely, however, the member for Westminster cannot be serious; surely he is only addressing in irony those honourable gentlemen whose abilities he compliments, while he would pass so palpable a piece of sophistry on their understandings! Than the member for Westminster, no man surely can know better, what modes of thinking and acting are most acceptable to the masses of the population; and if those be not the modes of thinking altogether native to the gentlemen whom he thus eulogizes, what change is reform to work which is to render that agreeable now to those masses which they repudiated before? If he be serious, however, we cannot have the slightest doubt but that he is quite mistaken.

For a beginning, it appears—from the calculation which we have already stated—that one hundred and sixteen Tory members will be retrenched at a blow, by the disfranchisement of the small boroughs in England. But we must also take into account the Tories to be unseated within no distant period, by the growth of the Whig influence in the first place, and eventually by the encroachments of the Radical party, at the county elections;—the immediate expulsion of some by the suppression of the Irish corporations; and, perhaps, of still more, by the reform of both county and borough election system in Scotland. Putting all this together, we cannot think that we go beyond the limits of fair induction, when we assert our settled conviction, that from the passing of the Reform Bill we shall have to date the *final extinction of the Tory or Church-and-King party*,—that is, as a powerful and influential political party in England. A small band of Tories may, no doubt, still find their way into parliament, so long as a wreck of the old elective system shall remain. But they will be without weight or authority—quite incapable of constituting a government; and will be driven probably—after a few impotent struggles—in self-defence, to make common cause with the

the Whigs. Meanwhile, a faction, growing indeed, but as yet contemptible in numbers and reputation,—or if in any way formidable within the walls of the House, formidable only from their activity and from the murmurs of the noisy swarm that sympathize with them from without—may be expected to shoot up almost instantaneously into the dimensions of a great parliamentary party. These are what we now call the ‘Radicals;’ but what new title, better befitting their high destinies under another *régime*, they may hereafter assume, is still among the mysteries of time. These will come from the turbulent denizens of those great manufacturing towns which it is proposed to enfranchise,—from the toymen (good short-sighted souls!) of our fashionable watering-places, who have been fattening on the luxurious expenditure of the noble and the rich,—from wronged and neglected Marylebone—Marylebone ‘childless with all her children,’—unrepresented, with perhaps more members of Parliament resident within her precincts than any other quarter of the same extent in the kingdom, Westminster excepted,—and from the three other new constituencies of this huge metropolis,—above all, from the liberated Catholic boroughs of Ireland. Their elections will be promoted and assisted by political unions and by parliamentary-candidate societies,—of which the first model, we believe, has been some time established at Dublin, and of which several (if we may trust published advertisements) have sprung up since the agitation of this Reform Bill, and now exist, at least in embryo, both in London and Manchester. They will be supported, too, by their powerful allies of the press,—than whom, indeed, none more openly claim for themselves already, or are more likely to enjoy, a large share of these newly-created honours. It is true, the multitude, generally speaking, will sooner choose for their idol a person from the higher ranks of society, if he will only condescend to flatter them, than any one of their own order, or only a little above them. For Westminster, indeed, two members chance to have been found, who are not only gentlemen by birth and station, but persons of honourable feelings, fair talents, and considerable acquirements, yet who do not absolutely disdain to soothe sometimes with dulcet sounds the popular ear. But such miracles are ‘few and far to seek.’ The demand will soon be found to exceed the supply, and the customer will have to content himself with a commodity of lower quality. In the Tower Hamlets, we have been told (with what accuracy, however, we do not pretend to say), that the journey-men will constitute a majority of voices, and if so, they will, no doubt, soon bethink themselves of choosing some orator from among themselves for their *stipendiary delegate*. We find an evidence, too, already of the rising spirit of liberty in Scotland, in  
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an advertisement published in a Dumfries newspaper, by one Adam Rankine, a householder of that town, who enters his *protest* against two gentlemen (General Sharpe and Mr. Hannay) who had presumed to offer themselves, it seems, as candidates to represent Dumfries at the first election,—reminding his townsmen, that ‘we want an independent and liberal-minded man of business, *selected from our own ranks*; but General Sharpe is not that person; and I would consider it to be a most indiscreet exercise of a newly-acquired right, *did we deny one family of the aristocracy our confidence, merely to repose it in another.*’ Similar indications will, no doubt, appear ere long from other quarters.

But, however this may be, one thing appears to us quite clear, namely, that this Radical party will, and of necessity must become, in a reformed parliament, the legitimate Opposition; that, while the Whigs will, for a time at least, enjoy quite a monopoly of all the good things of office, these will take the ground in former times occupied by the Whigs, as the Whigs will have assumed the station formerly held by the Tories; and that thus, so long as their time shall last, the Whigs will remain the sole and undisputed masters of the realm,—masters of both king and subjects,—for there will no longer exist any known party out of which it will be possible for the sovereign, should he be so inclined, to form another administration,—except, indeed, the Radicals, and they, perhaps, might not be just yet likely to find much favour at court. What glorious days, then, will not these be for Whiggery! Well may the Whig almost lose his wits, as he appears to have done already, in the joyous anticipation!—while he exclaims, with Jack Cade, ‘Away—burn all the records of the realm;—my mouth shall be the parliament of England!’ Mark the end, however; and count well,—how long will this golden period last?

‘New Egypts yet, and second bonds remain,  
A harsher Pharaoh, and a heavier chain.’

We are aware, that, in the straightforward and uncompromising line of argument which we have adopted on this subject, and from which we have as yet seen no reason to deviate, we are not exactly following the fashion of the day. We are aware that many public men, who had heretofore been considered hostile to Parliamentary Reform in every shape, have latterly been so far chiming in with the clamour of the times, as, while they oppose manfully the project of Ministers, to profess themselves conscientious advocates for what they call *moderate reform*. Now, we do not doubt, that these persons generally mean well; and their determined resistance to this Durham Bill, supported as that bill is by the press and the whole Radical faction, may be supposed to prove  
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that they are not now at least acting under the influence of panic. At the same time, we cannot say that such half-conversions are things at all to our mind. With every disposition to think favourably of the parties, we will frankly own, that we cannot exactly bring ourselves to believe them quite sincere:—it is at all events quite certain that recent occurrences and discussions have added not a tittle (rather, indeed, the contrary) to the weight of evidence in favour of Reform, which could have had the slightest influence on any reasonable mind not previously disposed to think well of it;—and if their conversion be not sincere, but they make such professions merely as a matter of *policy*, we strongly suspect that, on the score of policy only, and without reference to any moral view of the case, they are not over-wise in their generation.

We are perfectly ready to allow, however, that the situation of a member of the legislature, and more especially of a party-leader, stands, in cases like this, on a footing altogether different from our own. *We* require no co-operation from others; *we* are not bound to consider either the humours, or the alarms, or the imbecilities of others; *we* have but one plain course before us in every such case, which is, to investigate and declare the truth according to our consciences. But they whose sphere of action is not the closet—who must wield other weapons than the pen—may find it quite necessary to follow far different rules; and we frankly admit it to be the clear duty of a legislator, when he cannot accomplish all the good he desires, to accomplish as much as he can. The statesman can hope to effect very little in such circumstances who stands and acts alone; and, therefore, when there is a great public end to be gained, he must frequently sacrifice much of his own opinions in order to conciliate others. It is no breach of consistency for such a man to say, that he is ready to consent to, or even to promote, what is called a moderate plan of Reform,—although, abstractedly speaking, he may not think any such Reform in itself, or on its own account, a desirable thing;—for these may be the only terms, on which he can get sufficient numbers to concur with him in opposing and defeating some other plan, out of sight more extravagant and dangerous. This appears to us to be the line, which Sir Robert Peel has prescribed to himself throughout all these discussions, and, considering his high and most responsible position, we cannot but pronounce it the right and the just line. To be willing to accede to a plan of Reform, however, and to advocate that plan, are two quite distinct things:—and by professing himself to be an advocate for moderate Reform, without having conscientiously satisfied himself that such a measure is desirable on its own account, a man is sure to bring himself into a false position. In the first place, all the most conclusive arguments against Reform

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are good arguments against what is called Moderate Reform, just as much as against Radical Reform : there may be degrees of danger, but there is no difference in principle. If he goes into the argument at all, therefore, he is sure to involve himself in contradictions. Then this gives the opposite party the opportunity of playing off their usual taunts both against his admissions and his contradictions. They are *glad* to hear it *admitted* at length, even by *him*, that *some reform at least is necessary* ; but he has not stated *what specific reform* he would propose ; and his *argument* goes equally against *all reform* ! But the worst of all is, that if the tide should turn, and opinion set strongly the other way, the individual who has in reality no new convictions on the subject, but has merely been yielding a little to the current, may find himself entrapped in the mean while into certain declarations from which it may not afterwards be so easy for him to retreat. Now, all this is very melancholy, and is only a new proof of the absurdity and perplexity (to say nothing of the moral disgrace) in which a man always involves himself, when he tries to make one case for the world and another for his conscience. And it vexes us the more, that such things should be tampered with in the present instance, as we think we see our way so clearly through the whole argument, that we persuade ourselves, when once the reaction has had time fairly to work (and it is now strongly at work), it will go much further than many people suppose : it is a case, therefore, in which any pledges or admissions, as to this or that new light on the subject of reform, ought of all things to be avoided.

Nevertheless, as public men, though on conviction anti-reformers, may, by possibility, be placed in the situation of having to choose between the alternatives of promoting a limited reform, or having an extensive one forced on them,—we hold it to be very fitting, that every such person should make up his mind as to what changes the conservative party, now at length re-united, might, in case of necessity, venture to concede *with the least prospect of danger*. In this view of the matter, we shall just venture to throw out one or two suggestions, to indicate, rather than anything else, those points which men so circumstanced ought to consider as their landmarks, and on which it behoves them, above all, to be firm ;—premising, however, at the same time, what must indeed be the obvious inference from our whole argument, that the less change is attempted, even within those landmarks, the less in our judgment will be the risk of any irreparable mischief.

In the first place, then, we should view it as a fixed and unalterable principle, from which no considerations of temporary expediency or party compromise ought to induce any man to deviate,—that no existing franchise is to be forfeited,—or even in  
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any manner invaded or neutralized, by sharing it among individuals who at present have no pretence to such participation, except for some proved delinquency—or at least at the express prayer of the present possessors. It may, or it may not, be inconvenient, to increase the actual number of members in the House of Commons;—we find almost as many who think that it would do good, as who think that it would do harm. But of this we are quite sure,—that no evil which could possibly result from carrying the number of members even to seven hundred, is of a magnitude entitled even to an instant's consideration, when set in the scale against the consequences of a single precedent of unjust disfranchisement. If once, indeed, such an operation of disfranchisement be commenced, we hold it to be quite a matter of indifference whether it be applied to one borough or to sixty:—the principle is equally gone in either case; and it is clear that any of the denounced boroughs, which might be permitted to survive in the first instance, would be existing thenceforth only on sufferance from day to day.

To what extent any considerable towns not at present returning members to parliament, might, without incurring much hazard, be endowed with the elective franchise, becomes a question of more serious consideration, after the expectations on the subject which Ministers have excited over the country. That the effect on the frame of the legislature, of anything like such an accession of new representatives from populous places, as the bill proposes, and chosen in the manner therein directed, would be altogether revolutionary, we cannot for a moment doubt. Something, however, of the kind, on a more moderate scale, we presume, is now likely to be thought of, in case of the eventual defeat of this bill; but we sincerely trust, that any such change which may be attempted will be as gradual as possible,—that the enfranchisement will be strictly confined to such places as have really some substantial interest to defend in the legislature,—and that the qualification of voters will be so regulated, and on such full evidence and investigation with reference to the special circumstances of each place, as to afford a security, that the interest which it is desired to protect shall really have the benefit of the representation. As to creating a new constituency out of the ephemeral population of an overgrown and pampered watering-place like Brighton or Cheltenham, such an idea, until the appearance of this marvellous bill, never occurred, we believe, to any rational person;—and any addition to our metropolitan representation, on the principles of popular election, we believe to be equally uncalled-for and dangerous.

It will, no doubt, become a matter for grave consideration, how  
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far it may be expedient, for every new member accorded to manufacturing or commercial places, to make a corresponding addition, by way of balance, to the county representation. And, under such a regulation of the franchise, as would be a security against the population of the towns acquiring a preponderance in the county elections, we should be inclined certainly to support such a proposition. To the admission of English copyholders to vote at county elections, we have already said, we see no serious objection,—provided, always, that where the subject of the copyhold is a dwelling, the qualification shall be rated so high, as to afford adequate security against the lower classes in the towns becoming the preponderant electoral body. As for the claims of leaseholders, we regard them, we confess, with much stronger suspicion—we cannot, with Ireland in our view, do otherwise. The regulations for the registration of votes, and for taking the polls for the counties by districts, are entitled certainly to a fair consideration, with a view to the diminution, but by no means to the total reduction, of the expense of county elections. But any disfranchisement of non-resident voters appears to us only less culpable, in degree, than the disfranchisement of the boroughs themselves;—and the same insuperable objections which we maintain against every invasion of the privileges of the English corporations, must be considered, of course, as applying with equal force to all violent encroachments on the prescriptive rights of the hereditary landholders of Scotland, or any substantial interference with the existing system of election either in that country or in Ireland,—beyond the communication of the franchise to one or two, perhaps, of the great commercial towns in the former kingdom, on the same well-considered principles which it may be thought right to apply to similar cases in England. And in no emergency, we trust, however critical—in no extremity, however awful—will those to whom the country, in this eventful period, looks up for her salvation, forget (to use the language of the same excellent tract,\* which we already have had occasion to quote,) that ‘concessions extorted by fear are victories gained, not benefits conferred; and *that* will be an inauspicious day for the constitution and the liberties of England which shall witness an admission, on the part of her parliament, of its inability to quell violence and protect property.’

While these sheets are passing through the press, the rapid march of events brings us to the defeat of ministers on General Gascoyne’s motion; and we are this moment astounded with the intelligence, that they are about to consummate their career of imbecility and madness, by resorting to the awful step of a dis-

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\* Would a Reform in Parliament be a Benefit to the Country?—p. 52.

solution of Parliament.—Be it so ! There is a measure of temerity that generally brings its own punishment. We could have wished that this crisis had been averted, at least, for another month. But the reaction of opinion has already been signal among all ranks of society ; and we cannot but indulge the persuasion, that the intelligence and manhood of the country are already sufficiently roused, to carry us triumphantly through the struggle. It is, however, a struggle for which the union,—the hearty, cordial, determined union of all men, who value the blessings of constitutional freedom, or Protestant religion, or property itself, will be needed,—for which all petty, temporary, selfish regards must be cast aside,—all the past wrongs of party and conflicts of opinion on minor questions must be forgotten. It is a struggle for life or death,—and it is the last.

The words of the Earl of Caernarvon,—himself a Whig, intimately connected with the party in power by community of sentiments on many subjects and long habits of personal friendship, but who, on this great occasion, by his manly and statesman-like opposition, has well proved his title to the respect and confidence of his countrymen,—this high-minded and eloquent nobleman's words, on the night of the 21st of April, have already found an echo in bosoms little accustomed to respond to the vulgar appeals of faction. *We* do not repeat them,—*we* do not say we adopt them ;—for it might not become *us* to apply the language of crimination to Peers of Parliament. But they are words that will survive their objects, and may haply yet prove their epitaphs. *We* scan no man's motives ;—*we* denounce no man's motives. Those are matters which concern only the conscience of the individual ; and it *may* be, that the authors of all this mischief are so bewildered by the intoxications of power, as to have lost all perception of the path of danger which they are treading. But this we will say, that if a set of men had deliberately and systematically applied themselves, had anxiously tried by a long and consistent series of acts, to make good the strongest presumptive case against themselves,—their efforts could scarcely have been more successful than have been those of his Majesty's ministers.

When hereafter it shall be told, that a British cabinet, taking advantage of a popular excitement—the result of recent privations, and of the contagious troubles of neighbouring states,—were the first to light the torch of discord at a *flame* which they themselves '*had fanned,*' and to cast it within the four walls of parliament ;—that, having won the acclaims which cheered them on to office, by flattering the giddy frenzy of the multitude, and '*bought golden opinions from all sorts of men,*' at the price of *three pledges*, two of which they *should* have

have known it would be impossible for them to redeem, while the redemption of the third *must* endanger the foundations of the monarchy,—that having done all this, they soon belied those acclaims, and forfeited those opinions, by the poverty of their performances as compared with their promises, and the general rashness, inconsiderateness, and pitiable imbecility of their measures :—That then, as they were fast sinking under the weight of contempt and derision,—while the angry passions, lately abroad among the people, had begun to subside, and were still subsiding from day to day,—and when, by the acknowledgment of one of their own official organs, ‘ we were *at peace*, and *prospering*—with a *thriving trade*—with the country improving—with *every thing going on safely and securely* throughout society ;’\*—that, untouched by all this smiling prospect of peace and prosperity, they, in an evil hour, resolved on a last effort to retrieve their fallen popularity, by producing, in redemption of their remaining pledge, a Reform Bill, of which the enormities should not only far outdo their own promises, but, exceeding even the wildest dreams of their revolutionary patrons, cast a veil at once over all their preceding offences :—That this bill had been so ingeniously contrived, that, on the one hand, it must place their ancient enemies under their feet, and so secure themselves (as long as they might hold the shattered frame of government together) in the undisputed monopoly of the bounties and authority of the crown ; while, on the other hand, it bound to their cause the awakened enthusiasm of half a million of subjects, whom it bribed with the franchises whereof their neighbours (the rightful owners) were to be deprived ;—That, even to the despoiled parties themselves—to those whom it virtually denounced as unfit to exercise elective franchises any longer—it held out the offer of another bribe, in the prolongation of their existing franchises for the term of their own lives,—and, finding that not enough, proposed then, by a subsequent amendment, to continue the same to their children at the time alive ;—That this bill, thus ushered into the world, little sustained by argument, and too complex and subtle in its bearings to be at once generally understood, they availed themselves of the general ferment which itself revived, to urge through Parliament, by every ministerial art and device,—by the most scandalous invectives through the press on individual character and motives,—by denunciations of ‘ *confiscation and massacre*,’—by the audaciously unconstitutional use of the King’s name, and incessant menaces of dissolution ;—That, on one evening, to conciliate the suffrages of members for the second reading, the noble mover of the bill indirectly suggested to the Commons, that it might be very materially altered in committee, by stating that,

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\* Mirror of Parliament, Part LXXXI, p. 1070. Speech of the Attorney-General.

in case of such alterations being made as would deprive it of its efficacy, 'neither he himself, nor any one who might act with him, would feel themselves precluded from bringing forward, at a future period, those parts of the measure which might be thrown aside, and which they might consider to be essential;'—That, the bill having *thus* passed the second reading, two nights afterwards the prime minister declared in his place in the House of Peers, that 'by *that* measure he would stand or fall; and that he was determined never to give his consent to any alteration in it, which would render it inefficient for the attainment of the object for which it was intended;'—That, finally, when defeated by a resolution of the House of Commons on that clause by which they proposed striking off sixty members from its numbers—a clause whose only assignable object was the more complete extinction of the 'Tory party—they resolved, rather than abandon one jot of their blundering budget of injustice, to rush on this frightful alternative of dissolution, in the face of an excitement both in England and Scotland, as yet but partially allayed, and an imminent rebellion threatening from the side of Ireland:—When all this relation shall go down to posterity,—and it shall be remembered, what England was when she was delivered into their hands, and what their empiricism and presumption at least endeavoured to make her,—let them not deceive themselves by imagining, that any tenderness for their weakness—that any sympathy with those self-complacencies, which even the most reckless votaries of ambition can sometimes lay to their consciences, will preserve their names from that obloquy—those execrations which, in all times, have been the ultimate reward of men, who, in a spirit of folly or of mischief, goaded on by a blind propensity to destroy, without capacity to create, have thought to build out of the ruins of their country a temple to their own vanity. We shall conclude with the words of an able writer, who, in speaking of the British constitution, thus expresses himself:—

'To say that it is a government short of perfection, is only to say that it is human; but its approach towards it is such, that every project to change it fundamentally should be entertained according to that ancient law of Charondas, which decreed, that any political innovator should appear before the public assembly with a rope about his neck, wherewith, if his project, after deliberation, was rejected, he should forthwith be suspended for his temerity.'\*

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\* Bates's Christian Politics, p. 283.



# THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth.* By John Abercrombie, M.D., F.R.S.E., First Physician to his Majesty in Scotland. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1830.

THE study of the human mind has been long regarded by many intelligent and sober-minded persons as a pursuit of doubtful tendency. As a branch of education it is generally undertaken when the mind is unconscious of its strength or of its weakness, and when it applies itself with as much confidence to what is above, as to what is within its grasp. Like the first exercise of our bodily powers, the early efforts of the mind are feeble and irregular, running counter to the most sacred and best established convictions, and doubting of every thing but the competency of its own powers, and the soundness of its own decisions. The doctrines of a Supreme Being, of a future state, of the moral responsibility of man, of the spirituality of the soul, and of the existence of the material world, are all tried at the bar of human judgment; and if they are not wholly discarded as incompatible with the deductions of reason, they are so beset with doubts and difficulties, that they cease to be the incentives or the guides of our moral nature. Without its helm and its ballast, the shallow and frail bark of undisciplined reason, thus adventuring upon the trackless ocean, frequently discovers the error of its reckoning, and the danger of its course, and is glad to seek the shelter of the nearest shore.

As the judgment advances to maturity, and the sad realities of life force the mind into more practical channels of thought, conscience reasserts her dominion, the power of the world to come begins to put forth its holy influence, and the knight-errant of philosophy is transformed into the sober soldier of ordinary life.

Those who have experienced these effects in themselves, or witnessed them in others, will agree with us in thinking, that the philosophy of the mind can be safely studied only as an accompaniment to theology, or as a superstructure on the foundation of mathematical and physical science. The study of theology has a direct and immediate tendency to check the temerity of speculation, and to mortify the presumption of intellectual vanity. Its doctrines become powerful barriers against the excursive extrava-

gances of scepticism ; and the duties which it enjoins, and the aspirations which it cherishes, contribute to give a fixed and practical direction to the current of our speculations. With such a guide the young scholar may, we think, safely enter upon his metaphysical studies ; but his march would be more firm, and his progress more certain, were he to engrave upon his mind those intuitive articles of belief—those first or axiomatic truths which form the basis of all our knowledge,—were he to train himself to the rigorous processes of mathematical reasoning, and exercise his mind in the inductive generalisations of experimental philosophy. The history of science does not afford many examples of natural philosophers who have quitted their own rich fields of research for the bleak plains of metaphysical inquiry ; but the writings of Reid and Dugald Stewart furnish the finest specimens of the influence of physical knowledge on the investigation of mental phenomena, while the want of it is as conspicuous in the speculations of Berkeley, Hartley, and Hume.

When we compare the state of pneumatology in the time of Locke with its more advanced condition in the present day, it would be no easy task to point out any positive discoveries which it has received. While new physical sciences have been created, and every other branch of knowledge has made the most extensive acquisitions, the philosophy of the mind has almost remained stationary. Certain erroneous doctrines have, no doubt, been exploded, some new views have been started, and various ingenious speculations have been put forth ; but when these novelties are contrasted with the wild ravings of scepticism, with the stupid assumptions of materialism, and with the unintelligible subtleties of German metaphysics, which have prevailed during the same period, it is not difficult to strike the balance between the progressive and the retrograde movements of pneumatology. Even in that branch of the science which forms an indirect alliance with physics, it has made no advances, and the whole of this extensive field, where experiment and observation might be so fitly and profitably employed, lies at this moment an uncultivated waste.

As in material bodies, where it is only in the decay or destruction of their parts that we can recognise the nature and relation of their elements, so it is only in the partial suspension, or in the impeded or excited actions of the mental functions that we can study some of their more recondite operations. It is in the phenomena of dreaming, of somnambulism, of spectral illusions, and of insanity, that we must look for new facts and new principles in pneumatology. These, indeed, have been partially studied, and not a few most curious cases put upon record ; but no systematic attempt has been made to investigate these classes of phenomena

as constituting a separate branch of research,—to trace the leading facts through all their phases in different individuals and under the opposite conditions of health and disease, and to deduce general principles from a copious collection of well chosen and well established instances. Such a task, indeed, could not be accomplished by one man, and it is on this account, perhaps, that it has never even been begun. When we examine some of the most remarkable cases of the description we have mentioned, we are perplexed by the meagreness of the details, and the very points on which we desire information seem to have escaped the notice of the narrator. Even in the philosophical narrative of Nicolai there are many desiderata which require to be supplied, while in other similar narratives we meet with obvious interpolations which belong to the imagination of the narrator. The recorded cases of dreams, of false perceptions, and of spectral illusions, must be used with the utmost caution, and their more remarkable indications must be received as facts only when we are able to confirm them by analogous phenomena, and by observations which we have ourselves verified.

We would beg, therefore, to recommend to the young metaphysician some of the preceding branches of physico-pneumatology as a subject of original research;—and as a specimen of the results at which he may expect to arrive, we shall give a brief view of some new deductions to which we have ourselves been led by a long and patient attention to another branch of the subject.

Philosophers have analysed with considerable success the principal phenomena of our intellectual operations, but they have regarded these operations as entirely mental and as unconnected with organic action. In the fundamental processes, for example, of memory and imagination, the mind is supposed to recall past impressions, and to form new combinations without any assistance from the organs of perception; but if these operations are sufficiently investigated, it will be found that this is not the case, and that every act of the memory and the imagination is ultimately performed or completed by the exercise of a physical function. When we recall, for example, the appearance of an absent friend, we are supposed to see him, as Hamlet did his father, ‘in his mind’s eye;’ and the whole process being assumed to be mental, metaphysicians have never thought of inquiring into the nature and character of the impression, of ascertaining the different degrees of vividness with which it is marked, and of determining whether or not it has any direction in space, or any connexion with the position and movements of the organ of vision. Under ordinary circumstances this inquiry is attended with great difficulties, as well from the fleeting nature of the impressions, as from the over-

powering influence of external objects ; but in certain conditions of the mind, and when the eye has been for some time withdrawn from the influence of visible figures, the impressions usually recalled by an act of volition are forced upon it by causes of which we are entirely ignorant, and possess a distinctness of outline which permits us to subject them to the same examination as the permanent impressions made upon the retina by the action of highly luminous bodies. When this examination is carefully made, we shall find that *the images recalled by the memory follow the motions of the head and of the eye*, and are seen according to the very same laws which regulate the vision of those impressions which remain on the retina after the objects which produce them are withdrawn. The very same result will be obtained in the case of forms created by the imagination, so that *the two leading faculties of the mind perform their operations through the medium of the organs of sense*.

When the mind acquires a knowledge of visible objects, it is by means of luminous impressions conveyed to the sensorium from each impressed point of the retina through the corresponding filaments of the optic nerve, and when the memory is subsequently called upon, by an act of the will, to present to us an object that has been previously seen, it does it by retransmission along the same nervous filaments, to the same points of the retina. In the first case, when the presence of the luminous object keeps up a sustained impression upon the nervous membrane, the filaments which transmit it to the brain are powerfully excited, but in the process of retransmission by an effort of memory, the action of the nervous filaments is comparatively feeble, and the resultant impression on the retina faint or transient. When the memory, however, is powerful, and when the nervous filaments are in a state of high excitability, the impression becomes more vivid, and, as in the case of spectral illusions, it has the same strength and distinctness as if it were produced by the direct action of luminous rays. In the one case, the result of the impression and its retransmission to the retina is a voluntary act of the mind, but in the other it is involuntary, the controlling power being modified or removed, or the nerves being thrown into a state of easy excitation by some unhealthy action of the bodily organs.

When we look, for example, at a landscape, and at the same time recall to mind some striking object, such as the cathedral of St. Paul's, we shall find that, during the instant of its visibility, the landscape has either disappeared, or ceased to make an impression. The mind cannot at the same instant recognise the two impressions, or rather, the same nerves cannot at the same instant be transmitting the one impression to the brain, and retransmitting the other to the retina. In general cases, as we have already stated,

stated, the retransmitted impressions are feeble and transient, but, in certain constitutions, and under certain circumstances, they possess all the characters of immediate perception. When Dr. Ferriar was about fourteen years of age, and had been viewing in the course of the day a picturesque landscape, a fine country seat, or a review of troops, the whole scene was brought before him when he went into a dark room in the evening. It remained visible for some minutes, and appeared with all the brilliancy which it had possessed in day-light. Although Dr. Ferriar does not seem to have made any experiments, which he might easily have done, for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not these reproduced scenes were actual images on the retina, subject to the visual laws of that class of impressions, yet it cannot for a moment be doubted that they were delineated upon the retina. They were seen *before* his eyes; they followed the motion of his head—and consequently had both the locality and the character of such delineations.

A very striking case of a different kind, but equally applicable to our present purpose, occurred to Sir Isaac Newton, and is thus described in one of his letters to Locke, recently published by Lord King.

‘The observation you mention in Mr. Boyle’s book on Colours, I once made upon myself, with the hazard of my eyes. The manner was this: I looked a very little while upon the sun in the looking-glass with my *right* eye, and then turned my eyes into a dark corner of my chamber, and winked, to observe the impressions made, and the circles of colours which encompassed it, and how they decayed by degrees, and at last vanished. This I repeated a second and a third time. At the third time, when the phantasm of light and colours about it were almost vanished, intending my fancy upon them to see their last appearance, I found, to my amazement, that they began to return, and, by little and little, to become as lively and vivid as when I had newly looked upon the sun; but when I ceased to intend my fancy upon them, they vanished again. After this, I found that as often as I went into the dark, and intended my mind upon them, as when a man looks earnestly to see anything which is difficult to be seen, I could make the phantasm return without looking any more upon the sun, and the oftener I made it return, the more easily I could make it return again. And at length, by repeating this, without looking any more upon the sun, I made such an impression on my eye, that if I looked upon the clouds, or a book, or any bright object, I saw upon it a round bright spot of light, like the sun, and, which is still stranger, though I looked upon the sun with my *RIGHT EYE* only, and *NOT* with my *LEFT*, yet my fancy began to make an impression on my *LEFT* eye, as well as upon my right; for if I shut my right eye, and looked upon a book or the clouds with my left eye, I could see the spectrum of the sun almost as plain as with my right eye, if I did but intend my fancy a little while upon it; for at first, if I shut my right eye, and looked with my left,

the

the spectrum of the sun did not appear till I intended my fancy upon it; but by repeating this appeared every time more easily. And now, in a few hours time, I had brought my eyes to such a pass, that I could look upon no bright object with either eye but I saw the sun before me, so that I durst neither write nor read, but to recover the use of my eyes, shut myself up in my chamber, made dark, for three days together, and used all means to divert my imagination from the sun; for, if I thought upon him, I presently saw his picture, though I was in the dark. But by keeping in the dark, and employing my mind about other things, I began in three or four days to have some use of my eyes again; and, by forbearing to look upon bright objects, recovered them pretty well, though not so well but that for some months after, the spectrum of the sun began to return as often as I began to meditate upon the phenomena, even though I lay in bed at midnight, with my curtains drawn. But now I have been very well for many years, though I am apt to think, that if I durst venture my eyes, I could still make the phantasm return by the power of my fancy. This story I tell you to let you understand, that in the observation related by Mr. Boyle, the man's fancy probably concurred with the impression made by the sun's light, to produce that phantasm of the sun which he constantly saw on bright objects. And so your question about the cause of this phantasm involves another about the power of fancy, which, I must confess, is too hard a knot for me to untie. To place the effect in a constant motion is hard, because the sun ought then to appear perpetually. It seems rather to consist in a disposition of the sensorium to move the imagination strongly, and to be easily moved, both by the imagination and by the light, as often as bright objects are looked upon.

These statements are so important, and, at the same time, so strange, that they would doubtless have been received with some incredulity had they come from any other person than Sir Isaac Newton; but when we consider his habits of cautious observation, his want of imagination, and the circumstance of his frequently repeating the experiments, and always with the same result, we cannot scruple to admit their entire accuracy. His own explanation of the results is, to say the least of it, very unintelligible; but the pneumatological principle which we have been expounding affords a satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena, and receives from them in return a support equivalent almost to demonstration. When the direct action of the sun's rays had impressed a circular portion of the retina of Sir Isaac's right eye, the corresponding filaments of the optic nerve were so highly excited, that they continued to transmit the impression to the brain for a considerable time after the sun's light was withdrawn. When this effect of the direct action of light had subsided, Sir Isaac found that the action was revived, or the image of the sun reproduced upon the same spot, by 'intending his fancy' upon it,

or

or by trying to recollect it, by an effort of memory. Now, according to our position, the memory performed its part by *retransmitting* along the same nervous filaments, and to the same spot of the retina, where they terminated, the same impression which the same nerves had previously *transmitted* to the brain. This act of retransmission would, in the usual state of the retina, have produced only a feeble and transient image of the sun, sufficient for the purposes of memory, but in the highly excitable state of the nervous filaments, the retransmitted impression had all the brightness of an original perception; and by a frequent repetition of the process of retransmission, the excitability or sensibility of the nerves increased in the manner described by Newton. These effects were produced in the dark; but in this highly excited state of the visual nerves, another remarkable effect took place—the image of the sun was reproduced by the direct action of the light of bright objects. This light agitated the sensible portion of the retina, so as to throw it into a state of excitation far beyond what it would have received in its ordinary state, and consequently it transmitted to the brain a stronger luminous impression than the rest of the retina. In answer to these views, it may be said that the revival of the sun's image, though accompanying the act of the mind, may not be the effect of that act, and may arise from a periodicity in the excitation of the circular spot on the retina, and some of the periods coinciding accidentally with the mental efforts of the observer. It might be a sufficient reply to this supposition, that Sir Isaac Newton found the reproduction of the image to be an invariable accompaniment of the act of the mind; but if there is any difficulty in the case, we are completely relieved from it by another experiment, in which he found that *the sun's image appeared in his left eye*, on which the light of that luminary had never fallen. Sir Isaac does not inform us whether this image was seen in the axis of the left eye, as the image in his right eye necessarily was, in consequence of its having been formed by looking directly at the sun in the glass mirror; but we may conclude that it was so, because if it was not, he must have seen at the same time *two suns*, one with each eye, a fact which would have surprised him; and which he could not fail to have recorded. It follows, therefore, that the image of the sun seen in the left eye was impressed on a part of the retina corresponding to that of the image on the right eye. Here, then, we have the remarkable fact divested of all ambiguity, that an act of the mind had impressed upon the retina of the left eye an image of the sun, having the same intensity nearly, and the same locality as that which was formed on the right eye by the direct action of light. An explanation of this strange effect, and one by

no means unsatisfactory, may be derived from the doctrine of the decussation of the optic nerves. Anatomists have observed, that in the human brain, the optic nerves, after passing to a short distance from their origin in the *thalami nervorum opticorum*, unite and are apparently incorporated, and that from the point of union two nerves proceed, one crossing over from the right thalamus to supply the left eye; and another from the left thalamus to supply the right eye. According to Dr. Wollaston, decussation takes place only between the adjacent halves of the two nerves. That portion of nerve which proceeds from the right thalamus to the right side of the right eye, passes to its destination without interference; and in a similar manner the left thalamus will supply the left side of the left eye with one part of its fibres, while the remaining halves of both nerves, in passing over to the eyes of the opposite sides, must intersect each other, either with or without intermixture of their fibres.\* Now, since the nervous filaments which go to the corresponding points of both eyes, unite before they enter the brain, we may easily conceive how a powerful excitation of one of the filaments may produce such an effect upon the common portion of the two filaments, that this effect may be partially or even wholly transferred along the other filament to its expansion in the retina; just as when two musical strings have a common branch, the one string will vibrate in virtue of the vibrations of the other, communicated through the part common to both. But whether this mode of explaining the fact is correct or not, the fact itself is undoubted, and cannot fail to be regarded as a direct proof of the position, that the mind can retransmit impressions to the retina, that give the appearance of visible objects which have no real existence.†

In bodily disorders, particularly in fevers, the creations of the imagination as well as the objects of memory are often reproduced in the eye by retransmitted impressions, which have all the

\* Phil. Trans. 1824, p. 226.

† It is a curious circumstance, that the author of the Article 'Accidental Colours,' in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. i., p. 92, made the very same discovery as that made by Sir Isaac Newton, and published it in that work in 1810, when Newton's experiment was lying among Mr. Locke's papers. The author of that article had been making the very same experiments with an image of the sun that Sir Isaac had made, and after detailing them he proceeds thus:—

'After uncovering my right eye, a remarkable phenomenon appeared, but as I am afraid that there was some illusion attending it, I shall insert the account which I drew up at the time. . . . I was surprised to find, upon uncovering my right eye, and turning it to a white ground, that it also gave a coloured spectrum exactly the reverse of the first spectrum, which was pink surrounded with green. This result was so extraordinary, that I repeated the experiment twice, in order to be secure against deception, and always with the same result. . . . On repeating the experiment a third time, the spectrum appeared in both eyes, which seems to prove, that the impression of the solar image was conveyed by the optic nerve from the left to the right eye.'

brilliancy of original perceptions ; and the following cases, given by Dr. Abercrombie, may be adduced in proof of this.

‘ A lady whom I attended some years ago in a slight feverish disorder saw distinctly a party of ladies and gentlemen sitting round her bedchamber, and a servant handing something to them on a tray. The scene continued, in a greater or less degree, for several days, and was varied by spectacles of castles and churches, as if they had been built of finely cut crystal. The whole was in this case entirely a visual phantasm, for there was no hallucination of mind. On the contrary, the patient had, from the first, a full impression that it was a morbid affection of vision connected with the fever, and amused herself and her attendants by watching and describing the changes in the scenery.

‘ A gentleman, who was also a patient of mine, of an irritable habit, and liable to a variety of uneasy sensations in his head, was sitting alone in his dining-room in the twilight, the door of the room being a little open. He saw distinctly a female figure enter, wrapped in a mantle, and the face concealed by a large black bonnet. She seemed to advance a few steps towards him and then stop. He had a full conviction that the figure was an illusion of vision, and amused himself for some time by watching it ; at the same time observing, that he could see through the figure so as to perceive the lock of the door and other objects behind it. At length, when he moved his body a little forward, it disappeared.’

The phenomena of dreaming may also be adduced in support of our position. In this state of mind we perceive visible objects with the utmost distinctness of delineation and in all their variety of colours. We hear sounds of every description, we even taste and smell, and exercise the sense of touch ; and these impressions are so strong, that they become objects of memory, and can be recalled by that power in the same manner as the most vivid impressions made from without upon the organs of sense. In the case of visible objects, we cannot ascertain whether or not in profound sleep they appear *before* the eyes of the dreamer, and partake in the movements of the eye-ball and of the head ; but in the state between sleeping and waking, when the images are perfectly vivid, we have found that they are seen like all impressions from external objects. We have, therefore, no hesitation in deducing it as a general law, that in all our organs of sense the mind possesses the power of retransmitting through the nervous filaments to the expansion of the nerves which are acted upon by external objects, impressions which these nerves have previously transmitted to the brain, and that the vividness of the retransmissions is proportional to the frequency with which the impressions have been previously transmitted. These reproduced impressions are in general feeble in the healthy state of the body, though perfectly adapted to the purposes

purposes for which they are required ; but in other states of the body, they appear with such brilliancy, as to create even a belief in the external existence of those objects from which the impressions were originally derived.

From these observations the reader will, we doubt not, agree with us in thinking, that the future progress of pneumatology is likely to depend on its cultivation by the natural philosopher and the medical practitioner ; and hence we are of opinion, that the study of the intellectual powers by medical men ought not only to be encouraged, but should be made an indispensable branch of their education.

The very eminent physician, from whose interesting volume we have been too long detained, has been led by similar views to enter upon this inquiry, and to compose a general summary of the intellectual powers for the benefit of the younger part of the medical profession.

‘ There are several points of view,’ says he, ‘ in which the subject is peculiarly adapted to the medical observer. Mental manifestations are greatly modified by the condition of those bodily organs by which the mind holds intercourse with external things, especially the brain. It becomes, therefore, a matter of the greatest interest, to ascertain the manner in which the manifestations of mind are affected by diseases of these organs, as well as to observe their condition in that remarkable class of affections commonly called diseases of the mind. Besides, in the affections which are referable to both these classes, we often meet with manifestations of the most interesting kind, and such as are calculated to illustrate, in a very striking manner, important points in the philosophy of the mental powers. It is thus in the power of the observing physician to contribute valuable facts to the science of mind ; and it is almost unnecessary to add, that the study may be turned to purposes of immediate importance to his own inquiries. He does not need to be reminded how much the mind acts upon the body—that mental emotions often prove sources of disease, or causes by which his remedies are modified or counteracted—and that, on the other hand, a remedy may often be introduced by the mind, capable of composing tumults of the corporeal functions, which cannot be tranquillised by physical aid.

‘ From the deep interest which the philosophy of mind thus presents to the medical inquirer, I have been induced to attempt a slight outline of this important subject. In doing so, I do not profess to offer any thing new or original. My object is to present to the younger part of the profession some leading facts, which may serve to direct their further inquiries on a subject of great and general interest.’—pp. 2, 3.

In accomplishing this task, Dr. Abercrombie introduces the subject by some preliminary observations on the general objects of science, and divides his work into five parts. In the *first* part he

he treats of the nature and extent of our knowledge of mind ; and he shows, with much success, that the doctrine of materialism is opposed to the first principles of philosophical inquiry. In part *second*, he treats of the origin of our knowledge of facts, relating both to matter and mind ; of sensation and perception ; of consciousness and reflection ; and of testimony. In part *third*, he gives a brief view of the intellectual operations—memory, abstraction, imagination, and reason ; and he treats of various interesting topics respecting the use of reason in investigating truth, and in correcting the impressions of the mind in regard to external things. In part *fourth* he applies the rules of philosophical investigation to medical science ; treating of the acquisition and reception of facts ; of arranging, combining, and separating them ; of tracing the relation of cause and effect ; and of deducing general principles ; and he concludes this part with some excellent rules to be observed by those who would contribute to the improvement of medical science. In the *fifth* and last part, he gives a general view of the qualities and acquirements which constitute a well-regulated mind.

In the execution of this plan, Dr. Abercrombie brings to his subject a mind thoroughly versed in its details, and habituated to this species of abstract inquiry. His descriptions of the mental phenomena are clear and precise, and his reasonings perspicuous and sound. He never seeks to surprise us by the ingenuity, or to startle us by the novelty, of his doctrines ; but he directs all his force against the most prominent difficulties of his subject, and never quits his position till the reader is entrenched in its strong holds. The style of the work merits equal praise. It is simple and unambitious, without being devoid of ornament or power ; and on those occasions especially when the author touches on the great questions of faith and hope, it rises into an eloquence which never fails to reach the heart. The manner, indeed, in which he points out the practical application of his subject to the interesting topics of education, morality, and religion, gives a charm to this volume, which we look for in vain in similar works. The doctrines of the Christian faith are never unnecessarily obtruded upon the reader's attention, but are always referred to as truths which challenge the most rigid scrutiny, and are secure of the best reception when they are examined by minds the best regulated and possessed of the highest powers.

On these grounds, we consider Dr. Abercrombie's volume as not only eminently fitted for the purpose for which it was written—for the instruction of the younger branches of the medical profession, but as equally useful to the young men of all professions, and as a work which may be perused with advantage even by those who have

have discovered the last and the most precious application of all our knowledge.

It would be an unprofitable labour to enter into an examination of the manner in which Dr. Abercrombie has analysed the ordinary operations of the mind. The subject admits of little novelty, and, therefore, cannot possess any peculiar interest for the general reader. We shall, therefore, proceed to that part of the work in which the author's knowledge as a medical philosopher and his extensive practice as a physician is more distinctly marked.

In treating of the use of reason in correcting the impressions of the mind in regard to external things—an almost untrodden field of inquiry—Dr. Abercrombie discusses the curious subjects of *dreaming*, *insanity*, *somnambulism*, and *spectral illusions*, and illustrates his views by various interesting and authentic facts. He regards *insanity* and *dreaming* as having a remarkable affinity considered as mental phenomena, the erroneous impressions in the former being permanent and affecting the conduct, while, in the latter, the impression is transient, and has no permanent influence on the conduct: in the former, the bodily senses are alive to external impressions, and the motions of the body are under the influence of the will; while, in the latter, the bodily senses are, in a great measure, closed against external impressions, and the influence of the will upon bodily motions is in general suspended. He regards *somnambulism* as an affection intermediate between *insanity* and *dreaming*. It differs from the former in the circumstance, that the *somnambulist* can be roused from his vision, and from the latter, in the senses being, to a certain degree, awake to external things. The phenomenon of *spectral illusions* partakes in the character of all these affections of the body.

In discussing the subject of dreams, Dr. Abercrombie confines himself principally to an investigation of the manner in which the particular visions arise, and in this respect he arranges dreams into four classes. 1. When recent events and recent mental emotions are mixed up with each other, and with old events by some feeling common to both. Although this kind of dream is extremely common, we may quote a curious example of it given by Dr. Abercrombie.

‘A woman who was a patient in the clinical ward of the Infirmary of Edinburgh, under the care of Dr. Duncan, talked a great deal in her sleep, and made numerous and very distinct allusions to the cases of other sick persons. These allusions did not apply to any patients who were in the ward at that time; but after some observation, they were found to refer correctly to the cases of individuals who were there when this woman was a patient in the ward two years before.’

2. The second class of dreams relate to trains of images brought up

up by association with bodily sensations. As examples of this numerous class, Dr. Abercrombie mentions the case of Dr. Gregory, who, in consequence of having a vessel of hot water at his feet, dreamt of walking up the crater of Mount *Ætna*, and feeling the ground warm beneath him; and on another occasion, when the bed-clothes were thrown off him, he dreamt of being at Hudson's Bay, and of enduring much distress from the cold. At another time, when suffering from tooth-ache, he dreamt of undergoing the operation of tooth-drawing, with the additional circumstance that the dentist drew a sound tooth and left the aching one in its place. Dr. Reid also dreamt of being scalped by savages in consequence of the uneasiness which he experienced from the dressing of a blister upon his head having been ruffled during sleep.

Dreams are frequently produced by loud sounds; and Dr. Abercrombie quotes a case from a manuscript of Dr. Gregory, where the same sound produced simultaneously in a man and his wife a dream of the same general character, viz. that the French had landed near Edinburgh, an event which at the time was a subject of general anxiety. The most remarkable example, however, of this kind of dreaming is given by the same great physician in the manuscript referred to, and on the authority of an eye-witness.

'The subject of it,' says Dr. Abercrombie, 'was an officer in the expedition to Louisburg, in 1758, who had this peculiarity in so remarkable a degree, that his companions in the transport were in the constant habit of amusing themselves at his expense. They could produce in him any kind of dream by whispering into his ear, especially if this was done by a friend with whose voice he was familiar. At one time they conducted him through the whole progress of a quarrel, which ended in a duel; and when the parties were supposed to be met, a pistol was put into his hand, which he fired, and was awakened by the report. On another occasion they found him asleep on the top of a locker or bunker, in the cabin, when they made him believe he had fallen overboard, and exhorted him to save himself by swimming. He immediately imitated all the motions of swimming. They then told him that a shark was pursuing him, and entreated him to dive for his life. He instantly did so with such force as to throw himself entirely from the locker upon the cabin floor, by which he was much bruised, and awakened of course. After the landing of the army at Louisburg, his friends found him one day asleep in his tent, and evidently much annoyed by the cannonading. They then made him believe that he was engaged, when he expressed great fear, and showed an evident disposition to run away. Against this they remonstrated, but at the same time increased his fears by imitating the groans of the wounded and the dying; and when he asked, as he often did, who was down, they named his particular friends. At last they told him that the man next himself

himself in the line had fallen, when he instantly sprung from his bed, rushed out of the tent, and was roused from his danger and his dream together by falling over the tent ropes. A remarkable thing in this case was, that after these experiments he had no distinct recollection of his dreams, but only a confused feeling of oppression or fatigue ; and used to tell his friends that he was sure they had been playing some trick upon him.'

3. The third class of dreams relates to the revival of forgotten associations. The following case, given by Dr. Abercrombie, occurred to a particular friend of his own, and he assures us that it may be relied on in the most minute particulars.

'The gentleman was at the time connected with one of the principal banks in Glasgow, and was at his place at the tellers' table where money is paid, when a person entered, demanding payment of a sum of six pounds. There were several people waiting, who were, in turn, entitled to be attended to before him, but he was extremely impatient, and rather noisy ; and being besides a remarkable stammerer, he became so annoying, that another gentleman requested my friend to pay him his money and get rid of him. He did so accordingly, but with an expression of impatience at being obliged to attend to him before his turn, and thought no more of the transaction. At the end of the year, which was eight or nine months after, the books of the bank could not be made to balance, the deficiency being exactly six pounds. Several days and nights had been spent in endeavouring to discover the error, but without success, when at last my friend returned home, much fatigued, and went to bed. He dreamt of being at his place in the bank, and the whole transaction of the stammerer, as now detailed, passed before him in all its particulars. He awoke under the full impression that the dream was to lead him to the discovery of what he was so anxiously in search of ; and, on examination, he soon discovered that he had neglected to enter the sum which he had paid to this person in the manner now mentioned, and which exactly accounted for the error in the balance.'

Dr. Abercrombie considers this case as one of the most remarkable mental phenomena connected with dreaming, and he confesses himself incapable of conceiving upon what principle the neglect of entering the money was recalled, as there was no consciousness at the time of any such fact, the importance of the case resting not upon his having paid the money, but upon his having neglected to insert the payment. To our apprehension, the difficulty does not appear to be so great ; the teller did not recall in his dream the fact of his having omitted to insert the payment ; he only recalled the whole transaction with the stammerer, and he awoke with an impression merely that the dream would lead to the discovery of the error. During his waking exertions to detect the cause of his mistake, he may perhaps never have recollected the

the transaction with the stammerer, and therefore we can, on this hypothesis, easily understand how the dream, by recalling that transaction, induced him to examine the books relative to an individual payment which he had forgotten. But even if the transaction with the stammerer had been fully in his mind during the day, along with others which he remembered equally well, the dream was sufficient to fix his mind more upon that transaction than upon any other, and thus to lead him to a particular examination of it. If we suppose the teller to have had the smallest degree of superstitious feeling on the subject of dreams, it is easy to conceive how he had, when awake, the full impression that the dream was to lead to the discovery of his error.

4. The fourth class of dreams contains those in which a strong propensity of character, or a strong mental emotion, is embodied in a dream, and by some natural coincidence is fulfilled. The following cases are given by Dr. Abercrombie as examples of this variety:—

‘A clergyman had come to Edinburgh from a short distance in the country, and was sleeping at an inn, when he dreamt of seeing a fire, and one of his children in the midst of it. He awoke with the impression, and instantly left town on his return home. When he arrived within sight of his home, he found it on fire, and got there in time to assist in saving one of his children, who, in the alarm and confusion, had been left in a situation of danger.

‘A gentleman in Edinburgh was affected with aneurism of the popliteal artery, for which he was under the care of two eminent surgeons, and the day was fixed for the operation. About two days before the time appointed for it, the wife of the patient dreamt that a change had taken place in the disease, in consequence of which the operation would not be required. On examining the tumour in the morning, the gentleman was astonished to find that the pulsation had entirely ceased; and, in short, this turned out to be a spontaneous cure. To persons not professional, it may be right to mention, that the cure of popliteal aneurism without an operation is a very uncommon occurrence, not happening, perhaps, in one out of numerous instances, and never to be looked upon as probable in any individual case.’

The following still more remarkable dream is given by Dr. Abercrombie as entirely authentic:—

‘A lady dreamt that an aged female relative had been murdered by a black servant, and the dream occurred more than once. She was then so impressed by it, that she went to the house of the lady to whom it related, and prevailed upon a gentleman to watch in an adjoining room during the following night. About three o’clock in the morning, the gentleman, hearing footsteps on the stair, left his place of concealment, and met the servant carrying up a quantity of coals. Being

Being questioned as to where he was going, he replied, in a confused and hurried manner, that he was going to mend his mistress's fire,—which, at three o'clock in the morning, in the middle of summer, was evidently impossible ; and, on further investigation, a strong knife was found concealed beneath the coals.'

Dr. Abercrombie has assigned some ingenious and plausible reasons why the clergyman might dream of his house being on fire, and why the lady dreamt that the operation might be dispensed with ; but even if we admit the force of these reasons, we must consider the coincidence of the dreams with the events as still inexplicable. In the second case, the dream produced no obvious good effect, but in the first and third cases a life was saved, and it is not easy to convince ourselves that the coincidences were in these instances purely accidental.

The object and limits of Dr. Abercrombie's work have not permitted him to enter upon the investigation of the question respecting the origin of dreams, certainly one of the most important in the philosophy of the mind. We need scarcely wonder at the crude speculations which have been hazarded on this subject, when we consider that the study of it has seldom been conjoined with that of human physiology, and that it has never been submitted to the grasp of inductive research.

Among the numerous theories of dreaming there are two which more or less include all others. The first of these supposes that dreams originate wholly in direct impressions on some of the senses during sleep, while the second ascribes them to the supremacy of the mind, which being, to a certain extent, unfettered by objects of sense, takes a wider range, and occupies itself with its own operations.

The first of these opinions has been maintained by Formey, Wolfius, Hobbes, and Haller, and has received the general support of metaphysicians. If it is correct, dreams can be produced only by an external action on some of the senses, or by an internal action on the nerves occasioned by indigestion, fulness of blood, or some diseased condition of the system ; and therefore they cannot take place when the body is in perfect health and sleeps undisturbed by external causes. We are disposed to think that there are facts which contradict this hypothesis ; but whether this be the case or not, the question is capable of being submitted to a rigorous examination. If we find, for example, that persons dream who enjoy the soundest sleep, and who are believed by themselves and others to be in perfect health, we must consider the theory of external excitation as at variance with facts ; but if it is found, on the other hand, that such persons are never sensible of dreaming, it would not decidedly follow that they do not dream,  
because

because dreams take place without the knowledge of the dreamer, and there are many cases when the dream is not remembered till long after it has happened. When the dream is not of a terrific nature, and does not rouse us from sleep, it is seldom if ever recalled but by association. If we see or think of any object connected with the dream, it is instantly recalled like other mental impressions; and if such an object should not present itself till after the lapse of years, the train of association which includes the dream is not recalled as a dream, but in the more vague character of some past event, about which we feel that the mind has been previously occupied. This, in short, is the class of thoughts which has given rise to the poetical notion of the pre-existent state of the soul:—

‘Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;  
The soul that rises with us, our life’s star,  
Hath had elsewhere its setting,  
And cometh from afar.’

The second theory, or that of mental excitation, as it may be called, has, under different modifications, been maintained by Sir Henry Wotton, Bonnet, and Cabanis. That the mind never sleeps is admitted by all; and from the fact that many dreams are never remembered, it is equally clear that the operations carried on by the mind during the sleep of the body may never become known to us. These operations may, however, show themselves when the sleep is modified or interrupted by disease or external causes, and their intellectual character may be destroyed by the mixture of impressions made from without. When Dr. Gregory, in his dreams, composed thoughts and clothed them in words, which were ‘so just in point of reasoning, and so good in point of language, that he used them in his lectures and in his written lucubrations,’—when Henry Mackenzie composed a parody on the witty epigram of Piron, and satirised a learned society and certain individuals in Edinburgh,—when Condorcet had presented to him in his dreams the final steps of a difficult calculation which had puzzled him during the day,—when Franklin discovered in his sleep the bearings and issue of political events which had baffled his sagacity when awake,—and when Coleridge composed that exquisitely melodious piece of versification, which he calls ‘a psychological curiosity’,—it is not easy to admit that operations so purely intellectual had their origin in abdominal or external uneasiness.

That the mental operations have not always this character during sleep arises from the connexion of the mind with the body, and from the necessity of all its functions being performed through the organs of sense. The mind cannot retransmit along the nerves of these organs any impressions but those which have been previously transmitted through the same nerves to the brain; and when it is

exercising its highest powers during sleep, its combinations and its reasonings may be interrupted or destroyed, or rendered ridiculous, by their admixture with other impressions produced by corporeal excitement.

These views receive some sanction from the curious physiological doctrines respecting sleep, which have recently come into repute. Dr. Cullen was the first person who rendered it probable that the different senses and organs sleep successively and with unequal intensity; and M. Cabanis has gone so far as to fix the order in which different parts of the body go to sleep. According to him the muscles of the legs and arms lose their power before those which support the head, and these last sooner than the muscles which sustain the back; and he illustrates this by the cases of persons who sleep on horseback, or while they are standing or walking. He conceives that the sense of sight first sleeps, then the sense of taste, next the sense of smell, next that of hearing, and lastly that of touch. He maintains, also, that the viscera fall asleep one after another, and sleep with different degrees of soundness.

If these results are physiologically correct, it is not difficult to understand how the mind is so seldom unfettered in its nocturnal lucubrations; for, while any one of the senses, or any part of these organs is awake, or imperfectly asleep, so as to retain any of their power, the impressions which they are capable of conveying to the brain must be mingled with the operations of the mind so as to produce those strange inconsistencies which characterize the great proportion of our dreams. It is impossible to touch upon this interesting subject without expressing a regret that some able and active mind is not busily employed in its investigation. A rich harvest of discovery can hardly fail to reward the first individual who shall devote to it the vigour of his faculties.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into the same analysis of somnambulism, insanity, and spectral illusions. We must, therefore, refer the reader to Dr. Abercrombie's work, where he will find much curious, and at the same time much useful and practical information on those singular states of the mind. The subject of spectral illusions is one of such high interest, that we may be induced to devote a separate article to its illustration.

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ART. II.—*Orain le Rob Donn, &c.—Songs and Poems in the Gaelic Language*, by Robert Mackay, the celebrated bard of Lord Reay's country; *with a Memoir of the Author.* 8vo. Inverness. 1829.

WE are tempted to give two or three pages to this production of the Highland press, because, although we make no pretension to skill in the dialect used by Robert Mackay, we consider

sider the English essay prefixed to his poems as interesting in itself, and the production of an author well entitled, on many accounts, to be heard of beyond the limits of his province. It is written by the Rev. Dr. Mackay, minister of Laggan, in Inverness-shire, who is described to us as still a very young man, although he has already done more for the language of the Scottish Gael than any other individual of the present, or of the last age, and whose meritorious exertions ought assuredly to have been noticed ere now in the critical journals\* of his native kingdom. This gentleman has recently had the principal share in preparing a complete dictionary of that dialect of the Celtic which has been spoken time out of mind in the north of Britain: thus performing a service to philology, which, had another generation been allowed to pass away, it is highly probable no man could ever have supplied; and, having finished this Herculean labour, he appears to be proceeding to collect and edit real authentic productions of the Highland muse, with such diligence and fidelity, that sober-minded persons, willing to appreciate the efforts of genins, under whatever circumstances developed, and in whatever phraseology conveyed, but long repelled from this particular region of inquiry, by the ravings of indiscriminate credulity on the one hand, and the sneers of sceptical fanaticism on the other, may, we are inclined to think, at length promise themselves something like a resting place. It will say little for the learned doctor's countrymen at large if his efforts are suspended, or turned aside, through the want of adequate support; and we even presume to hint that posterity will complain, if they do not take the first suitable opportunity of transplanting a gentleman whose attainments are so singular, and his objects so curious and important, into some situation less remote from great libraries and the intercourse of the learned, than his present cure among the most desolate wildernesses of Lochaber. He has already, as the dictionary shows, made some progress in more than one of the cognate\* dialects of the Celtic race; and we are persuaded that if he were fitly encouraged at the present early period of his life, we might fairly look to him, in due season, for a scholar-like analysis, and comparative anatomy, of that family in all its branches—Welsh, Cornish, Armorican,\* as well as Irish and Gaelic—thus filling up a hitherto almost hopeless chasm in the general map of the ancient philology of Europe—solving, in all likelihood, various vexed questions concerning the structure and composition of the

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\* We understand there is no doubt of the fact that the Celtic dialect of Brittany bears a far closer resemblance to the Irish and Gaelic than to the Welsh tongue as now spoken. This is one of the many dark matters which remain to be cleared up by some general Celtic scholar—a character to which, it seems to be allowed, no man has hitherto been entitled.

Latin itself—and, it is scarcely to be doubted, furnishing invaluable assistance to the person, whoever that may be, who shall hereafter attempt in fact, what has as yet been but a name, an *etymological* dictionary of the English language.

When we reflect what benefits have already been derived from the institution of an Anglo-Saxon professorship at Oxford, it is impossible not to regret that neither in that nor in the sister university has the foundation of a Welsh chair been thought of. The want of a professorship of the Irish language and antiquities in the only university of Ireland is, no doubt, a circumstance still more discreditable; but, considering the enthusiastic interest which the Scotch have ever taken in the old monuments of their national existence, and the abundance of their academical apparatus for almost all purposes, even that does not surprise us so much as the absence of any Gaelic endowment among their four universities. Surely the numberless Highland and Celtic clubs, of whose proceedings for the improvement of black cattle, and the encouragement of the philabeg, the newspapers are continually reminding us, might do well to set apart a tithe, at least, of their annual funds for an object of such unquestionable importance. There has, we are informed, been of late some grave discussion about the propriety of erecting a Craniological chair in one of these northern seminaries. That invaluable branch of doctrine, however, might, we humbly think, be held, at least for some time to come, *in commendam* with political economy. At all events its claims ought not to interfere just yet with those of the language, literature, and fast vanishing manners of the Scottish Gael.

But we must not allow dictionaries and professorships to carry us out of sight of 'the celebrated bard of Lord Reay's country,' who perhaps never heard either of a dictionary or a professorship, and of whose existence probably not one out of a thousand among our readers ever heard till now, or ever would have heard at all, but for the accident which introduced a stray copy of this the *editio princeps* of his 'Orain' to our desk.

This 'celebrated bard,' whose proper name has yielded to the more familiar and distinctive sound of 'Rob Donn,' *i. e.* brown Robert, was born, in the year 1714, at Durness, in the heart of that extensive district in the extreme north of Scotland, which, having been inhabited from a period beyond the reach of history by the clan Mackay, has always been designated, in common parlance, as 'the country of the Lord Reay,' the chief of that clan, and which may probably continue to be so designated for ages to come, although the whole of it has now passed into the hands of the princely house of Stafford and Sutherland.

Napoleon Buonaparte was often heard to say, that in every instance,  
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in which he had been able to trace the history of a distinguished man, he had found him greatly indebted, for whatever made him remarkable, to his mother; and Mr. Moore, after quoting the emperor's dictum, appears to intimate his own suspicion, that, in poetical biography, Lord Byron affords almost a solitary exception to this rule. Rob Donn's mother—the reader may perhaps smile, but no matter—Rob's mother was celebrated in her native district for vigour of understanding, readiness of wit, a memory inexhaustible in stores of Gaelic minstrelsy, skill in recitation, and an exquisite ear for music—while nothing whatever is recorded concerning the father, except that he was an honest herdsman, who early appreciated and took pride in the talents of his son. We have here almost a double of Burns's parentage; and by turning over Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, any one may readily help himself to a score of parallel passages.

Rob Donn was born and reared in a region almost as remote in manners as in language from that with whose peculiarities the genius of Burns has made southern readers familiar. Although his talents excited much attention even in early childhood, he never received a particle of what is (too exclusively) called education—he never knew his alphabet; but the habits of oral recitation were in vigour all about him, and ere he marked himself man, he had laid in a prodigious stock of such lore as had, from time immemorial, constituted the intellectual wealth of his countrymen. His knowledge of Highland traditions, legends, and ballads of all sorts, was quite extraordinary; and—Sunday in that quarter really 'coming aboon the pass,'—he mastered in time a more intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, though accessible to him only through extempore translations (in those days no Gaelic Bible had been printed), than perhaps falls to the share of many persons who may smile at our simplicity in taking any notice of such a 'barbarian.' The reverend editor quotes in his preface a letter written so lately as 1828, by a lady of the clan, well acquainted with the deceased bard's family and connections, in which this passage occurs:—

'I have of late frequently heard *strangers* express their surprise at the marked intelligence evinced in the works of a man devoid of every degree of early cultivation. To this it may be answered, that the state of society was very different then, from what it is now, progressively retrograding, as it has been, for the last thirty years at least, in this country. In the bard's time, the lords, lairds, and gentlemen of this country, not only interested themselves in the welfare and happiness of their clan and dependants, but they were always solicitous that their manners and intelligence should keep pace with their personal appearance. I perfectly remember that my grandfather would every post-day evening go into the kitchen where his servants and small tenants

tenants were assembled, and read the newspapers aloud to them, and it is incredible *now*, the propriety and acuteness with which they made remarks, and drew conclusions from the politics of the day. In a certain degree this was practised all over the country; the superiors regularly condescending to explain to their dependants whatever was going forward. The fact was, the *Chief* knew his affinity to the different branches of his clan, and it was deemed no inconsiderable part of duty in the higher-classes of the community to elevate the minds, as well as assist in increasing the means, of their humbler relatives and clansmen. I am aware that many unacquainted with the dear *ties* of such a system, argue largely that the distinctions of rank appointed by God could not be maintained amidst such indiscriminate intercourse. Still the habits of *that day* never produced a contrary effect. The chiefs here, for many generations, had been "men fearing God and hating covetousness." Iniquity was ashamed, and obliged to hide its face. A dishonourable action excluded the guilty person from the invaluable privilege enjoyed by his equals, in the kind notice and approbation of their superiors. Grievances of any kind were minutely inquired into and redressed; and the humble orders of the community had a degree of external polish, and a manly mildness of deportment in domestic life, that few of the present generation have attained to, much as has been said of modern improvements.'—pp. lix.

In such a state of society, a young person gifted like Rob Donn, and in his personal conduct and demeanour irreproachable, was sure to attract, in no ordinary degree, the notice of his natural superiors; and the circumstances of his external life and worldly fortunes, as recorded in these pages, are such as may be considered without shame or regret by their surviving descendants. At the age of seven he was taken into the service, 'or more properly,' says the editor, 'into the *family*' of a gentleman of the clan, who carried on business to some extent as a grazier and cattle-dealer, 'the latter a business then followed in the North Highlands by few, and those few persons of superior intelligence and attainments.' Rob, in his early days, tended calves on the hill-side; when he had advanced sufficiently in years and strength it became part of his business to assist in guiding droves of cattle to the markets of the south of Scotland, and the north of England. His witty sayings meantime, his satires, his elegies, and, above all, his love songs, had begun to make him famous not only in his native glen, but wherever the herdsmen of a thousand hills could carry an anecdote, or a stanza, after their annual peregrinations to such scenes as the Tryst of Falkirk, or the Fair of Kendal. Donald, Lord Reay, a true-hearted chief, resident constantly amidst his 'children,' and participating in all their affections, presently claimed for himself the care of the rising bard of clan Mackay; and

and Rob was invested with an office which more than satisfied his ambition, and carried with it abundant respect in the eyes of his fellow mountaineers ;—he became *boman*, or *cowkeeper*, to the chief ; and we must not confound this with *cowherd*—‘ of these he had many under him : his office was to account for the safety, and even the increase of the herds ; and he became bound to make certain annual returns of dairy produce, stipulated for by contract.’—p. xxi.

Rob now married and settled in life ; he was a faithful *boman*, and his master estimated him highly ; but the bard had some habits which could not be indulged in the immediate neighbourhood of the noble lord's residence, without giving occasion to scenes of a disagreeable nature in the household ; and, after a few years, the connection was broken off, though without any interruption of personal good-will on either side. Rob was an inveterate deer-hunter : from earliest youth it had been his delight to spend days, nights, and weeks, among the wildernesses, in pursuit of this spirit-stirring diversion, and among prouder titles to distinction, his kinsmen honoured him as a marksman of the first order, and a very master of the mountain chase. In his boyish years no one had ever dreamt of restraining indulgences of this kind ; and though now law had been added to law, and regulation to regulation, ‘ Honest theft is the spoil of the wild deer,’ continued to be a proverb in every mouth, and even the *boman* of Lord Reay was a constant trespasser. More than once he narrowly escaped the arm of the law, and yet nothing seemed capable of converting him from this darling error.

‘ He was more than once detected in the forbidden act, and eventually summoned before the sheriff-substitute, when, in event of sufficient evidence, the issue must have been banishment to the colonies, in terms of the statute. An anecdote on this occasion, strongly characteristic of the bard, has been lately related to us by his still surviving daughter. He set out to attend the court, early in the morning, accompanied by a neighbour, one of his wonted hunting companions. The prospect of transportation pressed heavily on his neighbour's spirit ; but the bard remained seemingly quite tranquil. Not so his wife, who, with lamentations and tears, could not be prevented from accompanying her husband a part of the way. The bard would not even now part with his favourite gun,\* but shouldered it, at departing, with his wonted glee. They had not proceeded beyond a mile from home, when they came full upon a small flock of deer. The bard was not to be restrained. He fired, and shot two of them dead upon

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\* ‘ The bard's daughter, in reciting this anecdote, took particular notice of the gun, which she described by terms in which somewhat of her father's humour was discernible :—“ Bha gunna caol, dubh, fada, mallaicht' aige”—i. e. “ He had a slender, black, long, wicked gun.”

the spot. His wife, in great consternation before, was now not to be pacified. She imagined that her husband had just sealed his doom. He beseeched her to be silent. "Go home," said he, "and send for them; if I return not, you shall have the more need for them; but saluting her, and, in kindlier terms, he added, "Fear not, it shall go hard with me if I am not soon with you again to have my share." The fact was, that though thus threatened by the authorities, there was scarcely one of the country gentlemen who would not have gone any length to protect the bard from the violence of the law!—p. xix.

Perhaps the deer-shooting, then, might have been got over. But Rob, in an evil hour, composed a satirical ballad in reference to a transaction of a very delicate nature in the noble household. A favourite waiting-maid of the lady had fallen into a scrape, and her mistress interfered to cover her shame by promoting an irregular and patched up wedding. Rob's presbyterian spirit was kindled by this patronage of impurity in high places; he indited a bitter epithalamium, and received his mittimus from Lord Reay. That the dismissal was reluctant on the part of the nobleman may be inferred from the affectionate terms of an elegy in which Rob not long after lamented his death. Meantime Colonel Mackay, son of the gentleman into whose 'family' he had been taken in his boyhood, readily afforded him shelter and protection. The bard, with his wife and children, removed a little to the northward, and continued happy in the Colonel's employment, until the first regiment of Sutherland Highlanders was embodied, in 1759, when he was prevailed on by the country gentlemen holding commissions in the new corps, to accompany them. Rob enlisted as a private soldier, but was never called on to take any part in troublesome duty. He was there as the bard of the banner; he seems, in short, to have been considered by officers and men as a sort of lay chaplain, whose business it was to promote good humour and entertainment, and, in case of opportunity, to celebrate their war-like achievements, leaving guard and drill to whom they concerned.

'While his companions in arms were toiling and fretting at drill, Robert was at large, enjoying his choice society or contemplations. In one of his rambles of this kind, he was met by a Major Ross, an officer who had lately joined the corps, and to whom Robert was yet not known. The Major, imagining that he had made a clandestine escape from duty, stopped him rather abruptly, demanding, "to what company do you belong?" The bard had little relish for being dealt by so magisterially.—"To every company," he replied, and walked off, waiting no further interrogatories, with as stately a gait as the Major himself could assume.'

The mistake of the new major was easily explained; and we doubt not, had the regiment ever been called into action, Rob  
Donn

Donn would have been found at his post. But no such occasion ever occurred: They remained embodied until the peace of 1763; and the reader who wishes to understand what sort of manners prevailed among them, had better turn at once to the second volume of the late General David Stewart's 'Military Sketches,' in which these good Sutherlanders are recorded with all the warmth of honest pride by their most amiable and lamented countryman. The regiment, ~~4100~~ strong, was completed, he says, within nine days from the hour when Lord Sutherland arrived at Dunrobin with his letters of service. They were all fine young men, sons of the Earl's own tenantry, or of those of his neighbour, Lord Reay.

'On the peace they were marched back to Sutherland, and there reduced in May, with this honourable distinction in the course of their short service, that no restrictions had ever been required among them, and no man punished. As they had assembled as a corps with the primitive manners of a pastoral life, so they separated with these habits unchanged, and had the happiness of returning to their native glens without a single individual among them having disgraced his corps, kindred, or district.\*

Rob Donn returned to his former quarters, and does not appear ever again to have wandered from them. His wife was a kind and prudent one: he turned out a steady and attached husband to her, and a careful and affectionate father to thirteen children. It speaks a very great deal for the worth of his personal character, that although he was dreaded as a satirist throughout the north Highlands, quite as much as ever Burns was in Ayrshire, he was promoted in due time, with universal approbation, to the dignity of an *elder* in the parish where he resided, and that he continued to hold that respectable and responsible station, without reproach, to the end of his life. The satirist, in short, was dreaded, but only by the vicious; and the poet was at once respected and beloved by all whose esteem he desired to possess. 'His society was courted by his equals, still more by his superiors; no social party was esteemed a party without him; no public meeting of the

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\* General Stewart, vol. ii. p. 344.—A second regiment of fencibles in 1779, a third in 1793, and a regular corps, the 93d regiment, in 1800, were successively raised for the national service, on the Sutherland domains; and an equally respectable regiment of fencibles was embodied by Lord Reay himself, in 1794. We forget which of these corps it was that had the honour of astonishing southern eyes with the first appearance of 'Big Sam,' afterwards so well known as porter at Carlton House. This good-natured giant, standing seven feet five in his stockings, and symmetrically well made, had attained the rank of sergeant: he never stood in the ranks, but generally appeared on the right of the regiment, when in line, and marched at the head, when in column, accompanied wherever he went, whether on duty or off, by a mountain-deer of dimensions almost as extraordinary as his own. The huge creature was gentle as a lamb, and had for Sam the affection of a shepherd's dog, and their joint appearance made no small stir in the streets of an English market-town.

better and the best of the land was felt to be a full one without Rob Donn being there.' Rob, as may be supposed, had no objections to his fair share of feast and bowl, but he never contracted dissipated habits of any kind, nor even showed a passing symptom of having taken a glass too much, until his robust constitution gave way, about the period of the grand climacteric. A northern *sennachie*, still extant, at the age of eighty-nine, close to Cape Wrath, whom Dr. Mackay describes as 'a most extraordinary chronologist,' thus speaks:—

'I remember Rob Donn very well. He was brown-haired, brown-eyed, rather pale complexioned, and, I would say, good-looking. When he entered a room, his eye caught the whole at a glance; and the expression of his countenance always indicated much animation and energy. In figure he was rather below the middle size, strong, and well formed. In the month of December, 1777, he attended the interment of an uncle of mine, who was a *co-age* of his. When the coffin was lowered into the grave, Robert turned to me and said—"There is my *co-age* committed to earth, aged sixty-three; and before this time next year I shall also be laid down here." It is remarkable that this prediction was fulfilled by his death taking place in August, 1778; so his age was exactly sixty-three years nine months.'—*Memoir*, p. lviii.

Rob was honoured with a funeral like that of a high chief: the proudest and the simplest of the clan stood together with tears in every eye when he was laid in the churchyard of his native parish; and a granite monument, of some mark and importance, has been erected over his remains, at the expense of a certain number of enthusiastic Mackays, with inscriptions in Gaelic, in English, in Greek, and in Latin, of which we shall quote the last, the composition of a clergyman in the neighbourhood, rejoicing in the poetical name of 'Alexander Pope:—

'Siste, viator, iter, jacet hic sub cespite Donnus  
Qui cecinit formâ præstantes rure puellas,  
Quique novos læto celebravit carmine sponso,  
Quique bene meritos lugubri voce deflevit,  
Et acriter variis mōmordit vitia mōdis.  
Obiit 1778: Ætat. 64.'

We thought Fielding's—

'Stay, traveller, for underneath this pew,  
Lies fast asleep that merry man, Andrew,'

had put an end for ever to the 'Siste, viator,' so absurdly transferred from the Latian and Flaminian way-sides to our enclosed cemeteries. But perhaps we are hypercritical here; and the reverend master of *quantity* addresses those who make *bond fide* pilgrimages to the bard's grave.

Mr. Pope's

Mr. Pope's lines have at least the merit, if we may judge from Dr. Mackay's essay, of expressing, within narrow limits, the various styles of composition in which Rob Donn exercised himself. As to the merits of his poetry, we are, in our all but total ignorance of his dialect, left with very scanty means of arriving at any opinion for ourselves. We have, indeed, been furnished with various translations by a friend, on whose fidelity we have every reason to depend; but it was our request, that literal *verbum pro verbo* accuracy should be his sole object, and we need not remind any person who has ever made the native minstrelsy of any people his study, how apt the peculiar spirit of the original is to escape, almost entirely, under such a process. Rob Donn's satirical pieces have stood the trial the worst; and yet, by the universal consent of his countrymen, they are the best of all his efforts. His Jacobite ditties—for though belonging to a Whig clan, Rob was too true a bard not to be all for Prince Charlie—are extolled by Dr. Mackay, but we have no interpreter for any of them except one, and that seems but middling. His elegies, too, have, on the whole, disappointed us; yet one or two of these appear excellent, and in several others we can detect scattered traces of simple, genuine pathos, and even touches of what we can well believe reaches, in the native strain, to the sublime. It would have been an easy matter for any person, furnished with the translations now on our table, and possessing a tolerable command of the common-places of English verse, to have set forth regular 'specimens' of Rob Donn's minstrelsy—preserving, in a few leading thoughts and images, enough to satisfy the superficial reader, and, in fact, leaving the learned world as much in the dark as ever. For such mockery we have no taste: our wish is, that some Gaelic scholar, such a ripe one as Dr. Mackay, who happens also to be master either of English or of Latin, should take the bard seriously in hand, and interpret, we care not whether in prose or in verse, with such freedom as true feeling and respect for the original may permit, such of his pieces as exhibit the universal passions of our nature, modified by the peculiar scenery and imagery of the Gaelic muse, more especially his love songs. Of these, some of the few now before us appear to us, even under all the disadvantages to which we have alluded, truly and exquisitely beautiful. But before we enable our readers to judge for themselves, we must introduce a few remarks from Dr. Mackay's essay.

' True genius is ever indulgent. Where it can clearly behold of its own kindred flame, the heart will be warmed towards it in the risings of kindred affection; and feelings allied to the parental will form there the defence and security, or at least the surest indulgence to the weakness of genius, even of its infant efforts. We grant that if the child  
assume

assume the man, men will laugh at the attempt, but it will not be the laugh of scorn, or the heartless taunt of ridicule. We have not to plead for our bard, child of nature as he was, apology for any such efforts. Beyond his strength he ventured not to proceed. We have rather to lament that he knew not his own strength sufficiently, and that his astonishing powers of mind were not led to lay hold of more great and extensive subjects. His compositions furnish sufficient internal evidence, that he never scarcely made choice of a subject till chance presented one, when it was forthwith seized, and the effort made, till then unpremeditated. Perhaps Rob Donn never took more than an hour or two to compose either his best or his longest songs. Even the most of the airs to which he composed are original, which presents, as a single circumstance, the resources of his mind to have been of no ordinary extent. It is comparatively easy to any rhymester to suit words to a known and familiar air; and even the associations of mind connected with particular airs may be stirring and interesting enough to excite a mind not naturally very poetic, to imitate that which it admires; but to the mind of our bard all the requisites of song seemed to be ever at hand, and he had only to draw at sight upon the treasury of his own imagination and power. . . . Perhaps the most extensively well known and popular of all his pieces was composed by him, it is perfectly well known, in less than half an hour, while he walked along the road to join a festive party assembled at a wedding.—pp. xli. xlii.

Passing over the reverend editor's detailed criticisms on the bard's satires and elegies, we are tempted to quote his account of the circumstances under which one of the most celebrated of this last class of his pieces was composed.

'Rob Donn had heard accounts of the death of Mr. Pelham, the first minister of state. The same day when this intelligence reached him, he took a stroll to the neighbouring mountains of Durness, in search of deer. He was for that day unsuccessful; but judging, as a sportsman can on such occasions, that better fortune might attend him the following morning, instead of returning home, he determined to spend the night, and await the dawn, at a solitary house, situated at the head of Loch Erribol, that he might be the more nigh, to surprise his game, when morning arrived. The bleak dreariness of this spot of itself might present almost to any mind a striking contrast to all that we deem comfortable, social, or desirable in life. Here was a solitary hut (still standing), where the bard was to pass the night, and here was a solitary man, decrepit in old age, stretched on his wretched bed of straw or heath, and so exhausted by a violent attack of asthma, that the bard pronounced him in his own mind, surely in the very grasp of the King of Terrors. The idea of Mr. Pelham's death, called away from the summit of ambition and worldly greatness, contrasted with this individual's state, set our author to the invoking of his muse. Ewen was unable, from weakness, to converse, or even to speak with the bard, who, kindling a fire for himself, sat down, and  
the

the elegy being composed, he was humming it over. He soon found, however, that Ewen had still his bodily sense of hearing, and his mental sense of pride. When the bard came to the recital of the last verse, the concluding lines of which may be thus metrically rendered, though we acknowledge not poetically,—

Among men's sons where could be found,  
One lowly, poor, like thee?  
And where in all this earth's wide round,  
But Kings, more high than He?

Ewen, summoning the remains of his strength to one effort of revenge for the insult in the former two lines, seizing a club, crept out of bed, and was at the full stretch of his withered arm, wielding a blow at the bard's head, who only observed it just in time to avoid it. He used, we may believe, the mildest measures to pacify Ewen's choler. He related the circumstance afterwards to some of his friends; and though others frequently spoke of it as a good joke, the bard could never indulge, we are told, even in a smile, upon the subject. He spoke of it with solemnity; and did not desire to hear the circumstance repeated.'—pp. liii. liv.

The elegy, of which this anecdote is told, has been thus 'done into English;' and we have no difficulty in confessing that we can very well believe the original merits its celebrity. The reader will see that the name of Ewen's residence was *Polla*.\*

How often, O Death, art thou proclaiming to us—

Call for help where help may be found!

Thou strikest—thou strikest—and ere thou shalt cease from striking,  
The great and the small are thine.

Even since the middle of this harvest time

What a lesson hast thou not afforded to men:

Leaping from the grandeur of courts

To the desolate nook of Ewen!

\* Long and very long,  
Long enough is it,  
Since thou hast lain wasting under disease,  
Without any one regretting thy sorrow.  
If thy time has passed away,  
And thou hast not employed it aright,

\* 'Regarding this elegy, an anecdote is recorded which exhibits the estimation in which it was held by the author's countrymen best able to judge of poetic merit. Mr. Mackay, mentioned in our last note, happened to be on a visit to Mr. Murdoch Macdonald, minister of Durness, when on a Sabbath morning the weather became so very boisterous, that Mr. Macdonald expressed doubts whether it were proper to go to church, or to detain the people by the usual length of service—expressing a fear, at the same time, that if once begun, he might forget himself, and detain them long. His guest urged the propriety of not detaining the people—"But I will tell you," said he, "what you had better do: just go to church, and sing to them 'Marbhrann Roghainn;' it will be greatly more instructive than any sermon you can give." Mr. Macdonald's esteem for Ewen's elegy did not go quite so far as to cause him to adopt the advice.'—p. lv.

Perhaps a week may yet be vouchsafed to thee—  
Prepare thy soul for her journey!

If men attended to thy warnings, pale Death,  
This world would blind none of us with its glare;  
Who of Adam's race could ever shake aside the remembrance  
Of his coming, who surely cometh to us all?  
Who now can question that this thing is true—  
That thy vision embraces the first and the last—  
Thine, who having torn Pelham from greatness,  
Hast thought it no disparagement to seek out Ewen in Polla.  
Long, &c.

Yesterday thy hand has been visible among the generation  
For whose afflictions nations are bowed down—  
And to-day, behold! thou sparest not that humility  
Concerning which no voice of lamentation will ever be heard!  
Destroyer! who, then, is he in the middle regions  
That shall hope to break the net of captivity?  
Who is he whom it behoveth not to be watchful  
Of all between Pelham and Ewen?  
Long, &c.

Arise, arise, oh people of my heart,  
Shall prince and outcast alike fall in vain?  
Shall nothing teach us that we are as a candle in a lantern,  
At either end still consuming away?  
Where was there a greater than Pelham  
But the king upon the throne?  
Where was there one in the world, O Ewen,  
More lowly than the son of thy father?  
Long, &c.

Two of Rob Donn's elegies are dedicated to the memory of Mr. Murdoch Macdonald, his parish minister, and, it would appear, intimate friend. The one is a very long piece, in the original greatly admired, but the version that lies on our table would not much gratify the English reader. The other is very short, and we may venture to transcribe it.

*Sad is it, sad is it, oh, sad is it that I am!  
At the end of the year—oh! sad is it that I am!  
Wickedness in grey hairs is a sight not uncommon,  
Miserable it is to us that thy days were few!*

O heart of liberality, O mouth of efficacy;  
O head of wisdom, and of godly learning;  
O hand ever open to the afflicted;  
O countenance, among social friends, affectionately cheerful!  
*Sad is it, &c.*

I am myself alone, as one in a wilderness,  
The laughter-stirring thought that springs up within me, what avails it?  
Happiness

Happiness of expression, gift of song, sweet music,  
What avail they all, since thy ear is deaf ?

*Sad is it, &c.*

How are manners changed since death smote thee !  
What estimation remains of wisdom, or of piety ?  
What boldness, what shamelessness, what exultation !  
Loose reins have been given since that day to the unclean beast !

*Sad is it, &c.*

Many were they that made lamentation at thy death,  
But in a month or two they wearied of their grief—  
I am not as they—my sorrow is a more abiding companion—  
At the end of the year, still wakeful by my pillow !

*Sad is it, &c.*

Dear to me among the people are the children thou hast left behind  
thee ;

Dear to me are the airs that were wont to be sung beneath thy roof ;  
Dear to me the fair name of which death could not deprive thee ;  
Dear to me the dust which is on thy side of the churchyard.

*Sad is it, &c.*

We shall now give two specimens, shadows such as we can afford, of the love-songs : the originals, according to the editor, are considered as master-pieces of Gaelic versification ; and they are more highly valued than others, because they are known to have been composed in reference to the bard's own feelings, at certain interesting passages of his early life. Upon one occasion, it seems, his attendance upon his first master's cattle-business detained him a whole year from home, and at his return he found that a fair maiden, to whom his troth had been plighted of yore, had lost sight of her vows, and was on the eve of being married to a rival (a carpenter by trade), who had profited by the young *drover's* absence. The first song was composed during a sleepless night, in the neighbourhood of Crieff, in Perthshire, and the homesickness which it expresses appears to be almost as much that of the deer-hunter as of the loving swain.

*Easy is my bed, it is easy,*

*But it is not to sleep that I incline ;  
The wind whistles northwards, northwards,  
And my thoughts move with it.*

More pleasant were it to be with thee

In the little glen of calves,

Than to be counting of droves

In the enclosures of Crieff.

*Easy is my bed, &c.*

Great is my esteem of the maiden,

Towards whose dwelling the north wind blows ;

She is ever cheerful, sportive, kindly,

Without folly, without vanity, without pride.

True

True is her heart—were I under hiding,  
 And fifty men in pursuit of my footsteps,  
 I should find protection, when they surrounded me most closely,  
 In the secret recess of that shieling.

*Easy is my bed, &c.*

Oh for the day for turning my face homeward,  
 That I may see the maiden of beauty:—  
 Joyful will it be to me to be with thee,  
 Fair girl with the long heavy locks!  
 Choice of all places for deer-hunting  
 Are the brindled rock and the ridge!  
 How sweet at evening to be dragging the slain deer  
 Downwards along the piper's cairn!

*Easy is my bed, &c.*

Great is my esteem of the maiden  
 Who parted from me by the west side of the enclosed field;  
 Late yet again will she linger in that fold,  
 Long after the kine are assembled.  
 It is I myself that have taken no dislike to thee,  
 Though far away from thee am I now.  
 It is for the thought of thee that sleep flies from me:  
 Great is the profit to me of thy parting kiss!

*Easy is my bed, &c.*

Dear to me are the boundaries of the forest;  
 Far from Crieff is my heart;  
 My remembrance is of the hillocks of sheep,  
 And the heaths of many knolls.  
 Oh for the red-streaked fissures of the rock,  
 Where, in spring time, the fawns leap;  
 Oh for the crags towards which the wind is blowing—  
 Cheap would be my bed to me there!

*Easy is my bed, &c.*

The following describes Rob's feelings on the first discovery of his damsel's infidelity. The airs of both these pieces are his own, and, the Highland ladies say, very beautiful.

Heavy to me is the shieling, and the hum that is in it,  
 Since the ear that was wont to listen is no more on the watch.  
 Where is Isabel the courteous, the conversable, a sister in kindness?  
 Where is Anne, the slender-browed, the turret-breasted, whose glossy  
 hair pleased me when yet a boy?

*Heich! what an hour was my returning!*

*Pain such as that sunset brought, what avails me to tell it?*

I traversed the fold, and upward among the trees—  
 Each place, far and near, wherein I was wont to salute my love.  
 When I looked down from the crag, and beheld the fair-haired  
 stranger dallying with his bride,  
 I wished that I had never revisited the glen of my dreams.

*Such*

*Such things came into my heart as that sun was going down,  
 A pain of which I shall never be rid, what availeth me to tell it?*  
 Since it hath been heard that the carpenter had persuaded thee,  
 My sleep is disturbed—busy is foolishness within me at midnight.  
 The kindness that has been between us,—I cannot shake off that  
 memory in visions.  
 Thou callest me not to thy side ; but love is to me for a messenger.  
*There is strife within me, and I toss to be at liberty ;  
 And ever the closest it clings, and the delusion is growing to me as a tree.*  
 Anne, yellow-haired daughter of Donald, surely thou knowest not  
 how it is with me—  
 That it is old love, unrepaid, which has worn down from me my  
 strength ;  
 That when far from thee, beyond many mountains, the wound in my  
 heart was throbbing,  
 Stirring, and searching for ever, as when I sat beside thee on the turf.  
*Now, then, hear me this once, if for ever I am to be without thee —  
 My spirit is broken—give me one kiss ere I leave this land !*  
 Haughtily and scornfully the maid looked upon me ;  
 Never will it be work for thy fingers to unloose the band from my  
 curls,  
 Thou hast been absent a twelvemonth, and six were seeking me  
 diligently,  
 Was thy superiority so high, that there should be no end of abiding  
 for thee ?  
*Ha ! ha ! ha !—hast thou at last become sick ?  
 Is it love that is to give death to thee ! Surely the enemy has been in no  
 haste.*  
 But how shall I hate thee, even though towards me thou hast become  
 cold ?  
 When my discourse is most angry concerning thy name in thine  
 absence,  
 Of a sudden thine image, with its old dearness, comes visibly into my  
 mind,  
 And a secret voice whispers that love will yet prevail !  
*And I become surety for it anew, darling,  
 And it springs up at that hour lofty as a tower.*

Rude and bald as these things appear in a verbal translation,  
 and rough as they might possibly appear, even were the originals  
 intelligible, we confess we are disposed to think they would of  
 themselves justify Dr. Mackay in placing this herdsman-lover  
 among the true sons of song. If the Macdonnell, the M'Intyre,  
 the Cormack, and other Highland bards of the last century, whose  
 names, to us entirely new, the reverend editor so frequently  
 mentions as of acknowledged rank and authority, have produced  
 works of similar merit, we hope his publication of their remains  
 also may proceed with diligence, and be liberally encouraged.

But surely he would give himself and his minstrels a thousand times a better chance of acceptance, if he would accompany the Gaelic verses with an interpretation of some kind. His own English memoir of Rob Donn has in many places an air of stiffness, as if he were writing in a language not entirely under his command; but practice, with such zeal as he possesses, would soon get the better of this; and from various passages in the essay, we are inclined to give him credit for genuine poetical feeling.

There is little time to be lost, if the as yet unprinted literature of this unfortunate people is to be preserved at all. In spite of all that can be done by the clubs and societies to which some allusion has already been hazarded, the language of the Gael, like their peculiar manners, must ere long disappear from this island. Even of their blood, if things go on as they have been doing for the last forty years, there will, at no distant date, be more in Canada than in Scotland. But no semblance of their old system of society is at all likely to be built up again in the transatlantic wildernesses to which they are so rapidly removing themselves; and we fear but little of the more poetical part of their character will survive through more than a single generation those ties of patriarchal attachment and devotion which foreign violence could never disturb, and which the avarice of vanity has not hesitated to sever. The short-sighted chieftains, meanwhile, who have been systematically banishing their affectionate kindred for the sake of increased rentals, are already beginning to share the doom of their victims. Avenging justice is pressing on them '*nec pede claudo.*' The habits of extravagance for which they sacrificed the people have been found too much for the soil. Their estates are rapidly breaking to pieces in their hands; new men, jobbers and usurers, are, year after year, pushing even the haughtiest of them from their stools.

ART. III.—*A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy.* By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq., M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge. (*Published in Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.*) London. 1830.

THE history and philosophy of physical science are attractive topics to many to whom science itself appears thorny and repulsive; and to present these in a manner at the same time lucid and profound, is justly considered as a task demanding a tone and expansion of mind which the successful cultivators of such knowledge in its details do not always possess. We need not affect to undervalue our own vocation; but, at the same time, we are as ready as others to allow that it is eminently fortunate for the world when men of high scientific

tific eminence, and of large speculative views, are led to promulgate, in a distinct and separate form, their notions of the general character and bearing of those portions of human knowledge into which they have the clearest insight. Such surveys may naturally take a far wider range, and offer a more connected picture, than critiques of particular books or authors can do; and the name of a writer who is principally known by abstruse and technical writings, unapproachable by the common reader, gives a peculiar charm to his less professional views of the philosophy and history of his studies; for these, by bringing before us principles and opinions in which he appeals to our common sympathy and understanding, seem to admit us within the barrier with which the passionless discussions and repulsive formularies of science generally surround him.

The present generation may be held to have been fortunate in obtaining from some of the greatest of the great men who have lived in it, expositions of this character. It would be difficult to find two names higher in European reputation than those of Cuvier and Berzelius. From the former we had, in 1808, his '*Histoire des Progrès des Sciences Naturelles depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour*;' and this work may be considered as continued to our own times by the annual reports on the same subject, and *éloges* of deceased academicians, which his office of Secretary to the Institute has elicited from him; and in the lectures which he is, we believe, at present delivering in Paris, he is supplying, in a manner in which no other person could do it, the still earlier history of these provinces of knowledge. Berzelius has, ever since 1822, published an '*Annual Report on the Progress of the Physical Sciences*;' and has in this, with a knowledge and candour almost peculiar to him, endeavoured to do justice to the yearly additions made to the stores of the scientific community. England has not hitherto contributed her share to this kind of literature from pens of so much authority; but it is unnecessary to dwell on a deficiency which (thanks to the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, and the *Family Library*) there is every reason to think will now be speedily supplied.\*

So

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\* We may here notice what appears to us a want in the constitution of the English scientific world—the absence of any distinct and periodical call on any man of science to make such a survey of our intellectual acquisitions as we have referred to above. The valuable works of which we have spoken in the text are Reports given, in the one instance, to the French government and to the Institute, in the other, to the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm. The annual reports of such men as Cuvier on the advance of the natural sciences, Berzelius on chemistry and physics, Fourier on pure and applied mathematics, and the occasional reports of committees, such as are appointed by the Institute, are inevitably of great weight and of most beneficial efficacy. It is worth the while of an investigator to toil and think, when he is sure of having all that is really valuable in his results estimated at its true worth, connected with the history of science, and commended to the notice of scientific Europe by such men as these. We cannot imagine

So far as the remarkable volume before us belongs to the kind of review of which we have spoken (which, however, is only one of its objects), it is worthy to stand by the side of the productions of Cuvier and Berzelius; exhibiting an intimate acquaintance with modern research, and a most scrupulous and active spirit of justice, like the qualities which characterize the Swedish chemist; along with a striking mode of presenting recondite truths, and an imaginative vivacity, which has its charm no less than the brilliant eloquence of the great naturalist of France. Mr. Herschel is, indeed, a person eminently qualified for this task, being a distinguished example of a person possessing a profound and complete knowledge of almost every branch of physics; and thus an instance of a combination which, amidst the modern multiplication of the divisions and details of these studies, is becoming rare. Having been thoroughly disciplined in all that can form the character of an accomplished man of science, he has shown himself with singular alacrity at every point of the frontier of human knowledge, where there seemed to be a chance that the boundary line might be pushed forwards. In pure mathematics he very early established his name as one of the first mathematicians in England; and might have been one of the first in Europe, if he had not been more strongly drawn to other pursuits. In the singularly splendid and striking researches of physical optics, one of the pages of discovery as yet but half unfolded, he has placed himself among the *very* small number of those who have both added important experimental laws to those which were previously known, and have weighed the relation of these discoveries to the refined and recondite theory towards which they seem to point. In chemistry, his researches on the hyposulphites,—in galvanism, his examination of the motions of fluid conductors,—exhibit the same readiness to press forward with the advance; and we need hardly remind our readers that by far the most striking fact which has been for centuries added to our knowledge of the heavens—the rotation of the double stars,—first caught sight of by one Herschel, has owed its final and distinct confirmation to another. We might add acoustics and magnetism, mineralogy and geology, to the sub-

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why Englishmen are not to present, and have presented to them, similar reports. We conceive that those who seek to add to the efficacy and dignity of our scientific bodies, could take no method so effectual towards their object, as this, of requiring from competent persons in appropriate situations annual reviews on science in general, or occasional reports on particular branches of it. They would thus find for the most abstruse communications of the cultivators of science 'fit audience, though few;' and the few might extend the communication, and, in some measure, the fitness, to a wider circle. The want of the habit of connecting what is discovered in this country with the general body of knowledge, and with the contemporary labours of foreigners, is one of the most powerful obstacles in the way of estimating the good at its true worth, and consequently, of discountenancing what is trifling or erroneous.

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jects on which Mr. Herschel's mind and hands have been energetically employed. He has, therefore, no slight or ordinary title to be listened to, when he delivers his opinions on the present condition and mutual relations of the provinces of our knowledge of external nature.

In point of fact, however, the 'Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy' is much more than a mere survey of the state of such knowledge. The book contains another important element, viz. Mr. Herschel's view of the philosophy of physical science, the principles on which its structure rests, the maxims by which its researches have been and must be successfully conducted. Opinions on such a subject from a person who has not only *verified* his principles over a wide range of speculation, but *used* them with practical success, are likely to be read with interest. There is another reason which makes this part of the work an object of curiosity. It is, we believe, one of the first considerable attempts to expound in any detail the rules and doctrines of that method of research to which modern science has owed its long-continued steady advance and present flourishing condition. It is certainly strange that this should be so; that while volumes upon volumes have been written upon the nature of human knowledge and the laws of human thought, this class of speculations should never have been constructed with a peculiar reference to those mental processes which have been exemplified in the progress of modern science—the most undisputed and the most admired assemblage of truths which has ever yet been obtained. We hope that the day will come when this shall be otherwise: when the received 'philosophy of mind' shall have its leading chapters devoted to the most successful employments of the intellect: when the received 'art of reasoning' shall contain something more than rules for deriving the consequences of assumed principles; and when 'definitions' shall no longer be considered as the fountains of what we can know with regard to things altogether independent of the operations of human thought.

It is the more remarkable that our prevalent metaphysics and logic should be so inapplicable to physics, when we observe that the whole atmosphere of literature rings with the name of 'Lord Bacon,' and with the pæans of 'Inductive Philosophy.' To many of our readers, discussions on the practical meaning and exemplification of this philosophy may be attractive; but we fear there is a large class of respectable and intelligent persons who are absolutely wearied with the phrase, and the unsubstantial declamation which has, as they conceive, been connected with it. Yet perhaps even these readers may allow it to be a benefit if we can, with Mr. Herschel's assistance, fix this, and similar terms, to a settled

settled meaning and definite limits. Some time back, the eminent person who now, as a scientific Lord Chancellor, is peculiarly Bacon's successor, expressed a hope that in the course of the schoolmaster's triumphs, the day would come when every Englishman would be able to read Bacon; Mr. Cobbett, who has long maintained that the true interest of Englishmen is to keep pigs and read his Register, observed somewhat contemptuously, that it would be more to the purpose to hope we might all come to *eat* bacon. We shall not attempt to decide what ought in this case to be the proportion between those who read and those who eat, but we think it clearly desirable that both parties should digest their food; and leaving the masticators, with our best wishes, to the exercise of their gastric energies, we will offer a few remarks for the benefit of the other class.

Mr. Herschel's work is indeed an admirable comment upon the '*Novum Organum Scientiarum*;' and it possesses this character, not only when he is professedly adopting and applying Bacon's views, but often when he is pursuing trains of reflection purely suggested by his own knowledge of the history and relations of science. The two works derive mutual illustration from being considered together; and such a circumstance cannot but give us an elevated impression both of Bacon's far-seeing sagacity, and of his successor's comprehensive and philosophical spirit.

Mr. Herschel's discourse is divided into three parts, of which the first may be described as referring to the dignity and uses of physical science; the second to its general principles and method; the third to the peculiar principles of the different departments of science, their causes and bearings. We shall probably make our observations more perspicuous by explaining, in the first place, the peculiar nature of modern science, and of that Inductive or Baconian method to which its marvels are attributed.

If we are to judge from the various explanations given of the term *induction*, whenever it is attempted to be defined, the prevalent conceptions of its signification are sufficiently vague and inconsistent. We by no means pretend to object to any one's using the term in a sense different from ourselves, and least of all if he can so express any valuable truth.\* But we are here to employ

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\* Dr. Reid gave the name of the *inductive principle* to our instinctive belief in the permanent uniformity of the physical laws of nature. This is something very different from the inductive process by which we represent a number of particulars as classified under laws. Mr. Stewart (*Phil. of the Human Mind*, vol. ii, ch. iv, sec. 1,) is of opinion, that we are said to proceed according to the method of induction, 'when, by comparing a number of circumstances, agreeing in some cases, but differing in others, and all attended with the same results, the philosopher connects, as a general law of nature, the event with its *physical cause*.' But this is too narrow a view

employ it to designate that process which is the essential element of the physical sciences as they now exist, and in virtue of which they are called *inductive* sciences. For such a purpose, induction must be described to be 'the process of considering a class of phenomena, or two associated classes of phenomena, as represented by a general law, or single conception of the mind;' such a single law, or representation, is capable of including so many phenomena, in virtue of the natural connexions of our thoughts; and will derive its validity from its being a connected representation of the phenomena, and nothing more. In this manner Induction agrees with mere Observation in accumulating facts, and with pure Reason in stating general propositions; but she does *more* than Observation, inasmuch as she not only collects facts, but catches some connexion or relation among them; and *less* than pure Reason (at least in the same way), because she only declares that there *are* connecting properties, without asserting that they *must* exist of necessity and in all cases. If we conceive the facts of external nature to lie before us like a heap of pearls of various forms and sizes, mere Observation takes up an indiscriminate handful of them; Induction seizes some thread on which a portion of the heap are strung, and binds such threads together; while Deduction, the purely reasoning faculty, employs herself in measuring spaces on the naked thread, and in devising patterns which can only be of use so far as the jewels will fit the places thus assigned them. Thus, to take a very ancient instance of an induction, in which phenomena were connected by means of the conception of their succession in *time*: it was very early discovered that the eclipses of the sun and moon recurred in the same order, and at the same intervals as at first, after a period of a little more than eighteen years, viz. after 223 lunations. This ancient cycle, the Chaldean *saros*, thus gave a connected and distinct representation of this series of phenomena, which, without

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view; for, as Mr. Herschel justly says (p. 9), 'dismissing, as beyond our reach, the inquiry into causes, we must be content at present to concentrate our attention on the *laws* which prevail among phenomena;' and the eduction of such laws, whether of causation or of any other connexion, according to an ascending scale of generality, he properly describes as induction.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the vague and popular, or as Bacon would call them, *plebeian* notions, which represent the Baconian method as residing in an appeal to phenomena, or in an analysis of phenomena, or in delivering knowledge in aphorisms, or in asserting the right of reason, or in anything which the declaimer may think fitted to elevate Bacon by comparison with his predecessors. A person must have read the Master very ill, if he has learnt to boast of the *obviousness* of the method, and to think scorn of the exoterics on that account.

Nor is it necessary to employ any space in distinguishing ours from the induction of mathematics, which is a kind of deduction beginning from a particular case; or from the meaning of the French word *induction*, which seems to be equivalent to inference.

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it, appear so lawless and irregular; and that this succession really obtains, is an inductive truth, which, in the course of time, led to other important steps in lunar astronomy. Again, the rate at which the air is rarefied by heat is found, from experiment, to be properly *represented* by saying that the elasticity, or resistance to compression, is *proportional* to the thermometrical increase of temperature. Here is an inductive law of the connexion of phenomena. Such truths, so established, may again be *included* in others of a more general character and higher order; and in this manner we may have a vast structure of science built up, which consists indeed only of phenomena as its materials, but in which phenomena are cemented by these successive modes of connected representation, and form a series of laws each supporting other laws more general; so that we obtain, combined with all the physical reality of the external world, all the permanence and symmetry of mathematical relations.

That this exhibition of mere phenomena, and of pure ideal conceptions, as in harmony with each other, does constitute the supreme success of the progress of scientific inquiry, we believe will be most clear to the students of those sciences which have been carried to the farthest limit of generality and simplification; as, for instance, mechanics and physical astronomy. But the same description will be found to apply, though less obviously perhaps, to other sciences, which have as yet been obliged to stop short in this advance.

Mr. Herschel's account of the matter agrees with that which we have given. After speaking of the importance of classifying facts and objects, he says—

‘When we have amassed a great store of such *general facts*, they become the objects of another and higher species of classification, and are themselves included in laws which, as they dispose of groups, not individuals, have a far superior degree of generality, till at length, by continuing the process, we arrive at *axioms* of the highest degree of generality of which science is capable. This process is what we mean by induction.’

When we have attained by this process to propositions of any degree of generality in science, we can often, by pure reasoning, deduce from them, consequences recommended by their curiosity or their utility. Thus, when we have obtained, by induction from observation of which we have given an instance, the laws of the moon's motion in the heavens, we may from these discover at what times, and with what circumstances, eclipses of the sun and moon will occur. And the more general are the truths which we have reached by our inductive ascent, the more copious and varied will be the inferences which we may obtain by reasoning downwards from them.

them. This mutual dependence and contrast of induction and deduction, this successive reasoning up to principles and down to consequences, is one of the most important and characteristic properties of true science. The great legislator of this science ever and anon calls our attention to this feature of his method: 'Neque enim in plano via sita est, sed ascendendo et descendendo; ascendendo ad axiomata, descendendo ad opera.'

It was necessary to premise thus much concerning the nature and principles of the inductive philosophy, in order that the observations which we have to make, or to borrow from Mr. Herschel, concerning its history and rules, might be rendered more generally intelligible.

A circumstance which is sufficiently curious in the history of this philosophy, is this:—That the extraordinary man who promulgated its precepts, at a time when scarcely a single exemplification of them existed, with a precision and sagacity which centuries of experience have hardly enabled us to improve upon, is generally understood to have failed altogether in his attempts to apply his own method to particular cases. There are, no doubt, persons who have a pleasure in believing that this is so, and who examine no further; for there are persons who have a pleasure in finding contrasts and deficiencies in anything which has excited the admiration of the world. Such men are never weary of repeating Pope's 'greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind,' as if to show with how much foresight Bacon commended himself 'to men's charitable speeches:' they would probably have sympathized with another of our poets in his delight at finding *historical* inaccuracies in some of Bacon's political *maxims*, and would have complacently exclaimed with him, 'Such are the sages!' But without trespassing upon such contemplations, we conceive it may be interesting and instructive to point out what really was the nature and cause of Bacon's failure.

That Bacon was a most sagacious and intelligent deviser of experiments, has not been hitherto sufficiently noticed. Mr. Herschel has quoted a number of remarkable instances in which he has suggested modes and subjects of observation eminently adapted to lead to discovery. Many of these have long been put in practice; some have recently been applied for the first time. We might easily add other instances of the same kind: and it is indeed impossible to read the '*Novum Organum*,' and the various appendages to it, without perceiving that the author's mind was as unwearied in collecting, as it was profound in comparing. Bacon, then, did not fail after the manner of a theorist who speculates much, having observed little. But he attempted to use his materials; in particular, he instituted an inquiry into the nature of *heat*,  
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which he offers as an exemplification of the method of induction. In this attempt, after making an extensive collection of facts, and performing upon them the various processes which he had enjoined as steps in the method of sound investigation, he brings out at last a result, which it would be foolish in his admirers to pretend to invest with any substantial or permanent value, that 'Heat is an expansive motion, restrained, and exerting itself through the smaller particles of a body, the expansion being towards every side, but with somewhat of an inclination to the upper parts.'

No one can read with attention this part of the '*Novum Organum*,' without perceiving that Bacon felt the necessity of giving some example to illustrate the method he was recommending, and constructed the *Inquisitio in formam calidi*, for this purpose. Now it is not allowed, even to a mind like Bacon's, to discover general laws of nature merely because he wishes to do so; or rather such a mind, formed to prescribe the rules by which discovery was to be governed, was widely distinct from the intellectual cast which executes the detail of this labour. The two characters differ like that of a great general and of a good engineer. This will go far to explain his want of success. But, moreover, we are compelled to say, that the *Inquisitio* is not a judicious application of the inductive method, and that the Master, in illustrating the forms of process which he had devised, has not well exemplified the spirit by which his method is dictated. We hope our readers will think this circumstance worthy a brief illustration.

Bacon's error in the '*Inquisitio*' consists in this: that instead of beginning from classes of phenomena, which a fair contemplation of nature shows to be of the same kind, he takes an arbitrary assemblage of phenomena, or at least one which, if not arbitrary, is brought together by a number of loose analogies and accidental associations; namely, all the cases to which the term *hot* is in common language applied. Thus, among the instances which he collects, as materials for his first vindemiation (to use his own term), are the heat of the sun, of common fire, of lightning, of percussion, of fermentation; animal heat, its increase from exercise and from fever; woollen cloths, hot spices, caustic acids, quick lime. In attempting to find, among a vast multitude of such facts, something which is common to all the cases, and peculiarly distinctive of the quality of heat in which they are supposed to agree, it is no wonder that he arrives at nothing but a vague and useless formula. This unfruitful mode of beginning physical researches from a word, was, however, by no means peculiar to Bacon or to his style of speculation. Practical experimentalists, about the same time, took a road not much different. Thus Boyle has his researches into the origin of fluidity and firm-

ness ; of volatility and fixedness. Perhaps this was an effect of the natural influence of words ; perhaps it was attributable in part to the recent sway of the Aristotelian philosophy, which, like an expelled conqueror, left the traces of its empire in the language of the country, even when its direct authority was no longer acknowledged.

But whatever was the cause of these infant wanderings of experimental philosophy, it will, we think, be worth while to observe what the case was when the course of true speculation began to run smooth. What have been the *inquisitiones de naturâ calidi*, up to our own time, which have led to valuable and abiding truths ? The answer to this inquiry will necessarily occupy some space, but we are persuaded that those who feel any interest in such speculations will not think the narrative misplaced. The instance is a most remarkable part of Bacon's works, and has never, so far as we know, been examined by the light of our more advanced knowledge : and the truths really gathered in this field are very fine examples of a more matured 'vindemiation' than it could yield in his day. It will appear too, that though this has been a prosperous path of research, we are, even yet, far from having arrived at any common *form* or *law* of *hot*, such as Bacon wished to reach by a few steps from the phenomena. And in the course of this examination our admiration for our teacher must increase rather than diminish : for his sagacious insight into the form and character of the then remote sciences can hardly be made less remarkable by any inaccuracy of view concerning the length of the path by which they were to be attained.

The inquiries concerning the nature of heat have led to various lines of discovery, which, with Mr. Herschel's assistance, we shall point out.

Instead of taking the vague and unmanageable, because unmeasurable, phenomena of the *feeling* of heat, it was soon perceived that it was necessary to assume, for the standard with which other facts might be compared, some general effect of heat capable of numerical estimation. The expansion which heat produces in certain fluids, as quicksilver, air, spirit of wine, was fixed upon. The thermometer was constructed by Cornelius Drebell ; its scale had fixity conferred upon it by Newton ; and the laws of temperature, thus measured, speedily exhibited very curious and curiously connected specimens of genuine induction.

The *expansion of æriform fluids* by heat, one of the most prominent phenomena, was found to be governed by a simple law, and appeared at first to be in the proportion to the mercurial temperature. It has since been shown, by Mr. Dalton and Dr. Ure, that, in the case of steam, this law requires some correction, and that

that the increase of elastic power goes on much more rapidly than the increase of temperature; and even for air, there is, at elevated temperatures, a considerable deviation from strict proportionality.

One of the laws recently discovered belonging to this branch of science, is that obtained about the same time by Mr. Dalton and M. Gay-Lussac, independently of each other; viz. the fact that an *equal dilatability* subsists in all gases and vapours, 'one of the most remarkable points in their history,' as Mr. Herschel observes.

The celebrated laws of *latent heat* form another of the lines of successful investigation belonging to this subject. Dr. Black had the merit of ascertaining, that when bodies pass from a solid to a fluid, or from a fluid to a gaseous state, the heat which is applied to them no longer increases their thermometrical temperature, as it would do were no such change to occur, but becomes latent, and appears to be absorbed in maintaining the body in its new state.

We have not room to trace the progress of a nearly related branch of inquiry, that concerning the *specific heat* of substances; or the quantity of heat required to raise their temperature one degree. This has been pursued by Irvine, Lavoisier and Laplace, Crawford, Delaroche and Berard, Dulong and Petit, and has led to a very remarkable law—'that the atoms of all the simple chemical elements have the same capacity for heat.'—*Herschel*, p. 323.

Another set of facts regarding heat have been reduced to the *laws of radiation*, according to which all bodies throw out their heat in all directions, so that hot ones become cold, and cold ones hot; and this in a manner regulated variously according to the material, surface, and other circumstances of the body. These laws have been subjected to a beautiful experimental investigation by MM. Dulong and Petit, and invested in two different theories by Mr. Prevost and Professor Leslie.

Another set of facts, generally mixing with and modifying the action of the last set, but capable of being disentangled and distinctly investigated, are those referable to the *laws of conduction*, by which a body heated in one part conducts or diffuses its heat through the whole of its substance. These laws, as well as the former, have been traced into those mathematical forms and relations by which all things depending on space and number must be regulated; and thus expressed, they require the most refined and difficult analysis to deduce from them those consequences which we are to compare with experiment. This task has, as Mr. Herschel observes (p. 316), 'been executed with admirable success by the late Baron Fourier, whose recent lamented death has deprived

deprived science of an ornament it could ill spare, thinned as its ranks have been within the last few years.'

Another curious set of laws are those which regulate the *transmission* of radiant heat through *transparent* bodies. The heat of our fires is intercepted and detained by screens of glass, and, being so detained, warms them; while solar heat passes freely through and produces no such effect.

'The more recent researches of Delaroché, however, have shown that this detention is complete only when the temperature of the source of heat is low; but that, as that temperature is higher, a portion of the heat radiated acquires a power of penetrating glass; and that the quantity which does so bears continually a larger and larger proportion to the whole, as the heat of the radiant body is more intense. This discovery is very important, as it establishes a community of nature between solar and terrestrial heat; while at the same time it leads us to regard the actual temperature of the sun as far exceeding that of any earthly flame.'—p. 315.

The laws of the *refraction* of the rays of heat, noticed by Sir William Herschel, and of their *polarization*, established by Berard, are also remarkable portions of our knowledge on this subject.

All these facts and laws belong to heat as distinguished from fire or the action of combustion; with regard to these latter striking phenomena, the attempts to establish general laws exactly and purely representing the phenomena, have, perhaps, been less successful. Yet in this portion of nature, many curious and, no doubt, well-founded connexions have been pointed out; and ever since chemistry has aspired to a philosophical character, the theory of combustion has been laboured more than any other point: it has always been a sort of central fire about which chemical doctrines have revolved. The Stahl theory of phlogiston, though found wanting when weighed in the *balance*, was a happy seizure of a common principle in facts, really, but not obviously, analogous,—those of combustion, calcination, and acidification; though it erred in attributing these processes to the dissipation of a peculiar ingredient. The new theory, victoriously brought forward by Lavoisier, preserved and extended these analogies, and represented them more conformably to their true nature, as the *addition* of the pervading element, oxygen. Yet this theory was not competent to provide any general rule by which we might define the cases in which light and heat should accompany this union. Berzelius and others have attempted to establish an analogy between the discharge of an electrified body and the light and heat thus evolved in chemical combination; but though this analogy is ingeniously supported, we may at least assert, that it is not yet so clearly defined and traced into the circumstances  
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of each example, that we can justly deem it a law inductively established.

But although, with regard to vivid combustion, we are as yet unable to offer any proper inductive representation of the facts, we are not without some rules to which we can reduce even so subtle and violent an agent as flame. One, which its application has made remarkable, is that discovered by Davy, that ignited vapour cannot pass through minute apertures, preserving its ignition. This result, indeed, was referred by the discoverer to the very elevated temperature of the burning gas, and the consequent cooling which it experiences in its contact with the screen; and the law of minute apertures thus became a consequence of the laws of conduction. But a further consequence, a practical application of the truth thus derived, has supplied Mr. Herschel with one of his strongest examples of the manner in which Nature, who has surrounded man with dangers and inconveniences, ministers protection and remedies through the hands of science,—we allude to ‘the safety-lamp, which enables us to walk with light and security, while surrounded with an atmosphere more explosive than gunpowder.’ We have an instance in this invention, such as abound in the history of science, that without being able to ascend to axioms, to reach the highest point of the inductive pyramid, we may yet climb far enough to descend again to works of vast utility and unhopèd-for power.

Without going further in the enumeration of the researches concerning heat which have been prosecuted since the time of Bacon, it may be collected from the sketch of discovery on this subject which has now been given, how extensive an advance true science has made, each step having been an inductive process, and yet how far we still are from that supreme law or form of heat, which the teacher thought was almost within his reach. It is ever thus in the progress of inductive philosophy, as in the wanderings of the Alpine traveller. The hill which at starting seemed the only barrier between him and his journey's end, serves but as a point from which he descries higher mountains to climb, and wider fields to traverse; but still every step is an ascent, every new prospect is a gain; and the august forms which surround him, and the pure atmosphere into which he rises, make his toil a sport and his perseverance a delight.

Though, as we have said, we cannot as yet combine all the above-described partial laws concerning heat into any one more general law, we are, however, able perhaps to include some of them in a wider representation, which, so far as it is well founded, is a generalization of the next order, and which we will therefore mention.

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The laws concerning the radiation, conduction, transmission, refraction, and polarization of heat, are capable of being exactly represented by conceiving it to consist of a peculiar elastic *fluid*, the parts of which act upon each other, and upon the particles of other bodies, by forces governed by certain rules,—these rules being so determined as to make the results calculated from them agree with the phenomena which are observed. We adequately include, therefore, the laws just enumerated, in the assertion that heat is such a fluid; and to the fluid thus conceived the name *caloric* is given. It is not so obviously easy to express the facts of expansion by heat, in agreement with such a conception: to include those of latent heat is perhaps more difficult still. There is, however, no manifest impossibility in reconciling the course of these phenomena with the existence of such a fluid. Indeed there are several facts, as, for instance, the production of heat by sudden compression, of which this hypothesis is perhaps the most natural account; and these considerations have so far prevailed, that the existence of this fluid caloric, or, in other words, the materiality of heat, has been generally assented to by most modern philosophers. Our readers will perceive, therefore, that the more mature progress of induction has led to a conclusion the reverse of that obtained by the solitary effort of the founder of the method. Bacon conceived heat to be *motion*; the moderns maintain it to be *matter*.

But we should much deceive ourselves if we were to imagine that the march of induction here is terminated or completed. A large body of phenomena are still insubordinate to its authority. What properties must we attribute to our fluid caloric, which may duly bring forth the circumstances of ignition, combustion, explosion, the heat of chemical combination, of electricity, and galvanism? All this is yet to be done; and at this point our inductive process at present stops.

If we have been at all successful in setting forth the history of the modern ‘*Inquisitiones de naturâ calidi*,’ the reader will see Bacon’s attempt in its true light, and will also have obtained some view of the successive steps of generalization by which the inductive philosopher hopes to ascend from the most multiplied and complex phenomena, through various stages of connecting laws, to a few supreme and simple axioms: such, for instance, as the laws of motion, or the law of universal gravitation, which may properly be said to include a *world* of particular facts.

But there is also another process belonging to this philosophy which has made its appearance in our narrative, and on which we must say a word,—that of *deduction*. From such laws as we have described, the circumstances being given, the facts of each particular case may be deduced; and often, the end being proposed,

posed, the fittest means may be assigned; and this process belongs to those reasoning faculties of the mind which lead us from definitions and principles to their consequences. This is an important part of every science when much advanced. But it must carefully be recollected that this process of deduction is only so far applicable as we suppose that of induction to be already successfully performed. The two movements are exactly the reverse of each other: one reasons *to* principles, the other *from* them. The one, beginning its progress from the facts of the external world, travels towards propositions successively more and more comprehensive, and commonly more and more simple: the other commences its course from simple and general assumptions, and derives conclusions limited and complicated by the conditions of particular cases. The difference might seem to be sufficiently obvious; yet it has been so often overlooked, or misapprehended, that we feel greatly obliged to Mr. Herschel for having stated it so distinctly as he has done; and we would willingly hope that, for the future, the distinction will never be lost sight of; that sciences, whether physical, political, or moral, of which the whole structure consists in the consequences of a few axioms, and the whole process in syllogistic logic, or what is equivalent to it, will not hereafter claim the name of inductive sciences, so as to confound the *organ* of Aristotle with that of his reformer.

There is one feature in the deductive part of science which cannot but draw our notice—its mathematical character. The supreme laws, the axiomata generalissima at which we arrive, are *quantitative* laws, and consequently are identical with formulæ dependent on space and number. The consequences of these laws applied, repeated, and combined, will therefore involve mathematical relations, and, it may be, in a very complex form. In these cases, the results of our laws are so far from being attainable by the ordinary working of the intellect, that frequently the whole strength of abstract science must be tasked to form the chain of deduction. We have mentioned one instance of this occurrence in speaking of the laws of conduction of heat: we find others in the investigations of physical optics; of the distribution of electricity at the surface of conductors; of the motion of fluids. In these researches it has been absolutely necessary to enlarge the boundaries of mathematics, to invent new modes and branches of calculation, in order to meet the requisitions of physics. In some cases, the relations of space and number have led to dependences so complex, that they have resisted all efforts to develop their consequences; and the career of generalization has been brought to a stand by the unmanageable form of its abstract vehicle. The most illustrious instance of the occurrence of such obstacles

obstacles, and of their being surmounted, is to be found in Physical Astronomy, where the general law of gravitation being irremoveably established by Newton, the vast task of deducing all its effects was spread out before mathematicians, and has been the subject of their unremitting labour from that time to the present hour. Mr. Herschel has given a lively sketch (p. 273) of the progress of this investigation. Newton had attempted to impress on these reasonings the character of the ancient mathematics; and, though the first inventor of the more powerful analytical method, he had endeavoured to keep this new agent in a kind of bondage to geometry. The continental mathematicians, opposed by no such restraints, pushed forwards in the career of mathematico-physical discovery with emulous rapidity; while in England it was soon found that 'the geometry of Newton was like the bow of Ulysses, which none but its master could bend.' Mr. Herschel will describe better than we can the remaining course of these labours.

'The legacy of research which Newton may be said to have left to his successors was truly immense. To pursue, through all its intricacies, the consequences of the law of gravitation; to account for all the inequalities of the planetary movements, and the infinitely more complicated, and to us more important ones, of the moon; and to give, what Newton himself certainly never entertained a conception of, a demonstration of the stability and permanence of the system, under all the accumulating influence of its internal perturbations; this labour and this triumph were reserved for the succeeding age, and have been shared in succession by Clairaut, D'Alembert, Euler, Lagrange, and Laplace. Yet, so extensive is the subject, and so difficult and intricate the purely mathematical inquiries to which it leads, that another century may yet be required to go through with the task. The recent discoveries of astronomers have supplied matter for investigation, to the geometers of this and the next generation, of a difficulty far surpassing anything that had before occurred. Five primary planets have been added to our system; four of them since the commencement of the present century; and these, singularly deviating from the general analogy of the others, and offering *cases of difficulty* in theory which no one had before contemplated. Yet even the intricate questions to which these bodies have given rise seem likely to be surpassed by those which have come into view with the discovery of several comets revolving in elliptic orbits, like the planets, round the sun, in very moderate periods. But the resources of modern geometry seem, so far from being exhausted, to increase with the difficulties they have to encounter, and already, among the successors of Lagrange and Laplace, the present generation has to enumerate a powerful array of names, which promise to render it not less celebrated in the annals of physico-mathematical research than that which has just passed away.'—pp. 274, 275.

We trust we have given a distinct picture of the combination of induction and deduction, the complete cycle of ascent and descent, which forms the entire scheme of a perfect science, from its first origin to its final development. We are, however, very far from being able to assert that all the departments of physics cultivated by the moderns have completed this cycle, and reached their consummation; on the contrary, the sciences are in very varied points of their progress. They have long been understood to form a sisterhood, and the different individuals of the group offer to us all gradations of growth, from the tottering girl to the full-formed matron. Some of them, indeed, have been long established in the world, and can look for no further advancement, except an increase of their progeny; others appear to experience all the restlessness of youthful expectation and hope of change; others, again, have not yet left the nursery and the spelling-book. To arrange the sciences according to this order of growth, will probably interest some of our readers; but before we proceed to do this, there is one step in their formation of which we must say a word; the more so as it is one very necessary and important process in the inductive ascent, and has yet been entirely omitted by Bacon in his survey. Mr. Herschel has duly weighed its essential necessity, as, with the history of the sciences before him, he could not but do, and has given rules for its conduct.

The step of which we speak is the marking and fixing our generalizations by imposing exact *terms*—a process which may be included in the word *terminology*. As soon as a law of nature has been obtained, it is desirable to express it in some precise and brief phraseology. This once done, a word or a phrase enables us to adduce the law, and thus to render available, at a moment's warning, all the toil and ingenuity which have been embodied in its discovery. Thus the terms we have used, of *conduction*, *radiation*, *latent heat*, *caloric*, are words impregnated, as it were, with a meaning derived from the labours of many observers and calculators. It is by such means that the discoveries and labours of one generation become useful to the next; or rather become inevitably subservient to future discoveries and advances, by being incorporated into the language of each science, and almost imbibed with the air we breathe. Terms of art, well chosen, contain a concentrated essence of all past labours: they connect us, by the shortest road, with the surest elements of knowledge—actual phenomena; by their help we advance through the labyrinth of nature, guided by a thread almost invisible, of which the extremity is fixed to remote but well-known objects; and we go on, knotting it in our turn, to new points, as the windings of our path require. When we speak of the ‘magnesian limestone,’

or of the 'green sands,' we, by such words, recall identifications established by wide and laborious examinations of fossils, of continuity, of superposition, for which we stand indebted to many able geologists. In chemistry, in like manner, how much is implied in the systematic nomenclature now in common use; and what an important step will be indicated by the change of terminology which seems to be inevitably approaching!

It is remarkable that this fixation of our generalizations by the imposition of names should not have caught Bacon's notice as an almost essential step in the inductive process; and the more remarkable, as he is himself most fertile in technical phrases, always full of meaning, often happily expressed. Perhaps this omission, more than any other, obscured his full view of the progress of the sciences.

Mr. Herschel has devoted a chapter of his work to the subject of nomenclature, and has made many judicious observations upon its advantages and rules: perhaps, however, he has too much restricted his view to its use as shown in the process of classification, and the sciences of which this is the main ingredient. No one, indeed, can help being struck by the singular distinctness and facility with which botany manages her one hundred thousand species, or with the strange and helpless embarrassment in which mineralogy has contrived to involve the three hundred species which are all that she can produce. But the effects of a well-chosen nomenclature, or, at least, of a distinct terminology, extend as fully to the expression of laws as to the recognition of objects. Whether or no *polarization* and *depolarization* are good terms, some terms to express the facts which these recall have long been indispensable; and it would be in vain for any one, without substituting something better, to set about expelling these by attacking their etymological propriety. Every science which has made any advance at all, has more or fewer of such terms of art; and the more familiarly they come to be used, and the less technical the character they acquire, the more important are their functions and the steadier their influence.

We now proceed to point out the specimens of the inductive advance exhibited in several of the sciences which we at present possess; commencing from those which are just beginning to educe a portion of systematic knowledge from the collected stores of ages of observation, and going on to others where the whole task of our philosophy has been executed and completed for ever.

One of the least advanced of the sciences in the road of induction we conceive to be *botany*. By many persons, indeed, this study is supposed to consist merely in the acquisition of an arbitrary classification. If this were true, the subject could not be

said to have made even the first step of generalization; for an artificial classification is merely a nomenclature, and its best purpose is, that it be subservient to the expression of some kind of laws. It is, however, to do great injustice to this delightful pursuit to think so meanly of it. The great distinction of monocotyledonous and dicotyledonous plants affects their whole structure, is recognizable in every part of the stem and leaf, and appears even in the numerical relations of the parts of the flower, the number three prevailing in one case, and five in the other. Here, then, we have a sufficient example of a general inductive law: but, besides this, the general tendency which at present directs the attention of botanists to the formation and attributes of natural classes, and to the researches of vegetable physiology as connected with these, is of itself a manifestation of the inductive principle; for a natural class is neither more nor less than the observed steady association of certain properties, structures, and analogies, in several species and genera.

More advanced than botany, yet still in its infancy as to the growth of inductive laws, we must place the much admired science of *chemistry*. Several steps of generalization have here been made, though there are few of these which it has not been found necessary again to limit. The composition of salts from a base and an acid, is one of the most extensive of the facts of the science; and it was long supposed that the composition of the acids by the union of oxygen with some other element was an equally general rule. This has been in modern times disproved by Davy, who showed that hydrogen also might take the office of the acidifying element. Other laws and attempts at laws of the same kind might be mentioned; but even the most common and universal phenomena, those of the compositions and decompositions which the play of affinities produces, are yet far from being reduced to that accurate dependence on fixed laws, which confirms the triumph of generalization. Perhaps such a reduction cannot be hoped for till we have some precise *numerical* measure of the force of affinity. Such a measure Berzelius has proposed in his recent work on chemistry; but it will require no common labour, and no common acquaintance both with the habits of manipulation and the processes of mathematics, to apply this principle; to verify such rules as he has promulgated by simple and decisive experiments, and then to trace them to their consequences, complicated as these are by so many extraneous mechanical and other causes.

There is, however, one strict quantitative law to which the induction of chemists has recently led; and this is so important a step, that some writers, using too strong an expression, have spoken of it as that which has made chemistry a science. We refer to the

the law of definite and multiple proportions, first distinctly stated by Mr. Dalton, and now undergoing its due verification by various persons, both in our own and other countries. No chemical labour is at present more necessary and useful than this. But it is to be observed, in illustration of the cautious character of our philosophy, that though the law of multiple proportions seems now to be established on a wide and secure induction, the representation of it by means of the atomic theory is far from having such claims to respect, and belongs to a branch of knowledge at present probably above our reach.

The laws of the combination of gases and vapours by definite volumes, detected by Gay-Lussac, are another and most curious aspect of the same subject, which we cannot here dwell upon.

The science of *mineralogy* occupies a place in this scale of advance, not very elevated, but difficult to fix precisely. As a method of classification, it is far less forward than botany; although the existence of a property like crystallization, governed by most exact mathematical laws, and capable of most precise measurement, is one very striking and unique feature in the survey of the external character of minerals. This property, indeed, has afforded already one very curious inductive law, viz. the fact that the numerical exponents or indices by which the positions of the faces of crystals of the same species are regulated are always rational, and generally not larger than two, three, four, or five—a law which has a kind of analogy, in the simplicity of the numbers concerned, with the doctrine of multiple proportions in chemistry. And as in that case the atomic theory of Dalton, so here the molecular hypothesis of Haüy, are modes of accounting for the simplicity of such laws, which must for the present be considered inadequate and unauthorised.

But mineralogy must share in every advance of chemistry, since one of its objects is to assign the constituent elements of minerals. It is indeed in its subservience to the enunciation of propositions on this subject, that the main value of its classification is to be looked for. The external properties of bodies must be conceived to depend on their elements and mode of composition, since there is nothing else on which they can depend. Hence our mineralogical classes will be recognised as properly determined, when they exhibit some clear chemical analogy; just as our arrangement of chemical elements can only then be natural, when the mutual actions and results of similar combinations exhibit, in some way or other, a family resemblance. The internal constitution and external aspects of bodies, when rightly seen, must correspond like the die and the medal; one stamps the impress which the other exhibits. We have, as yet, made a few steps only to the attainment  
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of truths seen from this point of view; but nothing has ever offered nearly so bright a promise of the removal of its almost hopeless difficulties, as Mitscherlich's recent discovery of isomorphism. We should rejoice exceedingly to see this most important line of chemical research energetically pursued in our country. Mr. Herschel has given an interesting account of the way in which one of our countrymen succeeded in first removing an apparent exception to the rule, in the case of the arseniate and phosphate of soda, and then in converting the instance into a striking confirmation.

'Lately, Mr. Clarke, a British chemist, having examined the two salts attentively, ascertained the fact that their compositions deviate essentially from that similarity which M. Mitscherlich's law requires; and that, therefore, the exception in question disappears. This was something; but, pursuing the subject further, the same ingenious inquirer happily succeeded in producing a *new* phosphate of soda, differing from that generally known in containing a different proportion of water, and agreeing in composition exactly with the arseniate. The crystals of this new salt, when examined, were found by him to be precisely identical in form with those of the arseniate: thus verifying, in a most striking and totally unexpected manner, the law in question, or, as it is called, the law of isomorphism.'—pp. 170, 171.

Natural history and chemistry thus appear to be only past the outset of their inductive career. Next to these in advance we find a group of sciences which are usually included in the term *physics*, when the word is somewhat specifically applied. These sciences are all more forward than those which we have mentioned, and among them it would perhaps be difficult to settle the precedence. The doctrine of *heat* is one of these; and what we have said respecting this subject, may serve as a specimen of this stage of progress. Other sciences, in many respects similarly situated, are *magnetism*, and *electricity* in equilibrium (for galvanism is yet involved in the fates of chemistry). Of these sciences, portions have been reduced to mathematical formulæ;—the laws of the radiation and conduction of caloric, as above mentioned;—those of the distribution of the electric and magnetic fluids through solid bodies, and the consequent action of these bodies on one another: and these mathematical relations, generally of a new and formidable complexity, have been developed by the investigations of Poisson, Fourier, Biot, Laplace, &c. But though mathematicians have in such cases been led to the assumption of fluids, or, as Mr. Herschel calls them, 'imponderable forms of matter,' there are an endless train of circumstances in the production, distribution, motions, and operations of such fluids, which are at present untouched by our efforts to connect and generalize.

The very curious, and, at first sight, paradoxical phenomena of  
*electro-magnetism*,

*electro-magnetism*, have been reduced into nearly the same degree of subjection to rule as those just mentioned. Indeed, if we find no defect in the investigations of M. Ampère, the simplification of this subject may be considered as having been carried even further than in the preceding cases ; for that eminent philosopher deduces all the laws of these very complex and various phenomena from the principle that two successive particles in a galvanic current repel each other, combined with a certain supposition as to the constitution of a magnet. In the history of this subject and some others, nothing is more remarkable than the brief period in which some sciences may, in modern times, run through all the stages of generalization. The progress from the first notice of the fundamental facts of this science in 1820, by Ørsted, to the promulgation of the principle just mentioned, occupied only a year or two ; yet this is a career in its character answering nearly to the entire history of astronomy, from the first contemplation of the moving skies by Chaldean shepherds, to the demonstration of universal gravitation by Newton.

Next to this we place another modern science—that of the new properties of *light* ; a science in which the phenomena are singularly beautiful even in their impressions on the sense, and full of a mixture of complexity and symmetry which make them a still more exquisite object of contemplation to the intellect. This splendid train of discovery, pursued experimentally by Malus, Arago, Biot, Brewster, and Mr. Herschel himself, has already been almost reduced, through the sagacious suggestions of Dr. Young, and the profound investigations of Fresnel, to a few laws of a most novel character, but of great simplicity. It is hardly too much to say, that every circumstance points to this subject, as the next great field of victory for inductive philosophy. The whole science seems travelling rapidly towards a single theoretical view—the theory of undulations ; which, combined with the properties of diaphanous crystals, will place the whole aggregate of these wonders within the deductive power of the mathematician.

It is not, however, till we come to old-established and long-cultivated sciences, that we can as yet distinctly point out cases in which the whole ascent to axioms has been effectually performed. Of these sciences, that of *optics*, in the sense of the term hitherto commonly understood, is the first instance here to be mentioned. The phenomena of optical instruments, of vision, and of many appearances of which the eye takes cognizance, have been successfully referred to a few simple experimental laws ; those of reflexion and refraction, and the various refractive and dispersive powers of transparent bodies. It is by no means clear that some of these varieties will not hereafter be combined and included in rules yet undiscovered.

undiscovered. The process of deduction of optical phenomena from these fundamental laws, does not belong to the most recondite departments of mathematics; yet one important portion of it, the properties of lenses and telescopes, has never till lately been executed so completely and symmetrically as the perfection of the subject required. It is to Mr. Herschel himself, and to Professor Airy, of Cambridge that we owe this final advance of mathematical optics.

We arrive at last at a subject which may be considered as an entire and perfect science; that of *mechanics*: undoubtedly the most finished instance which the world has seen of the combination of induction and deduction for which we have been seeking. The ascent from all the complex phenomena of mechanical action to the laws of motion, has been most complete. No one can doubt that these laws, and they alone, determine, as Laplace says, alike the motion of the lightest atom eddying on the wind, and the revolutions of the solar system. Whether these laws of motion, which in England have generally been considered to be three, are capable of being reduced to two, as French writers are in the habit of asserting, is a question which we shall not here discuss; the induction by which, beginning with Galileo, men have ascended to these laws, is so effectually executed, that it has, in the eyes of most persons, lost its interest; and occupies scarcely a page in our treatises on mechanics. Such works are principally occupied in the deductive process; in the application of these principles to particular cases and problems; and undoubtedly the mathematical investigations to which we are thus led are of great beauty and interest, and have been, for most of the obvious cases, amply supplied by a long train of distinguished mathematicians.

The *mechanics of fluids* (for which science hydrostatics is, according to analogy, a very inadequate term) is theoretically as complete as that of solids. We have the same principles in this as in that case, with the additional conditions only of mobility and continuity in the parts of the body to which they are applied. But the process of deduction in this case is so refractory, that mathematicians have hitherto been unable to reason from the fundamental laws alone to the phenomena actually observed. The motion of waves, as resulting from the laws of motion of fluids, has only very recently been extracted by M. Poisson, from an almost impenetrable analysis: Mr. Challis, a mathematician of Cambridge, is employed in the solution of similar problems; but the great difficulty of these researches has induced the investigators of the subject, from Newton to Hachette, to endeavour to obtain from experiment, principles of less generality than the ultimate axioms, but of easier applicability; so that we have here an instance  
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where, though the whole process of induction has been executed, a part only is employed in the common reasonings of the science.

‘The necessity of this appeal to experiment in every thing relating to the motions of fluids on the large scale has long been felt. Newton himself, who laid the first foundations of hydrodynamical science (so this branch of dynamics is called), distinctly perceived it, and set the example of laborious and exact experiments on their resistance to motion and other particulars. Venturi, Bernoulli, and many others, have applied the method of experiment to the motions of fluids in pipes and canals; and recently the brothers Weber have published an elaborate and excellent experimental inquiry into the phenomena of waves. One of the greatest and most successful attempts, however, to bring an important, and till then very obscure, branch of dynamical inquiry back to the dominion of experiment, has been made by Chladni and Savart in the case of sound and vibratory motion in general; and it is greatly to be wished that the example may be followed in many others hardly less abstruse and impracticable when theoretically treated. In such cases the inductive and deductive methods of inquiry may be said to go hand in hand, the one verifying the conclusions deduced by the other; and the combination of experiment and theory, which may thus be brought to bear in such cases, forms an engine of discovery infinitely more powerful than either taken separately. This state of any department of science is perhaps of all others the most interesting, and that which promises the most to research.’—p. 181.

Finally, we must speak of *astronomy*,—the peculiar boast and glory of the inductive method; a science which is theoretically as complete as mechanics, and, beyond comparison, more striking in its fortunes. For its phenomena were so early and so universally objects of notice and wonder; are so interwoven with the life and history of man; are seemingly so complex and entangled; and have been reduced to greater and greater simplicity by so extraordinary a succession of discoverers and reasoners, theories and guesses, that we appear to hear a long and wandering strain of music closed by a full and harmonious cadence, when the line of conjecture is terminated for ever by the announcement that all we see is but the single law of gravitation, embracing in its action every material particle which the universe contains. No one whose perceptions of scientific truth have been duly trained and exercised, can feel any suspicion that this theory, a pure and rigid representation of undoubted facts, can possibly be overturned, or follow into the regions of rejected opinions the arbitrary hypotheses which preceded it.

In the above survey, some sciences, as zoology and geology, among those connected with natural history, and harmonics among the branches of physics, have been omitted, because the arrangement

arrangement of them would require some additional principles, which here it might be tedious and misplaced to develop.

It would be a most agreeable occupation, if our limits allowed it, to compare the rapid sketch we have thus given of the relative ascent hitherto attained in the different portions of our knowledge, with the account of the state of the sciences, so pregnant with thought and with observation, which Mr. Herschel has given in his Third Part. It is written with the pen of one to whom it has been a familiar and favourite enjoyment to master and arrange in its place each discovery as it has arisen, and to catch the new views and anticipations to which it might give birth: and this exposition has a peculiar charm, in that Mr. Herschel's gratitude and sympathy seem to be ever ready for the discoverers and true philosophers of every age and country. We need hardly give specimens, for the work probably is, or will be, in the hands of all English readers whom the intellectual progress of the present age has affected: but we may refer to the view of the new discoveries on light (p. 258), and of the state of chemistry (p. 302), as instances of the masterly manner in which Mr. Herschel can present to us the latest aspect of knowledge.

Mr. Herschel's Second Part is devoted to the illustration of the rules by which true science must be conducted, and the type to which it must conform. Such a branch of philosophy, when systematized, might properly be called *inductive logic*, since it delivers the precepts of schemes of inductive inference, as the old syllogistic logic does of deductive. This portion of the treatise is a most valuable addition to our philosophical literature; for it is, we believe, the first attempt since Bacon to deliver a connected body of rules of philosophizing which shall apply alike to the conduct of all researches directed to the discovery of laws of nature; it is consequently the first of all such attempts made to deliver such precepts by a person who had before him examples of their successful application. Extraordinary as is the prophetic sagacity with which Bacon has traced the course of his method, there are points of detail where his devices are inapplicable; and this was an inevitable result of his constructing his machinery without being able to set it in action. We have often wondered that some of those who claim so loudly to be looked upon as his scholars, have never thought of putting their researches in the technical forms which he prescribes. The second book of the *Novum Organum* contains a portion of his plan of a perfect scientific investigation, and it is extremely curious. We are to have, first, a '*comparentia ad intellectum omnium instantiarum notarum quæ in eâdem naturâ conveniunt*,' a *muster* of all the relevant facts; next, a '*comparentia*' or *muster* of the negative cases, a '*tabula declinationis*.'  
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sive absentiæ in proximo ;' then a ' *tabula graduum*,' a muster of the changes of intensity. Having these three tables, the work of induction begins by a *rejection* or *exclusive* process towards all conditions obviously not essential. 'This having been performed, he says, in due manner, 'there will remain, as it were, at the bottom (all the *volatile* opinions going off in smoke) an affirmative form or law, solid and true, and clearly defined.'

Though there is much that is right and philosophical in the spirit of this, it would be both difficult and frivolous to attempt, in cases of physical research, to comply with the formalities of such a process ; and these directions of the master are noticeable principally as a curiosity. The next stage of Bacon's scheme is, however, both remarkable and instructive : it is the ' *permissio intellectûs*,' or step by which the mind is allowed to rush forwards, in order to snatch, if possible, some general conception by which the phenomena, already arranged, may be connected ; this conception having to be limited and verified by a return to facts. Mr. Herschel fixes our attention on the same intellectual process, which Bacon had thus characterized : 'Such,' he observes,

'Such is the tendency of the human mind to speculation, that on the least idea of an analogy between a few phenomena, it leaps forward, as it were, to a cause or law, to the temporary neglect of all the rest ; so that, in fact, almost all our principal inductions must be regarded as a series of ascents and descents, and of conclusions from a few cases, verified by trial on many.'—pp. 164, 165.

We shall not dwell longer on details. But there is one warning of the inductive legislator respecting the vicious indulgence of this spontaneous impulse, which it would be wrong not to mention. We refer to his condemnation of the method of *anticipation*, as opposed to that of gradual induction ; a judgment indeed which of itself almost conveys the whole spirit and character of his philosophy, and which, therefore, we have been surprised to find not more distinctly touched upon in Mr. Herschel's discourse. The way of *anticipation leaps at once* from facts and particulars to the most general axioms, and then, assuming these to be established, deduces from them the laws of particular cases.

'There are, and can be,' says Bacon, 'but these two ways of seeking truth ; the former, the anticipatory, is the one now in use ; the latter is the true but yet untried path.' (Aphorism 19.) 'Both begin from sense and from particulars, both rest ultimately in supreme generalizations, yet they are separated by an immense interval ; for while one sets up at once certain abstract and useless generalities, the other rises by degrees to general expressions of existing things.' (Aphorism 22.)

Against this fundamental mistake the teacher's voice is incessantly

santly and urgently raised ; and yet the error is far, even in our times, from being obsolete. Indeed some anticipatory process is to this day the course almost inevitably followed by all who have not been taught a wiser caution through the failures of others or their own. The usual history of physical theory has been the reign of one anticipation after another in unbroken succession. When the chemists found the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water no longer tenable, they immediately entrenched themselves in the *tria prima*, the three principles of salt, sulphur, and mercury ; and in proportion as new experiments rebelled against such a representation, they tortured both facts and theory without mercy, rather than allow that they had attempted too hastily to dart upon the ultimate elements of bodies : and this turmoil of impetuous and devious error, accompanied by slowly advancing truth, has been incessantly urged on. Bacon's voice alone is heard above the confusion, proclaiming that such is not the true road ; that anticipations may lean on some phenomena, may offer propositions of commanding generality, may produce assent, may supply materials for deduction ; but that they are not interpretations of Nature, and do not enable us to command her services ; that it is only through narrower propositions that the wider can be rightly reached ; and that all the intellects of all ages might attempt in vain to erect a durable structure on the hollow ground of anticipation.\*

In sciences which really have made any considerable progress, we have not much to fear the permanent establishment of errors arising from this source ; for the necessity of verifying our generalizations, or of abandoning them, is irresistibly felt and acted on. Still, any laxity of criticism on this subject can tend only to foster a spirit of gratuitous theorizing, which will misemploy the cultivators of science, and mislead those who learn it through words alone. We will, on this account, notice Mr. Herschel's remark on the discovery of the atomic theory, and with the less scruple, because no one will suspect Mr. Herschel of considerably commending, or Mr. Dalton of pertinaciously pursuing, the faithless path of unverified anticipation. Mr. Herschel says of the law of definite proportions,

' The extreme simplicity which characterizes it, and which is itself an indication, not unequivocal, of its elevated rank in the scale of physical truths, had the effect of causing it to be announced at once by Mr. Dalton, in its most general terms, on the contemplation of a few instances, without passing through subordinate stages of painful inductive ascent by the intermedium of subordinate laws, such as, had the contrary course been pursued by him, would have been naturally

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\* Nov. Org., lib. i., Aph. 30.

preparatory to it, and such as would have led others to it by the prosecution of Wenzel's and Richter's researches, had they been duly attended to.'—pp. 305, 306.

Now, such language we cannot but think is liable to be mistaken. If Mr. Dalton had *guessed* the law to be true from a *few* instances, and done no more, he would have been the first person whose name has been permanently connected with the history of science in virtue of such an unexamined simplification. It is easy to form such conjectures, and hardly more meritorious to be right than wrong in them. The simplicity of a doctrine is a most fallacious argument for its truth, and may as often retard as advance science. What could be more simple than the supposition that the heavenly bodies all moved in circles? Nothing can be more opposed to the notion of discoveries unbought by labour, than the persevering and unwearied trials, the patient eagerness, the gradual insight, of those who have earned the fame of true philosophers. The popular love of the striking and wonderful may indeed be caught by the idea of sudden and unprepared inspirations of the genius of discovery; but those who have acquired sounder views of the appointed course of true and permanent science, will share in no such feeling. They tell us, to borrow the language of another living philosopher of the university and of the school of Bacon,

'That the records of mankind offer no single instance of any great physical truth anticipated by mere guesses and conjectures; that philosophic wisdom consists in comprehending the last generalizations derived from facts, each of which is only known by experiment and observation; and in advancing, by such means, to those general laws by which all things are bound together: that inventive power in physics, unlike inventive power in works of art or of imagination, finds no employment in ideal creations, and only means the faculty by which the mind clearly apprehends the relations and analogies of things already known, and is thereby directed and urged on to the discovery of new facts by the help of new comparisons; that the history of ages has proved this way of slow and toilsome induction to be the only path which leads to physical truth.'\*

We have not space to notice Mr. Herschel's admirable precepts and maxims for scientific research. We may, however, mention, as an instance of them, his ninth rule, where he observes, that in tracing the law of a compound effect, we sometimes subduct the effect of all the *known* causes, and thus leave as it were a *residual phenomenon* to be explained. In modern times, knowing already as we do the possible effect of so many causes, this process is peculiarly useful in disentangling from the complex of nature the

\* President's address, at the anniversary of the Geological Society, 1830, by Professor Sedgwick.

portions which depend on laws still unknown. Mr. Herschel gives, as an example of this process, the return of Encke's comet, where, after allowing for all the perturbations produced by the attraction of the planets, there yet remains a retardation of the motion, seeming to indicate some material, though subtle medium, diffused through the celestial space : he instances it again in M. Arago's determination of the magnetic power of a copper plate, by subtracting from the retardation of a magnetic needle vibrating near it, the effect due to the known resistances of the surrounding air and the suspending thread ; again, in the independent temperature of the celestial regions, which L'ourrier conceived to remain after subtracting the influence of the sun and stars ; and in the detection of new elements in the residual quantities of chemical researches, as in the case of lithia, discovered by Arfwedson. It is obvious that such a mode of discovery (new and curious as a subject of speculation) can only be employed when we have already discovered much. It is not till we have proceeded so far in the interpretation of Nature as to have learnt the greater part of her language, that we can thus make out the meaning of a few words still unknown, by considering their place in the context.

If we are to pay any deference to the spirit of our time and country, we must not quit our subject without saying a word on that portion of physical science which Bacon calls 'deductio ad praxim;' its application to the uses and needs of human life. That the consideration of this office of human knowledge gives a near interest and vivid reality to its speculations, no one probably will deny ; and there is even a kind of dignity bestowed on the physical conditions of man's well being, when we see the highest efforts of which the human intellect is capable, the discoveries which it has required generations to mature, ministering to his wants and performing his bidding. Bacon in anticipation, and Mr. Herschel in retrospect, seem to love to dwell on the powers and pleasures which knowledge thus brings in her train. 'No doubt,' says the former, 'the sovereignty of man lieth hid in knowledge, wherein many things are reserved which kings with their treasure cannot buy, nor with their force command.' Mr. Herschel observes, with manifest delight, instances 'where the extremes of speculative refinement and of practical utility are brought to approximate.' Bacon points to the discovery of gunpowder, of silk, of the compass, of sugar, of paper, and of printing, and then asks if, when men were not inquiring, when they were following other objects, inventions so many and so useful fell in their way, as it were by chance, what may we look for when they are making such knowledge their object, pursuing it methodically and systematically, instead of by casual impulse and desultory

desultory courses? Our modern philosopher does not disdain to draw his arguments from the refinements which science has introduced into such arts as smelting, bleaching, soap-boiling, and sugar-boiling. The applications of iodine to the cure of the goitre, of lemon-juice to the prevention of scurvy, of the magnetic mask to protect the lungs of the needle-maker, of the safety-lamp to the preservation of the miner, afford him a benevolent pleasure, in the spectacle of human miseries alleviated, and of the substantial benefits flowing to the ignorant from what might at first sight appear to be only fanciful and wanton amusements of the intellects of the idle.

We will give Mr. Herschel's account of a few of these cases.

'A soap-manufacturer remarks that the residuum of his ley, when exhausted of the alkali for which he employs it, produces a corrosion of his copper boiler for which he cannot account. He puts it into the hands of a scientific chemist for analysis, and the result is the discovery of one of the most singular and important chemical elements, iodine. The properties of this, being studied, are found to occur most appositely in illustration and support of a variety of new, curious, and instructive views then gaining ground in chemistry, and thus exercise a marked influence over the whole body of that science. Curiosity is excited: the origin of the new substance is traced to the sea-plants from whose ashes the principal ingredient of soap is obtained, and ultimately to the sea-water itself. It is thence hunted through nature, discovered in salt-mines and springs, and pursued into all bodies which have a marine origin; among the rest into sponge. A medical practitioner then calls to mind a reputed remedy for the cure of one of the most grievous and unsightly disorders to which the human species is subject—the *goitre*—which infests the inhabitants of mountainous districts to an extent that in this favoured land we have happily no experience of, and which was said to have been originally cured by the ashes of burnt sponge. Led by this indication, he tries the effect of iodine on that complaint, and the result establishes the extraordinary fact that this singular substance, taken as a medicine, acts with the utmost promptitude and energy on *goitre*, dissipating the largest and most inveterate in a short time, and acting (of course, like all medicines, even the most approved, with occasional failures) as a specific, or natural antagonist, against that odious deformity. It is thus that any accession to our knowledge of nature is sure, sooner or later, to make itself felt in some practical application, and that a benefit conferred on science by the casual observation or shrewd remark of even an unscientific or illiterate person infallibly repays itself with interest, though often in a way that could never have been at first contemplated.'—pp. 50—52.

'Who would have conceived that linen rags were capable of producing more than their own weight of sugar, by the simple agency of one of the cheapest and most abundant acids?—that dry bones could

could be a magazine of nutriment, capable of preservation for years, and ready to yield up their sustenance in the form best adapted to the support of life, on the application of that powerful agent, steam, which enters so largely into all our processes, or of an acid at once cheap and durable?—that sawdust itself is susceptible of conversion into a substance bearing no remote analogy to bread; and though certainly less palatable than that of flour, yet no way disagreeable, and both wholesome and digestible as well as highly nutritive?—pp. 64, 65.

This is all most true and most valuable; and assuredly Bacon, and his disciple, Mr. Herschel, are not the philosophers whom we shall find dwelling too exclusively on such considerations. But we conceive that it would be to take an unworthy and ignoble view of the claims of knowledge and the grounds of its value, if we were to derive its importance from its applications alone. For men engaged in remote and abstruse researches, we sometimes hear a plea offered, in a tone of apology, that no one can foresee the possible results of a discovery, and that the most recondite and abstract speculations have often come, by some strange and circuitous route, to have a bearing on the uses of daily life. This is rightly said, but this is not all. The true and worthy claim of knowledge is that which every lover of it feels in his own heart;—that it is valuable for its own sake; that truth is worth having because it is truth; the more worth having, the more pregnant and comprehensive the character which it possesses. Utilitarian moralists may maintain that we cannot have any wise motive of action except our own advantage; utilitarian philosophers may maintain that we cannot have any sufficient inducement for research except the tangible benefit of our expected discovery. The consciousness of every good man contradicts the former dogma; the irresistible impulse of every true philosopher—every man with the spirit of a discoverer—is inconsistent with the latter. Even if we were to confine ourselves to the pleasure produced, if we were to put the love of truth on a level with the love of turtle, still the former delicacy may probably be more widely and intensely relished, certainly more generally and equally diffused; and we do not see why the gratification which men may receive from knowing the laws which regulate the motions of light, is not as worthy our regard as that which they would derive from travelling from London to Brighton in an hour and a half, or from breakfasting on fresh strawberries every day in the year. But in fact the love of knowledge ought not to be degraded so far as to be weighed out for ounce against the pleasures of sense. It differs from them as a duty differs from an indulgence. Knowledge is followed because it is itself a good: it is an end, not a means.

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There are affections directed towards it as distinctly marked, and as elevated in their kind, as any other portion of our mental constitution. We are its suitors for itself, and not for its dower; and if we were allowed to borrow Mr. Shandy's favourite quotation, and to translate as freely as he was in the habit of doing, we would say, '*Amicus Socrates,*' utility is a pleasant companion, '*sed magis amica veritas,*' but truth is a beloved friend.

We rejoice here to borrow the truly dignified and philosophical expressions of Mr. Herschel.

'The question "*cui bono*" to what practical end and advantage do your researches tend? is one which the speculative philosopher who loves knowledge for its own sake, and enjoys, as a rational being should enjoy, the mere contemplation of harmonious and mutually dependent truths, can seldom hear without a sense of humiliation. He feels that there is a lofty and disinterested pleasure in his speculations which ought to exempt them from such questioning; communicating as they do to his own mind the purest happiness (after the exercise of the benevolent and moral feelings) of which human nature is susceptible, and tending to the injury of no one, he might surely allege *this* as a sufficient and direct reply to those who, having themselves little capacity, and less relish for intellectual pursuits, are constantly repeating upon him this inquiry.'—p. 10.

If we had here space for the discussion, it would be a curious question to examine whether the attention of men of science may not be directed towards this practical deduction, this application of science to arts and commerce, so far as to interfere with their success in ascending to laws of a more exalted generality and higher speculative beauty; and we might ask whether such a diverse tendency of the scientific intellect of different countries has operated to produce any differences which may be detected in the present condition of England, as to the cultivation of science, compared with other countries: but we must hasten to conclude.

We have only a word or two to say on the style and manner of Mr. Herschel's treatise. Our men of science have not of late been considered remarkable for beauty or brilliancy of composition: the mathematicians and physical philosophers, especially, have often been reproached with having their style tinged with French expressions, arising from the influence of the many excellent works in that language relating to their studies. If such was the rule, however, there were splendid exceptions in Davy, Playfair, Leslie, and Brewster; and new names, worthy of being classed with these, are now daily multiplying among us. We may allude in particular to the strong and masculine eloquence with which Sedgewick announces his masterly and comprehensive views, and the clear, elegant, varied diction of Lyell. Mr.

Herschel merits at least equal commendation for his sound, vigorous English, pregnant with thought and meaning, and very often marked with a well chosen pointedness of expression. Here and there, perhaps, we may detect a scientific Gallicism which has straggled in; as when he speaks of persons who have '*imagined processes*,' meaning *devised*; and of '*the behaviour of a particle set in motion when it meets another lying in its way*'—a phrase which would probably startle the mere English reader, though it may not be easy for him to suggest an adequate substitute. But, on the other hand, we find scattered through the work instances of vivid and happy illustration, where the fancy is usefully called into action, so as sometimes to remind us of the splendid pictures which crowd upon us in the style of Bacon, where the restlessness of the intellect appears to keep its chamber-fellow, the imagination, perpetually awake.

We cannot better conclude our review of Mr. Herschel's delightful volume than by an extract from his first chapter,—one of the finest essays on the moral conduct of the intellect which has ever been produced.

'Nothing, then, can be more unfounded than the objection which has been taken, *in limine*, by persons, well meaning perhaps, certainly narrow-minded, against the study of natural philosophy,—that it fosters in its cultivators an undue and overweening self-conceit, leads them to doubt the immortality of the soul, and to scoff at revealed religion. Its natural effect, we may confidently assert, on every well constituted mind, is, and must be, the direct contrary. No doubt the testimony of natural reason, on whatever exercised, must of necessity stop short of those truths which it is the object of revelation to make known; but, while it places the existence and principal attributes of a Deity on such grounds as to render doubt absurd and atheism ridiculous, it unquestionably opposes no natural or necessary obstacle to further progress: on the contrary, by cherishing as a vital principle an unbounded spirit of inquiry and ardency of expectation, it unfetters the mind from prejudices of every kind, and leaves it open and free to every impression of a higher nature which it is susceptible of receiving, guarding only against enthusiasm and self-deception by a habit of strict investigation, but encouraging, rather than suppressing, everything that can offer a prospect or a hope beyond the present obscure and unsatisfactory state. The character of the true philosopher is to hope all things not impossible, and to believe all things not unreasonable. He who has seen obscurities which appeared impenetrable in physical and mathematical science suddenly dispelled, and the most barren and unpromising fields of inquiry converted, as if by inspiration, into rich and inexhaustible springs of knowledge and power, on a simple change of our point of view, or by merely bringing to bear on them some principle which it never occurred before to try, will surely be the very  
last

last to acquiesce in any dispiriting prospects of either the present or future destinies of mankind ; while, on the other hand, the boundless views of intellectual and moral, as well as material, relations which open on him on all hands in the course of these pursuits, the knowledge of the trivial place he occupies in the scale of creation, and the sense continually pressed upon him of his own weakness and incapacity to suspend or modify the slightest movement of the vast machinery he sees, in action around him, must effectually convince him that humility of pretension, no less than confidence of hope, is what best becomes his character.'—pp. 7, 8.

ART. IV.—*Doctrine de Saint Simon. Exposition. Première Année. 1828-1829. Seconde édition. Paris. 1830.*

WE alluded at the close of our late article on 'Babœuf's Conspiracy,' to the progress in France of a new sect, avowing religious and political views alike blasphemous and dangerous. That an adventurer—half profligate, half madman—should have met with any considerable measure of success in the attempt to found a sect in that country in these days, is of itself a most remarkable circumstance. But the political branch, at least, of the heresy is so likely to find favour at this time among certain classes of our own population, that we have considered it our duty to devote a separate paper to the history and character of this 'Doctrine de Saint Simon.'

Some of those continental statesmen and men of letters, whose hearts and understandings have been corrupted by the false philosophy of the age, have acted in our own days upon an opinion which they did not affect to disguise, that all religions are false, but that some religion is necessary for the well-being of society, and that the Roman Catholic, as being the most widely extended, and holding out the greatest attractions to the multitude, is the one which a politic government ought to encourage in preference to all others. Upon such an understanding it was that popery and atheism used formerly to fraternize in all Roman Catholic countries. The reigning Harlot tolerated no heresy, no open contradiction ; but she exacted nothing more than a decent observance of forms, and was abundantly indulgent, both in theory and practice, to every imaginable license in other things. Nothing has yet occurred to interrupt this amicable understanding in Spain, nor in Italy, in which latter country it originated, and may be said to be established ; it prevails, also, to a considerable extent in Romish Germany, and in a less degree in the Netherlands, for superstition has still a strong hold there upon the clergy and middle

middle classes. The Gallican Church, though equally well disposed to a compromise of this kind, was never able to effectuate it so completely as to make it work well ; profligate and irreligious men, who belonged to its ranks, were not disturbed, either on account of their lives or their opinions, and they were liberally beneficed according to their pretensions ; but while it thus secured these persons, it could not deter those who were not enlisted in its service from acting against it. When Henri IV. was reconciled to the Romish Church, religion received a shock in France from which it never recovered. The motives for the numerous conversions which followed in that and in the succeeding generation were so gross and obvious, that few of the converts obtained credit for sincerity either from those whom they left or those to whom they went over ; and most of such converts, who belonged to the higher and educated ranks, thought it the best excuse toward others, and the most consolatory one for themselves, to have it supposed that they had made no other change than that of forsaking the party of the *esprits foibles* to join that of the *esprits forts*.

To this cause, even more than to the atrocious spirit with which the religious wars were carried on, on both sides, or than to the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, we must ascribe the early growth and progress of an anti-Christian feeling in France. The corruption of manners had prepared the way for it. The profligacy of the French court, from the time of Louis XI.'s death, was without even the restraint of shame, and it infected with a lasting contagion the literature of the country. That of Spain had never been thus defiled ; and the reformation, by its indirect effects, put a stop to the turpitudes of the Italian press ; but in France, the most licentious writers were under little or no check, till the vigorous despotism of Louis XIV. was established. Grotius, writing in 1627 from Paris, and alluding to his Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion, says,\* '*certè adversus impietatem remediis Gallia non parum indiget ; ipse nisi expertus vix crederem.*' In another letter, from the same capital, he says,† '*apertè in impietatem ruit Gallia, cujus ego pestis tam multa quotidiana παθο-γμασμαι video, ut vivere me pene tædeat, inter tales vivere tædeat omnino. Etiam libri plurimi prodeunt nihil credere docentes ! Et hæc vident feruntque οἱ ἀναμάρτητοι, per quos quæ Tertullianei loci fuerit sententia, dicere non licet !*' The Jesuits are the 'impeccables' here spoken of ; and it was more likely for want of power at that time than of will that they made no attempt at preventing the circulation of such books. Irreligion had been held in the utmost

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\* Hugonis Grotii Epistolæ, p. 78.

† Ib. p. 100.

abhorrence by the French in the preceding century ; as is shown by a remarkable anecdote in the literary history of that nation. At the time when seven of the most distinguished French poets then living were known by the name of the Pleiades, their company was frequented by a person of insinuating manners and no ordinary talents, who, when he had become sufficiently intimate with them, let them know that he was an atheist, and endeavoured to proselyte them to his own miserable state of unbelief. Three of the seven gave ear to him ; and he was proceeding successfully to corrupt the minds of many others who moved in the same circle of society, when his doctrines shocked those whom he was not able to pervert. Nicolas Rapin was the first whose zeal was kindled against him. Ronsard, Tournébe, and Saint Marthe, partaking the same indignation, brought back the three wandering stars, and attacked the propagandist vehemently both in prose and verse ; nor did they cease to exert themselves against him in every way, till they had brought him under the cognizance of the law, and he was put to death,—being hanged in the Place de Grève, and his body burnt. M. Duchat supposes that Geoffroi Vallée was the person who thus fell a victim to his own pernicious opinions and to the spirit of the age ; but this is not certain, for in none of the invectives against him is he named. Rapin, when he was on his death-bed, declared that the part which he had taken in bringing this unhappy man to execution was the only thing in his life on which he could look back with satisfaction : \* ‘ *Sans nostre forte opposition je me cruindrois, disoit-il, que la France ne fust maintenant un esgoust d’Atheisme, si principalement il eust trouvé du support dans nos esprits, pour authoriser ces maximes.*’

In that age men were as much in earnest in their religion, or what they supposed to be their religion, as they are now at a contested election in their political opinions, or in those passions, prejudices, and private considerations, which they dignify or conceal under that name. Death was suffered cheerfully, and it was inflicted in good faith. But after the great example of insincerity in religious profession which had been given by the French court, that excitement was at an end : and though the blood of the martyrs in that age, as in the primitive ages, proved the seed of the church, there sprang up in later times a noxious growth from their ashes. Men, whose loose lives predisposed them to impiety, found in the horrors which had been perpetrated during the religious struggle, a pretext for disbelieving the religion under the name of which such crimes had been committed : and it was not difficult for them to throw off their belief wherever the Romish church was triumphant, and with its gross legends and monstrous dogmas

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\* Garasse, *Doctrine Curieuse*, p. 124—6.

insulted the credulity of mankind. For among the many unhappy effects which that church has produced wherever its dominion is established, this has uniformly appeared, that the very persons whom it has provoked to infidelity regarded it as the true, or, more correctly speaking, as the only authentic form of Christianity: they have looked to its councils and rituals for the standard of Christian faith; they have formed their estimate of Christian philosophy and Christian morals from its convents and confessionals; and of Christian charity from its inquisition and its autos-da-fe. It was seldom that they condescended to bestow the slightest consideration upon the Protestant churches; towards them they retained in full force the inveterate prejudice in which they had been trained up. The variations of those churches were to them sufficient evidence against them at first sight; and they were still so far enthralled in mind by the self-styled Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, that they acknowledged its pretensions to be conclusive against all others. Persons, who living in Roman Catholic countries have honestly rejected Christianity in the revolting form wherein it has always been presented to them, will not believe that any man, for whose understanding they have any respect, can possibly be a Christian, though born and bred in a reformed church; if they are convinced of this, the only effect which the unwelcome conviction seems to produce is, that instead of despising Protestantism as they used to do, they regard it with a hostile and vindictive feeling, as if the possibility of its being sincerely received disturbed the tranquillity of their unbelief. This is affirmed, not as what might be inferred in fair probability, but upon personal observation and certain knowledge.

It was in France, more than in any other country, that the spirit of infidelity prevailed, because it accorded with the manners of the court, and with the national character. We know what effect was produced in England by the example of Charles the Second's Frenchified court; but the Parisians had always such examples before them. The days of Louis the Fourteenth's bigotry can hardly be said to form an exception; and from his revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the atrocious persecution which ensued, the double evil resulted,—that the kingdom was deprived of a great number of its most virtuous and religious subjects; and that another most deep and bloody stain was fixed upon what the persecutors in that country called Christianity, and what all who became infidels believed to be such. This fatal mispersuasion has led to the perversion of many a brilliant intellect, and thence to the corruption of many a generous heart. Revolting against the outrages to humanity, which were committed in the name of the church, and the insults which in the same name were offered to

to the reasonable understanding, they at once abhorred and despised the religion of the Vatican, and the Escorial, and the Louvre; and because they loathed the impudent figments of Franciscanism, and Dominicanism, and Loyolism, they loathed that faith in which alone they that are weary and heavy laden can find rest,—in which alone there is consolation, and support, and strength, and sure and certain hope. As often as infidelity has manifested itself in England, it has been confounded and put to shame. The immeasurable superiority of our great English divines over those writers by whom Christianity has been assailed, cannot be imagined by those who are not conversant with their works. But in France it was far otherwise; infidelity was there described, in the early part of the seventeenth century, as *tenant le haut du pavé sans contradiction*. The Romish religion had fallen into utter disrespect, and no wonder;—many of its higher clergy notoriously did not believe its doctrines, and its charity had been shown in the *dragonades*. Its practices were superstitious, its intolerance was merciless, its history was wicked.

But if ever there was a philosophy which deserves to be called earthly, sensual, devilish, it is that which allied itself with infidelity and attacked this church,—attacking at the same time the foundations of private morals and of public order. Gray compares the zeal of a man who had taken up some new theory on medicine, to that of a French atheist. ‘Atheism,’ says he, in one of his letters, ‘is a vile dish; though all the cooks in France combine to make new sauces to it. I have long been sick at it in their authors and hated them for it: but I pity their poor innocent people of fashion: they were bad enough when they believed everything!’ Gray might well feel this, who was a poet, a philosopher, and a Christian,—a wise good man; but even Chesterfield, who had at one time predicted and *hoped*, from ‘the symptoms of reason and good sense’ which were breaking out all over France, ‘that before the end of that century, the trade of both king and priest would not be half so good a one as it had been,’—even Chesterfield foresaw and feared the consequences. ‘A spirit of licentiousness,’ said he, ‘as to all matters of religion and government is spread throughout the whole kingdom. If the neighbours of France are wise they will be quiet, and let these seeds of discord germinate, as they certainly will do if no foreign object checks their growth, and unites all parties in a common cause.’ But he saw that other nations also had something to apprehend from the same demoralizing philosophy; speaking of Voltaire, whom he greatly admired, in a letter to Crebillon, he says,

‘He is not the first writer who has been carried away, by a lively imagination,

imagination, beyond the bounds of reason and of accuracy; but what I cannot pardon in him, and what is not pardonable, is the great pains he takes to propagate a doctrine which is as pernicious to civil society, as it is to the general religion of all countries. I doubt greatly whether it is allowable for any man to write against the worship and the belief of his own country, even if he were in good faith convinced that they were not free from error, on account of the disturbance and disorder it would occasion. But I am very certain no man is at liberty to attack the foundations of morality, and to break those ties which are so necessary, and already too weak, to restrain mankind within the bounds of duty.'

Horace Walpole, who had not more religious feeling than Lord Chesterfield, but was gifted with equal sagacity in matters of worldly wisdom, formed the same conclusion from what he observed in Paris.

'I assure you,' he says, 'you may come hither very safely, and be in no danger from mirth: laughing is as much out of fashion as pantins and bilboquets. Good folks, they have not time to laugh! There is God and the king to be pulled down first, and men and women, one and all, are devoutly employed in the demolition. They think me quite profane for having any belief left.' This was in the year 1765. 'The *sçavants*,' he says in another letter, 'I beg their pardon, the *philosophes*, are insupportable,—superficial, overbearing and fanatic. They preach incessantly, and their avowed doctrine is atheism,—you would not believe how openly. Voltaire himself does not satisfy them; one of their lady devotees said of him, "*il est bigot, c'est un diâble*." You will think the sentiments of the *philosophes* very odd *state-news*; but do you know who the philosophers are, or what the term means here? In the first place it comprehends almost everybody; and in the next means men who, avowing war against popery, aim, many of them, at a subversion of all religion, and still many more at the destruction of regal power.'

There is another passage in Horace Walpole's letters, which is especially noticeable, because it describes a class of men, who, at the commencement of a revolutionary age, become as mischievous by their weakness and their want of any fixed principles, as others are by their wickedness, and by the restless activity with which an evil principle inspires them.

'You must not,' he says, 'conclude their people of quality atheists, at least not the men. Happily for them, poor souls, they are not capable of going so far into thinking. They assent to a great deal, because it is the fashion, and because they don't know how to contradict. They are ashamed to defend the Roman Catholic religion, because it is quite exploded; but I am convinced they believe it in their hearts. They hate the parliament and the philosophers, and are rejoiced that they may still idolize royalty.'

Most of that generation were in the course of nature taken away from

from the evil to come; the royalty which they idolized lasted their time, which is all that the selfish care for: but the storm that Chesterfield and Walpole foresaw, burst upon their successors, who, in like manner, had assented to whatever opinions were in vogue; and they became the victims of a revolution, which in their folly, or their vanity, or their cowardice, they had contributed to bring on. That revolution took its course;—such a course it was, that if men ever learnt ‘to be wise by others’ harms,’ no nation could ever again be in danger of a like calamity. There were diseases in the body politic, for which regimen and alteratives were required; state physicians of great pretensions and no practice were called in, and when their theories failed, from which so much had presumptuously been promised, the quacks who thrust themselves forward were allowed to try their nostrums, the St. John Longs with their caustics, and the Dr. Eadys \*, who undertake to restore a good constitution by producing a Radical Reform. Impossible expectations were excited in the people. Whatever party flattered them most, and held out lying promises with greatest confidence, obtained always a temporary ascendancy. The first spoliation was that of the church. Nobility and the law of primogeniture were then abolished, and the monarchy fell—of course. The power which had been taken from the hands of a benevolent king and his weak ministers, by a constitutional assembly, was transmitted to a popular one; it was then usurped by clubs and committees; journalists gave the law, revolutionary tribunals administered it, and it was executed by the guillotine,—unless when the operation of that machine was too slow for the wholesale destruction that was called for! Constitutions were made one after another, each more democratic than the last: one after another they were accepted, and promulgated, and sworn to; and one after another they were laid aside,—the last year’s constitution becoming out of date like the last year’s almanac, and oaths requiring no dispensation among a people who had proclaimed themselves omnipotent, and with whom every one was his own Pope. What could oaths avail, when Christianity had been renounced by the nation, and when, by authority of the government, the dreadful words ‘Death is Eternal sleep,’ were inscribed over the entrance to all burial places? ‘*Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch’ entrate*,’ they for whom those cemeteries were appointed had no hopes from which to part,—all that they desired was to be emancipated from the restraints of religion in this life, and from its fears for the world to come. The exclamation of the rabble at Arras, when the executioner’s cart, as it came back from the guillotine laden with

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\* See No. 87 of this Journal, p. 303.

decapitated bodies, tracked its way with blood, was *Nous pouvons faire ce que nous voulons ; il n'y a pas de Dieu !*

'Le scepticisme outré,' says Portalis, '*l'esprit d'irreligion, transformé en système politique, est plus près de la barbarie qu'on ne pense.*' How nearly it had reduced France to that state of utter barbarism has been powerfully described by Lucien Buonaparte.

'Comme le gouvernement,' he says, '*avait été ruiné par l'abus des principes de la démocratie, la religion avait été perdue par l'abus des principes de la tolérance. L'on avait introduit dans le gouvernement et l'administration l'ignorance présomptueuse, l'inconséquence, le fanatisme politique, et la tyrannie sous les formes populaires : l'envie avait amené l'indifférence, et bientôt l'oubli des devoirs publics et privés, déchaîné toutes les passions, développé toute l'avidité de l'intérêt le plus cupide, détruit l'éducation, et menacé de corrompre à la fois et la génération présente et celle qui doit la remplacer. O temps de honte éternelle ! (si dans tous les siècles les révolutions ne produisent d'affreux résultats sous des symptômes divers)—jours qui semblaient avoir ramené le peuple le plus doux de la terre à la féroce des peuplades les plus barbares !—Dans ce délire effrayant on eût dit que le cœur de l'homme était changé, et que plusieurs siècles s'étaient écoulés dans l'espace de quelques jours.—Content de son ouvrage, l'athéisme crut avoir détruit à jamais la religion. Mais le petit nombre des dominateurs du jour s'aperçut bientôt qu'ils seraient aussi enveloppés dans la perte commune. L'état marchait rapidement vers la ruine complète. Toutes les digues étaient rompues, la société était attaquée de toutes parts ; on parla bientôt du partage des fortunes ; privée de tous les liens de la morale, la république était sur le point de se dissoudre. L'athéisme fut épouvanté de son propre ouvrage. Ses disciples tremblèrent sur leur propre sort ; pressés de toutes parts, ils voulurent soumettre au frein de la morale le monstre qu'ils avaient déchaîné ; ils changèrent de langage, et ils semblèrent tirer comme d'un grand oubli la tradition d'un Être Suprême ; son existence, et l'immortalité de l'âme furent proclamés.*'

Robespierre obtained some popularity by putting down the atheistic party ; and no single execution, not even his own, or that of Philip Egalité, the then Duke of Orleans, was regarded more generally as an act of righteous retribution than that of Jean Baptiste Gobel, the constitutional bishop of Paris, who had appeared at the bar of the National Convention, attended by his three grand vicars, for the purpose of resigning his functions, and declaring that there was no longer any need of religion, the worship of Reason being the only adoration that became a people of philosophers ! On that memorable occasion, to use the 'well-culled and apt' expression of an English biographer, '*the legislature itself was surprised into some imprudent steps.*'\* They enacted that there should be a Festival of Reason on the anniversary

\* Biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, vol. ii. p. 436.

of its glorious triumph in the person of this recanting bishop; and Gobel received from the president the *accollade fraternelle*, which he had thus deserved. Seven months before that anniversary came round he received the *decollade*,—the last and proper reward which the revolution reserved for those who laboured with most devotion in its service. He had conspired with the madman Clootz, and the miscreants Hebert and Chaumette, to make atheism the national profession: and other miscreants, wise enough to perceive the folly of this, though not capable of understanding its wickedness, brought the whole faction to the guillotine upon a groundless charge of having conspired against the republic.

Hobbes has said, that it is not hard to understand by what causes religion may be resolved 'into its first seeds or principles, which are only an opinion of a deity, and powers invisible and supernatural;' and these, he says, 'can never be so abolished out of human nature, but that new religions may again be made to spring out of them.' Such a dissolution had taken place in France, and from the causes which Hobbes indicated; and a notion was thence conceived by certain persons, most of whom deserve rather to be spoken of as vain spirits than daring ones, of instituting a new religion adapted to 'the intellectual light, the manners, and the principles of liberty upon which the republic was supported,'—in a word, a religion worthy of the 'age of reason.' A prelude to this design was brought forth by Robespierre himself, in a spectacle more characteristic of the people to whom it was exhibited than of the chief performer, except that the oration which he delivered bore the peculiar stamp of his oratory. His wicked reign was at that time drawing to its close; and after his fall, the Theophilanthropists, under the patronage of one of the Directory, attempted to establish a bare, bald, theistic worship. '*Mais on ne fait pas une religion*,' says Portalis, '*comme on promulgue des lois. SI LA FORCE DES LOIS VIENT DE CE QU'ON LES CRAINT, LA FORCE D'UNE RELIGION VIENT UNIQUEMENT DE CE QU'ON LA CROIT: or, la foi ne se commande pas.*' The truth of this remark was evinced, not only in the miserable failure of little Reveillere Lepaux, and his Theophilanthropy, but also in what Portalis did not foresee, the ill-success with which Buonaparte attempted to restore the old religion in France. He gave it an outward and visible form; he obtained for it, from the Pope, whatever he thought proper to require, and even brought the Pope himself to Paris for the double purpose of consecrating his own elevation to the imperial title, and of making the reconciliation of France to that church which calls itself apostolic more ostentatiously manifest. But this was all that he could do: the Pope's political

political mission degraded his pontifical character; the profligate manners, and the irreligious philosophism which produced the revolution, survived it; the French people still fed upon the same poisonous literature; the restored church was, in its dogmas and its figments, and its practices, the same which had been overthrown, but it had been stripped of its wealth and its power, and with these it lost the little influence which it had formerly possessed.

Yet there was more probability of its recovering that influence under Buonaparte than after the Bourbons were restored. Buonaparte was not a whit more sincere when he declared himself a Roman Catholic, than when he called himself in Egypt the friend of the Prophet, and bore the Mohammedan name of Ali in his proclamations. He found the Pope not so obsequious in all things as he had been in negotiating the Concordat, and in consecrating the Napoleonic dynasty; and he ceased to manifest any solicitude for the revival of a religion which began to operate against him. It was not, however, assailed with any bitterness during his reign, because it was despised; the Liberals supposed that with its power it had lost its sting. When the Bourbons returned, it became an object, not indeed of fear to that party, for they were too conscious of their own strength, but of hatred; there were manifestations enough of its old and indelible character to bring that again into full action. They brought to bear against it the force of an all-but-all-powerful press, and against these attacks it was defended '*avec la tiédeur de l'égoïsme; avec les ruses, les détours, les hésitations, les contradictions, les médiocrités de l'hypocrisie.*' These are the words of a most able writer, zealous himself in the cause of the Roman Catholic church. Bibles have not been circulated with more zeal in England during the last twenty years, than the writings of Voltaire in France. The French presses have teemed with productions of the same profligate school; and a large proportion of the unfortunate readers were coloured by them in heart and mind, like insects by their food, so that after the *Three Days*, the irreligion of the Jacobin times was re-established as spontaneously by the Parisians, and with as little interference on the part of the government, as the Inquisition was, upon Ferdinand's return, by the people of Madrid and Seville. If there was no national declaration of infidelity, such as had been made by the National Convention, enough was done—or permitted—to manifest the sentiments of the rulers concerning religion. The same hands which demolished the fleurs-de-lis wherever they were found upon the public buildings, demolished the cross also. The church of St. Geneviève was once more unchristened, and ana-paganized by its absurd name of the Pantheon; and when it was determined that

that Louis Philip should not be styled 'king by the grace of God,' it will not be supposed that the words were dropped from a reverential fear of taking God's name in vain.

But it was not the religious establishment alone which had been subverted in France—the foundations of civil government had been shaken and dislocated by the same shock; and before the shock came, they had been undermined. What has well been called a political atheism had spread to a perilous extent among the people. Of the many revolutions which took place during the years of anarchy, there was none for which so much preparation had been made, nor for which there was so great a probability of success, as the levelling conspiracy in which Babœuf and his associates, most happily for humanity, failed. The principle upon which that conspiracy was formed was still cherished by the fanatics of the revolution; and not by them alone,—for the levelling principle carries with it an appearance of rectitude not less attractive than fallacious. No principle is more likely to be embraced by men who are at the same time benevolent, and ardent, and ill-informed; the number of such persons is great in youth, and not inconsiderable in middle life. And who can need to be reminded what multitudes must always be ready to become levellers—because they have been unsuccessful, and covet their neighbours' goods? Tom Lurcher's reasoning will always be persuasive with such men.

———— Have I not told thee,  
And oftentimes, Nature made all men equal,  
Her distribution to each child alike;  
Till labour came, and thrust a new will in,  
Which I allow not; till men won a privilege  
By that they call endeavour, which indeed  
Is nothing but a lawful cousenage,  
An allowed way to cheat? Why should my neighbour,  
That hath no more soul than his horse-keeper,  
Nor bounteous faculties above a broom-man,  
Have forty thousand pounds, and I—four groats?  
Why should he keep it?

This indeed is rogue's logic; but it is the logic of a much larger university than either Oxford or Cambridge. In ordinary times it is applied in practice only by ordinary rogues in their own petty concerns; but in times of revolution it takes a wider scope; bolder spirits then adopt it for their political creed, and it is directed against the fundamental institutions of society; nor is it a weak engine in the hands of those who know how to use it.

Buonarroti doubted as little the practicability of his conspiracy as its rightfulness.

'*Quand on s'est formé,*' he says, '*une idée juste de l'état de la France,*

*France, pendant les deux premières années de la république, on demeure convaincu que le dévouement du peuple Français à la cause de l'égalité, et sa confiance en ses conducteurs étaient alors si grands qu' il n'y avait aucune institution démocratique qu' il n'eût adoptée avec enthousiasme.'*

This happy disposition, as he calls it, he admits to have been much weakened by the overthrow of Robespierre, the results of that event having been '*d'autant plus funestes qu' ils amenèrent à désespérer du bonheur de la patrie et de l'humanité, beaucoup d'hommes qui s'étaient élevés à toute la hauteur de la vertu.*' One consequence, indeed, of that portentous tyranny was, that even the people were palled with blood, and the nation, when its delirium had subsided, was ashamed of those extravagancies and atrocities by which it had been disgraced in the face of the whole civilized world. The persons, therefore, who have recently undertaken to propagate opinions as directly opposed to the fundamental principles of European society as those of Buonarroti and the Robespierrians, have seen the necessity of proceeding by guarded and peaceable means, and deemed it prudent to disclaim all connection, however remote, with a party whose memory was deservedly held in horror. But though they believed their own opinions to be irrefragable, and could not but feel conscious of abundant ability for inculcating them, they have not relied upon pure reason for giving them publicity and effect. Force they well knew was not to be thought of as yet,—even if they contemplated its expedience at some indefinite time to come; there remained the alternative of fraud; and looking upon Christianity as 'a creed out-worn,' they have tried the experiment of announcing a new revelation.

'*Dans l'origine des choses,*' says Portalis, '*dans des tems d'ignorance et de barbarie, des hommes extraordinaires ont pu se dire inspirés, et à l'exemple de Prométhée faire descendre le feu du ciel pour animer un monde nouveau. Mais ce qui est possible chez un peuple naissant, ne saurait l'être chez des nations usées, dont il est si difficile de changer les habitudes et les idées. Les lois humaines peuvent tirer avantage de leur nouveauté, parce que souvent les lois nouvelles annoncent l'intention de réformer d'anciens abus, ou de faire quelque nouveau bien; mais en matière de religion, tout ce qui a l'apparence de la nouveauté, porte le caractère de l'erreur ou de l'imposture.'*

There is some truth in these observations, but on a little reflection it appears that history affords many instances in opposition to them; for there are certain stages of society which are as strongly characterized by a diseased aptitude for innovation, as others are by their obstinate resistance to all improvement. The self-constituted evangelists of the new Revelation have with no little dexterity endeavoured to avail themselves of both states of mind, existing in hostility to each other in this age of transition. They have

have taken lessons from history in the religious part of their scheme somewhat more closely than in the political, for they have not brought forward their new system as the antagonist of Christianity, but as its further developement and destined completion. Herein they have followed the examples of Marcion, and Manes, and Mahommed, and of those less successful, but not less daring spirits (whether wilful deceivers or only self-deceive), who in the thirteenth century endeavoured to supersede the Gospels by their *Evangelicum Æternum*, and to supplant Christianity by Francis-  
canism.

Henri Saint Simon, the founder of this new sect, was born on the 17th of April, 1760. He was of one of the most illustrious families in France, who traced their descent through the counts of Vermandois to Charlemagne. The pride of birth had a more than ordinary effect upon his imagination, insomuch as to make him fancy that the imperial founder of his line appeared to him, and predicted that the family which then gloried in having produced so great a sovereign, would hereafter glory in having produced in him as great a philosopher. If he was not in early life a great man to his valet de chambre, it was not for want of pretensions on his own part; for his orders were that he should be awakened every morning with these words, *Levez-vous, Monsieur le Comte; vous avez de grandes choses à faire!* At the age of seventeen he went to America, and there served five campaigns under Bouillié and Washington; the military profession being, in his case, say his disciples, a powerful initiative for the part to which the Almighty had destined him. War, however, he says, was not his vocation, he could take no interest in it; but he felt a lively interest in its object, and that made him go through its fatigues without repugnance. *Je veux la fin*, he would frequently say to himself; *il faut bien que je veuille les moyens*,—a wholesome thought in wholesome cases,—but in others an unction for the soul of the Devil's own prescribing. What sort of military or moral reputation he acquired in America, does not appear; probably not much of either. He became disgusted with his profession, inclination leading him 'to a very different, and indeed opposite kind of activity;' and the end, which, as he tells us, he then proposed to himself, was to study the march of the human mind, that he might labour towards the perfection of civilization; to this object he 'devoted and consecrated himself.' He perceived that the American revolution marked the commencement of a new political era; that it must necessarily determine an important progress in general civilization; and that, in little time, it must cause great changes in the social order which then existed in Europe. The first of those awful changes was not long delayed after his return to France; but it is said, that  
Saint

Saint Simon, instead of being borne away by the passions which the revolution excited, or taking any part, stood aloof as a contemplative spectator, revolving in his mind what were the causes which had brought on so terrible a crisis, and what might be the remedy which should terminate it. The former he found in the Reformation, the theories which the great men by whom that mighty event was commenced and carried on had advanced, and which the philosophers of the eighteenth century popularised and brought into practice; the progressive decay, in consequence, of the Catholic doctrine, and the legitimate destruction of a moral and political order which no longer accorded with the sentiments and interests of society. He perceived also, that it was a principle of destruction which was at work, carrying with it no germ of reorganization, and concluded that the remedy must be the production of a new general doctrine. Full of this conception, he avoided taking any part in the destructive movements of the French Revolution, and directed his mind toward producing that doctrine, by means of which, society might be resettled, but upon new foundations.

We are told by his disciples, that from the time of this first conception, till his conception of a New Christianity (!), thirty-four years elapsed, which were all employed in his preparatory labours. His first business was to procure pecuniary resources for his work, and to this seven years were devoted, seven more to the acquirement of scientific materials, ten for the renovation of philosophy, ten for the renovation of policy. Saint Simon has left no journal like George Fox, and Wesley and Whitefield: no confessions like St. Augustin's and Rousseau's; and we have no such biographies of him, as were composed by the friends and disciples of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Ignatius Loyola. The Saint Simonists are too wise in their generation for this; little concerning their patriarch's life can be collected from their accounts of him; and it is evident that, if they could have concealed more, that little would have been less. They tell us that, in the year 1790, he formed a partnership of a novel kind, with a certain Comte de R., the whole profits being to be applied to the *perfectionment* of civilization. Vast financial speculations were organized by Saint Simon, and attended with the most complete success; but the two associates were too unlike each other, and their views too dissimilar, for them to continue long in unison: they separated, and the consequences of the division, which was then made, were not favourable to Saint Simon. Faithful, however, to the plan which he had laid down for himself, he devoted what was saved from the wreck to the completion of his own scientific education. *J'entrepris, he says, de faire faire un pas général à la science, et de rendre l'initiative à l'école française;* but, as preparatory to this,

this, he deemed it necessary to begin by ascertaining the state of human knowledge, and studying the history of discoveries; and, not confining himself to the task of making researches in libraries, he took apartments opposite the Polytechnic School, and became intimate with the professors of that seminary. Three years he employed there in making himself acquainted with all that is known *sur la physique des corps bruts*; and by way of facilitating these studies, ‘*grande chère, bon vin, beaucoup d’empressement vis-à-vis des professeurs*,’ his purse as well as his table was open to them, and they in return afforded him all the facilities which he could desire. ‘My brain,’ he says, ‘had already lost some of its malleability; I was no longer young; but on the other hand, I enjoyed great advantages; long travels; the society of a great number of able men whom I had sought out or met with, and an early education directed by D’Alembert,—an education which had woven for me so close a metaphysical net, that no fact of importance could slip through it.’ Having made himself master of the *physique des corps bruts*, he removed his quarters from the vicinity of the Polytechnic School to that of the School of Medicine; pursued there the same course with professors and physiologists, and did not leave them till he had acquired their general ideas concerning the *physique* of organised bodies. This part of Saint Simon’s life is remarkable both for the parallel and the contrast which it presents, when compared with the course of Ignatius Loyola’s studies in the same great city.

While he was thus storing himself with the generalities of science, he endeavoured, but in vain, to animate his table-friends, the professors, with that sacred fire which was glowing in his own bosom. They liked his ‘grand cheer,’ his good wine, and his purse better. The peace of Amiens enabled him to set out for England, and thither he went to ascertain whether the English had discovered any new general ideas; but he returned ‘with the certainty that they had not a single new capital idea upon the stocks!’ Soon afterwards he went to Geneva, and travelled through part of Germany; in this latter country, he satisfied himself that general science was still in its infancy, because it was still founded upon mystic principles; but he conceived hopes of its progress, seeing how passionately the Germans had taken that direction. It was not enough for him to study the sciences and the *savans*: he desired also to become acquainted with the artists ‘and their inspirations,’ and to compare their genius with that of the scientific speculators. So, during another year, his house became the rendezvous of the most distinguished persons in both lines whom the metropolis contained, and the expenditure of that year exhausted all that remained of his fortune. His old friends abandoned him,—‘*il va*

vivre dans la misère, la souffrance, l'humiliation; il demeure SEUL AVEC LA CONSCIENCE DE CE QU'IL EST:' which conscience, be it here observed, seems to have been something very different from what is commonly understood by that word. At that time the object of his ambition was wholly philosophical and speculative, and when Buonaparte required from the Institute a view of the progress of science since the year 1789, and of its present state, and their opinion of the means which might conduce to its advancement, the Institute having, in Saint Simon's opinion, returned only partial and therefore *médiocres* and insufficient replies to this 'superb' question, he composed his *Introduction aux Travaux scientifiques du 19<sup>m</sup> Siècle*, in two quarto volumes. In this work, he insisted that philosophers had pursued the analytic course long enough, and it was now time for them to pass to the synthetic: facts enough having been ascertained for theories to be constructed; and he called upon the *savans* to return to Descartes' point of view. Descartes, he said, had monarchised science, Newton has republicanised it,—he has anarchised it; you are anarchical *savans*, you deny the existence, the supremacy of general theory.

But, say his disciples, it was especially with a social and political aim that Saint Simon endeavoured to awaken the zeal of the *savans*. The wars which the French Revolution produced made him every day 'perceive more vividly the necessity of reorganizing a general doctrine and a central European power.' But being at that time possessed with a notion of the importance of the sciences, it was to the men of science that he addressed himself to realise this great work—'il s'efforçait de les élever à la hauteur d'une pareille mission.' One part of this language may remind the reader of the political views of the French under Louis XIV., and under Buonaparte; another recalls the phraseology of the National Convention. 'Since the fifteenth century,' said he, 'the institution which united the European nations, which bridled the ambition both of people and kings, has continually become weaker: it is now completely destroyed; a general war—a terrible war—a war which threatens to consume the whole population of Europe, has already existed twenty years, and has mown down many millions of men. You alone can reorganise European society. Time presses—blood flows—hasten ye to declare yourselves!' But the *savans*, according to the great apostle of the Saint Simonites, 'were not more moved by the anarchy of Europe than they had been by the anarchy of science; and Saint Simon did not yet know that from Him, and Him alone, both the doctrine was to proceed, and the men capable of re-establishing unity, order, and harmony, around them.' However much his thoughts might have inclined towards politics during the reign

reign of Buonaparte, he well knew that, under the Imperial government, the press would not be open for any such speculations. The passage in which he calls upon the savans to undertake the settlement of Europe appeared towards the close of that government, and in a memoir upon Gravitation, where it might easily pass unobserved, or, if noticed, be regarded as the harmless proposal of a visionary. His writings, indeed, were regarded as nothing more than ingenious reveries at that time; now his disciples discover in them the inspirations of a genius whose call it was to transform society. But after the Restoration his thoughts were directed wholly towards politics: he published in succession ‘*Sur la Reorganisation de la Société Européenne*,’ ‘*L’Industrie*,’ ‘*L’Organisateur*,’ ‘*Le Politique*,’ ‘*Le Système Industriel*,’ and ‘*Le Catéchisme des Industriels*,’—

‘his genius,’ in the words of his followers, ‘having now conceived the new character which the development of industry must imprint upon society, and upon the forms of government. He had solicited nothing from Buonaparte when old nobility would have been a recommendation to the emperor’s favour, and he accepted nothing at the Restoration; *tout entier à sa haute mission*, he devoted all his means to the propagation of the opinions which now began to assume a systematic form in his own mind; and those means were so scanty, that a further parallel might be found between him and Loyola in the mendicity to which he was reduced. An alimentary pension from his family, trifling advances which he obtained from supercilious wealth, and the occasional sale of some of his furniture and effects, enabled him to print his works, which he distributed profusely; to pay some young pupils, that he might have the privilege of instructing them, and to put them forward in their callings. He belonged to no party, he formed no school.’

Those who fancied themselves his disciples understood him only by halves, and renounced him; those who fancied themselves his patrons understood him still less, and deserted him. The utter destitution to which he was at last reduced, he has thus himself described.—

‘For fifteen days I have lived upon bread and water; I have worked without fire, and have even sold my clothes to defray the cost of copying my work. It is my passion for science, and for the public happiness; it is my desire to discover a means for terminating, in some gentle manner, the fearful crisis in which all European society is now engaged, that has brought me into this state of distress. It is therefore without blushing that I may confess my poverty, and ask for the succours which are necessary to put me in a condition of continuing my work.’

‘You say,’ writes the able expositor of his doctrines, ‘that he was an importunate beggar, an insatiable borrower!’ Let us abate a little

from the exaggeration of these words, which square ill with the paucity of the resources that this begging and this borrowing procured for Saint Simon ; resources, moreover, which were entirely employed by him in the accomplishment of his mission, while he continued to live in privations and denudement. But is not beggary the necessary lot of those truly divine beings, who, because they are entirely absorbed in the vast thought which overrules them, are incapable of applying their foresight for a single moment to their own personal wants ? Is not the last degree of their sublime devotion that very virtue which gives them courage to go and beg from regardless or haughty riches the means of supporting an existence of which only they themselves know the whole value to the human race ?

But this sort of existence at length became intolerable to him, and he attempted to kill himself. And here his eulogist draws a parallel between him and Moses, overlooking, or, more probably, keeping out of sight, the essential points in which the likeness fails. ‘ Moses said unto the Lord, wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant ? and wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burthen of all this people upon me ? I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me : and if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight, and let me not see my wretchedness.’ ‘ *Eh bien !*’ exclaims the expositor, ‘ like Moses, Saint Simon, after four-and-thirty years of efforts, has for a moment doubted—for a moment he has ceased to hope. Like Moses, he asked for death ; he wishes for it ; he seeks it ; his hand is armed against himself, and the ball furrowed his forehead.’ But Moses knew in whom he believed ; Moses prayed to God, who, by indubitable and public miracles, had appointed him to be his servant, and Moses submitted himself in all things to his will. So dissimilar a similitude may prepare the reader for the ensuing passage :—

‘ But his hour was not come ; his mission was not accomplished ! Philosopher of Science, Legislator of Industry, Saint Simon, be thou henceforth the prophet of a law of love ! God has suffered thee to fail only to prepare thee for the greatest of initiations. And behold how from the depth of the abyss he raises thee ; he exalts thee to himself ; he diffuses over thee religious inspiration, which vivifies, sanctifies, renovates all thy being. Henceforth it is no more the *savant*, it is no more the *industriel* who speaks ;—a canticle of love is breathed from that mutilated body. THE DIVINE MAN MANIFESTS HIMSELF ; THE NEW CHRISTIANITY IS GIVEN TO THE WORLD.

‘ Moses *promised* universal fraternity to mankind ; Jesus Christ *prepared* it ; Saint Simon *realises* it. At length the truly universal church is about to be born ; the reign of Cæsar ceases ; a pacific society supersedes a military society : henceforth the universal church governs

governs the temporal as well as the spiritual, the outward as well as the inward jurisdiction. Science is holy; industry is holy; because they enable men to meliorate the condition of the poorest class, and to bring them nearer to God. Priests, savans, industriels, *voilà toute la société*. The chiefs of the priests, the chiefs of the savans, the chiefs of the industriels, *voilà tout le gouvernement!* And all property is the property of the church, and every profession is a religious function, a grade in the social hierarchy. To every one, according to his capacity; to every capacity according to its works. THE KINGDOM OF GOD ARRIVES UPON EARTH. ALL THE PROPHECIES ARE FULFILLED.

‘Saint Simon, now thou mayest die, for thou hast done great things! Thou mayest die—MAYEST DIE—FOR THE FAITHFUL DISCIPLE, THE INHERITOR OF THY PROMISE IS AFTER THEE!’

If the Christian reader supposes that the Saint Simonites who write in this strain, and to whom such things are written and preached, are sincere in the belief which they profess, his feeling will be one of pity rather than of indignation. Some light will presently be thrown upon the question of their sincerity: concerning Saint Simon himself, a charitable suspicion must be entertained, that at least from the time of his attempted suicide he was under a mental hallucination as completely as Richard Brothers or Joanna Southcote. That attempt, his disciples say, penetrated him with new courage. His work was not to remain incomplete; he had created a philosophy of the sciences, a philosophy of industry, and he lived long enough to discover the link—the religion by which these two creations were to be united. He composed his ‘Nouveau Christianisme,’ and died shortly afterwards, on the 19th of May, 1825.

‘Full of the happy conviction that he had at length crowned his labours; that at length he had animated with the breath of life the statue which at the cost of so many efforts and sufferings his hands had raised; persuaded also that it would live, and would traverse the ages which were to come after him, he conversed with the disciples, who, in small number, were collected round his death-bed, only upon the hopes of the future which he had prepared for mankind. The death of Socrates was not so beautiful.’

‘Behold the man!’ they say, ‘whom upon the faith of blind detractors, you have mistaken, despised, calumniated! This man has devoted, has sacrificed his life to the good of mankind; this man has been the greatest of philosophers, of legislators, of PROPHETS! Religious ones, whom scruples, respectable in their origin, but unjust in their object, keep aloof from us thus long—apprehend at last your error! Saint Simon, pursuing his career of indefinite perfectibility, goes on continually putting off the old man and putting on the new; and you follow him in his track, and collect that of which he had despoiled himself, and bring us the rags, and you say to us, Behold your master! No, no! *We are not the disciples of THE DEAD, we are the*

the disciples of THE LIVING ! Whilst you gather up these inanimate remains, our master is already far from his own past and from you. Living in us, he fills us with his faith, with his wisdom, with his power; he draws us with him to the confines of that futurity, the threshold of which he has enabled us to cross. Would you then truly understand Saint Simon ? Before you study him in his past, study him in his future; and, for that purpose, study him *in us*. Hath not the Gospel said unto you, " By their fruits ye shall know them ; do men gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles ? " But the fruits of the master are his disciples. If we are immoral, stricken with insanity, with imbecility, anathema upon our master ! if we diffuse around us love, wisdom, energy, glory to us, but glory also to our Master, for we and our master are ONE.

From all this it is sufficiently apparent that the life of Saint Simon was far from being without reproach. In fact he is represented by those who are not of his school, to have been a man '*d'assez mauvaise renommée et conduite, toujours aux expédients pour avoir de l'argent, et qui est mort entrepreneur de diligences, et banqueroutier.*' Some of his disciples are said to be sufficiently respectable ; others are described as young men '*à tête chaude et aux idées fausses ;*' and many of the leaders pass '*pour les hommes de Paris, qui ont les plus mauvais mœurs, et les opinions les plus périlleuses.*' And this accords with what is said by no unfriendly writer in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, that '*ce sont des hommes qui presque tous ont pris une part active, et souvent périlleuse aux efforts positifs d'affranchissement politique ;*' and that it was not until they had explored in all directions the ground which had been ploughed up by savans and Liberals of all shades, that these men perceived the necessity of a general doctrine which should bring into harmonious relation all branches of activity, philanthropic, intellectual, and operative, or (in Saint Simon's language), '*industriel.*' 'If they busy themselves with theology, it is because their theology resolves itself into policy, and they attach no other value to theories than for the sake of the practical results.' From this it might be suspected that it is not more necessary among the Saint Simonites to believe in Saint Simon than it was to believe in popery at the court of Leo X., and this is little favourable to their success as a religious sect—

— '*si vis me flere, dolendum est*

*Primum ipsi tibi.*'

while on the other hand the impiety of announcing—not a reformed but a new Christianity,—a revelation which is to complete what our Saviour left imperfect, becomes far more revolting if it be contemplated as craft than if it could be deemed delusion. 'For me,' says a religious Frenchman, 'when I hear our Lord and Saviour

Saviour spoken of here in Paris, before three thousand persons, publicly and legally assembled, as *a good man for his age*, but inferior to M. de Saint Simon by all the difference of eighteen centuries, I feel myself mortified in my inmost heart: spite of myself I weep for my country, for the human race, for myself; and were I to obey the impulse of my soul, I should go barefooted with a rope round my neck into those of our churches which impiety has not yet desecrated, there to make the *amende honorable*, and supplicate the God of my fathers to forgive their children, because they know not what they do.'

The feeling thus enthusiastically expressed by a Frenchman devoutly attached to the Roman faith will be partaken by many an English reader; for although one honourable member of the new parliament may boast at an election dinner that he neither fears the clergy nor the devil; and a member of the cabinet may think himself justified in affirming upon the hustings that if the ministers of the Church of England act as they have done at Cambridge, the days of the establishment are numbered; and though it may be deemed decorous at Cockermonth to call a clergyman a black dog—Christianity is still not only the law of the land, but the religion of the British people; and so it will continue to be, let hell enlarge itself against it as it may. But other feelings than indignation are called forth by this attempt at erecting a new religion. For though the part of the system which relates to the inspiration of its founder is far from being 'cunningly devised; and though the Saint Simonites may be as desirous as the Quakers are to keep the history and the character of their patriarch in the shade, the system itself has been elaborated and promulgated by men of no ordinary capacity. Our Benthamists are children to them. We do not compare Saint Simon with Jeremy himself, Jeremy being far beyond comparison;—*sibi ipsi simillimus*; 'None but himself can be his parallel.' Nature made a new mould for the nonpareil Jeremy, and broke it as soon as he was made, and cracked him in breaking it; and that crack it is which has given the work the peculiar grace which it possesses 'above the reach' of nature as well as 'of art,' and made him the idiosyncratic, democratic, cosmocratic, comicocratic Jeremy that he is. We do not compare the Incomparable with Saint Simon; but the coolest and clearest of his disciples are as mere children when compared with the preachers of Saint Simonism.

Any person who can believe that the propagandists of the New Christianity themselves believe, *as a religion*, in the system which they teach, would deserve more credit for credulity than for candour: but the sincerity of their belief in *the system itself* rests upon very different grounds. And that they should think it expedient, in this

this age, and in their country, to bring it forward as a revelation,—that they should find it necessary to obtain for it the sanction of religious principle, in the age of intellect, under a government of newspapers, and in the city which, if ever city deserved to be so denominated, might be called Atheopolis, is indeed a fact not less important than remarkable. They did not venture upon this till they had lost the hope of succeeding by any other means.

Saint Simon left at his death a very small number of pupils, and his doctrine had been studied by very few persons. Their first object was to invite attention to the subject by making the outlines of his philosophy known, in the hope that members enough to constitute what they called a school might thus be induced to join them. For this purpose, they addressed themselves to certain bankers, from whom their master by continued solicitations had obtained money for some of his works; these bankers, for views of their own which are not explained, and some other persons, from personal regard to the applicants, took shares in a monthly journal, which the founders of the new school proposed to start; and thus they were enabled to launch it, with a perfect foresight that the sale could not for some years defray the expense of publication. It was first started as a weekly journal, under the title of *Le Producteur*; and several 'gentlemen of the press' were engaged to assist them with technological and statistic articles, without which they thought there was little chance of obtaining readers. Finding some inconvenience in this, they changed it from a weekly to a monthly publication, and six of the disciples took the whole management upon themselves, though they could ill afford this gratuitous labour; 'none of us,' they say, 'enjoyed the magnificent privilege of living without labouring; we were all, on the contrary, continually distracted from our philosophical speculations, by occupations wholly foreign to them.' The *Producteur* then consisted of four-and-twenty pages, and was devoted entirely to a methodical exposition of Saint Simon's philosophy, apart, however, from his pretensions to inspiration; in this course they succeeded so far as to form a school, and to be designated as such by those who attacked them; and to have gained this designation they considered as a great step. Their labours being gratuitous, the journal was conducted at the least possible cost; but their funds began to fail. They then applied to the two persons who had contributed more than any others both to Saint-Simon's publications and to the present journal, for further aid, stating that the annual expenses of the *Producteur* scarcely amounted to five thousand francs, and that the loss, therefore, even supposing there should be no increase of subscribers, could be but very trifling; and they represented that if they themselves

selves were unable to make a sacrifice, so light for millionists, but too heavy for men who had no other fortune than their labour, the task to which they bound themselves in engaging to conduct the journal gratuitously, till its sale should cover its expenses, might prove their devotion to the doctrine which they disseminated. The millionists were men who, *par des considérations étrangères à la doctrine, avaient contribué à sa propagation*: and they probably thought that the Movement went on as prosperously as they could desire without it. But this apparent failure in its consequences facilitated the views of the propagandists. Those whose curiosity they had awakened came to them for oral information, now that the journal had ceased. Meetings were held, 'centres of propagation' were established in different parts; 'the tongue,' they say, 'served them better than the press had done;' their disciples multiplied, and with them their resources; private meetings no longer sufficed for them; they began to lecture; and they commenced another journal, called *L'Organisateur*. Hitherto they had confined themselves to the scientific and *industriel* parts of their master's philosophy; they now brought forward his New Christianity, as the link which was to connect them,—the life which was wanting to the system. 'The doctrine of Saint Simon then became a religion; and his school became a church;' and a system 'all compact' is promulgated to the world, in which it is proclaimed that a remedy is found for all the evils of society, and that 'the seal of revelation has been set to the results of experience, and reason, and philosophy.'

For, according to the disciples upon whom his mantle has descended, Saint Simon has conceived a new science, a science as positive as any which has obtained that title; it is the Science of the Human Race, and the method employed in it is the same as is followed in astronomy and in physic, that of classing facts, and arranging them by generalization and particularization. It follows from this science that the tendency of the human race is from a state of antagonism to that of an universal peaceful association—from the dominating influence of the military spirit to that of the *industriel* one; from what they call *l'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme* to the *exploitation* of the globe by industry. 'Masters and slaves, patricians and plebeians, lords and serfs, landholders and farmers, the idle and the industrious,—behold,' they say, 'the progressive history of humanity down to the present time:—Universal association,—behold the future!' In looking back upon the developement of the human race, the monotheism of the Jews, the polytheism of the Greeks and Romans, and the Christianity which has hitherto existed, this progression becomes evident. 'Jerusalem, Rome Pagan, and Rome Christian,—behold the three initiatory cities

cities of the human race. Moses, Numa, Christ, have brought forth each a people (*ont enfanté des peuples*), who are either defunct, or at this time dying. Who will be the FATHER of the future race? Where is the city of the PROGRESS, which shall rise glorious upon the ruins of the cities of EXPIATION and REDEMPTION? Where is the NEW JERUSALEM? The question may be answered so far as to assert that Paris will not be that metropolis of the millennial system, whether it be the kingdom or the commonwealth of Heaven which is to be established upon earth: whether Saint Simon may be placed at the head of another false religion like Mahommed, or whether his New Christianity may prove as mere an abortion as the Evangelium Æternum of the thirteenth century, is not so surely to be foreseen. It is one of the sagacious remarks of Mr. Duppa, that 'the greatest art of a quack is to time his imposture;' and into whatever part of Europe the Saint Simonites may send missionaries, they will find many who are prepared for the political part of their system, and who, for the sake of attaining that, will be contented to take for better for worse the scheme of imposition which is connected with it. Indeed, we may expect to have Saint Simonism preached at the Southwark Rotunda; and some of the new weekly journals may not improbably slide into the doctrine by an easy transition, as thinking it a likely means for obtaining notoriety and sale. It is a profession, too, which requires no larger measure of belief than an ultra-Unitarian's,—the minimum of faith,—a profession as simple as the creed of Mahommedanism, and without the inconvenience of an initiatory rite. What is impiously called New Christianity appeals not to miracles for its proof: it reveals no mysteries, it calls for no self-abasement, it teaches no self-knowledge, it carries with it none of that peace 'which passeth all understanding,'—but it administers in its stead a comfortable preparation of self-wisdom and self-righteousness. '*Non semel quædam sacra traduntur*,' saith Seneca. '*Eleusis servat, quod ostendet revisentibus. Rerum natura sacra sua non simul tradit: initiatos nos credimus, in vestibulo ejus hæremus. Illa arcana non promiscue, nec omnibus patent: reducta et in interiore sacrario clausa sunt. Ex quibus aliud hæc ætus, aliud quæ post nos subibit, adspiciet.*' The age to which the heathen philosopher looked forward, and in which all things are to be made known, has commenced, according to these new apostles, with the Saint Simonian era: the system of revelation is consummated in their master, and they preach a finished salvation, not for the 'wicked man who turneth away from the wickedness which he hath committed,' but for the whole human race!

Horace Walpole was convinced that in most cases \* very strong innovations

innovations are more likely to make impression than small and almost imperceptible differences, whether in religion, medicine, or politics ;' and the Earl Grey and his colleagues must have adopted this opinion. In all such innovations, in all prelusive reforms, in all revolutions inchoate or in progress, the Saint Simonites see so many preparatory measures for the fundamental change which they propose ; consequently they approve them all, and, in the accommodating spirit of their philosophy, find, not only apologies, but applause, for all who assist in accelerating the Movement. They divide history, through its whole course, into *organic periods*, in which the course of human actions is provided, appointed, and determined by some general theory ; and *philosophical or critical periods*, in which the communion of opinions, motives and objects, has ceased, and society is only an assemblage of individuals pursuing each his own course for his own ends, regardless of the commonweal, and in disregard of others, or in opposition to them. To build, to connect, to consolidate, is the tendency during the organic periods of society ; the direction of the critical ones, premeditated by the few, and acted upon instinctively by the many, is to subvert the established order. The first periods are essentially religious ; men act in sympathy under the influence of patriotism and devotion : the second are as essentially irreligious ; antagonism becomes the principle of society ; men act for themselves ; atheism supersedes devotion, and they become selfish and sensual. These alternations are necessary parts of the great system, appointed from the beginning, for the development of collective humanity, a being which grows from generation to generation, as an individual from year to year, but with this difference, that it is subject to no decay. For the human race never has retrograded ; it has continually advanced in obedience to its own physiological law, the law of progressive development, the law of human perfectibility. This law is ' so essential a condition of the existence of our species, that whenever a people who were at the head of the human race have become stationary, the germs of progressiveness, which were stifled in their bosom, have been immediately transplanted elsewhere, to a soil where they could expand ; and it has been constantly seen that such a people, having rebelled against the law of mankind, have sunk and been annihilated, as if crushed under the weight of a curse.'

They who contemplate the providential course of history recognise always, as instruments of Providence, those great bad men who have been conspicuous agents of apparent evil ; in this view it is that Attila has been called the Scourge of God ; and in this spirit Mr. Foster has, with great ability, thrown a strong and clear light upon the rise and progress of Mahomedanism. The Saint  
Simonites

Simonites go much farther. They protest against atheism, and against violent revolutionary measures; but looking upon both as indispensable instruments for the necessary work of destruction, they applaud and admire the men who put such instruments in action; their business is to sow the seed; they stand aloof from those who plough and harrow the ground. Thus, after the Three Days, or what ought to be called the Orleanist Revolution, when, in an address to the Chamber of Deputies, they repel the charge of being affiliated with the Democratic Societies, they make at the same time an apology for them.

‘Assuredly,’ they say, ‘the Saint Simonites will not unite their voices with those which are at this moment raised to protest against the existence of these societies; for however irregular their action may be at present, however incomplete, they regard it nevertheless as the expression of a sentiment—of a power—which have still an important mission to fulfil,—that of defending in France the *destruction* operated by the events of July, and of determining THE MOVEMENT WHICH IS TO EXTEND THAT DESTRUCTION TO THE WHOLE OF EUROPE. This task is great, it is *legitimate*, but it is not that of the Saint Simonites. Their task is to edify, to construct upon the ruins which are heaped about them, to found, amid the society which on all sides is dissolving, a new society which gives a religious and pacific direction to all progressive exigences, and which may be ready to receive into its bosom allmankind; for the time is now near at hand, when, weary of hatred, war and anarchy, the nations shall ask from God a new law of Love, and with it the reign of Peace, and the empire of Order.’

Thus too, while declaring in the strongest terms, and no doubt with intellectual sincerity, though the heart may have no part in it, against the irreligion of the age, they say that if that irreligion presents itself simply as a negation of all former belief, it is *bien justement fondée*; and that ‘the philosophy which covers with a shroud of death the universe, and man himself, presenting one to the other as an assemblage of atoms, subject to a mere mechanical order, as carcasses deprived of that sacred fire which hitherto had united them—this philosophy, because it has served as a powerful weapon against Christian faith, and because, upon this system, the work of destruction on which it has been successfully employed was necessary for the good of humanity,—this philosophy, they say, deserves the gratitude of mankind!’ They do not mention the names of St. Just and Robespierre, of Buonarroti and Babœuf, but they speak of them and of their followers as the strongest logicians of their time; as men who pushed to its extreme consequences the principle of that philosophy which had levelled all ancient social distinctions; ‘those distinctions having once been demolished, when there existed no theory for establishing new ones in their stead, absolute equality was a logical and irrefragable

gable deduction.' They describe these men 'as having preached hatred in love; as calling for destruction when they believed themselves to be building up; and as provoking anarchy when they desired order, and thus establishing slavery upon the altar which they had erected to Freedom. Let us admire them,' they say, 'and pity them only for having been called to the dreadful mission which they performed with devotion—with love for humanity: let us pity them, for they were born to love, and yet their whole life was consecrated to hatred!'

'And what but destruction, they ask, has hitherto been effected by the revolutions of this philosophical, critical, and destructive age? That work has indeed been accomplished. There remain only the ruins of the ancient institution, bearing witness that it was once an edifice of order. Anarchy has ceased to be violent, but it has become deeper; we are still tossed about in a state of uncertainty, which the apostles of liberty can neither calm nor mitigate. They affect to regard as definitive a bastard system of guarantees, arranged on the sudden to answer the critical and revolutionary wants of the last age; they present as an expression of the ultimate term of social perfection, their declarations of the rights of men and of citizens, and all their constitutions which are built upon them; and of this it is they tell us, that the world, during so many ages, has been in labour!' The Saint Simonites then allude to the fable of the Mountain in Labour, and say that they are not about to bring forth any such absurdities; or even to be delivered of an agrarian law. Nothing efficient has been done for human happiness, while property remains upon its present establishment; but they have no intention of equalizing property; nothing in their eyes is more contrary to nature than equality; A DIFFERENT DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY IS ALL THAT THEIR SYSTEM REQUIRES. This final revolution is to remedy all the evils of this world,—is to complete the scheme of Providence, to bring in a finished salvation,—to introduce an age in which ALL are to be called and ALL chosen.

The simple means whereby the Saint Simonites proclaim that all this is to be effected,—is by substituting the right of capacity for the right of inheritance. 'A CHACUN SUIVANT SA CAPACITE', A CHAQUE CAPACITE' SUIVANT SES ŒUVRES! These are the words in which they announce their 'good tidings of great joy,'—'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good will towards men!' On the foundation then of Universal Association, the political system of this New Christianity is founded. The law of the strongest, and the law of birth, are to be replaced by this new right,—a right in conformity with the laws of nature, with the will of God, and with general utility. 'Eh! what will our legists, our publicists,

publicists, our economists say now ?' Even Bentham, whom they consider to be among political philosophers, what the giraffe is among quadrupeds, has been himself, they say, 'the dupe of a fallacy, when, in seeking to establish a general principle of legislation, he has used the word succession. For to *succeed* is to *replace*, but to replace a man who is occupied in any kind of labour, the substitute must possess certain conditions of capacity ; whereas, to succeed to a person of property, it suffices for him to be the nearest relative. If the great partisan of the principle of utility had perceived this difference,—if he had examined from whence it arises,—without doubt he would have braved the general error and have torn that page from the *catalogue banal* of useful things ; he would have declared our prejudices concerning inheritance to be vicious ; for a man who is supported in abundance, although he can do nothing, must be, in the eyes of an Utilitarian, *une nuisible superfluité*.' 'Are we to be told that men are equal in rights, when one has the right to live without labour, and another, if he does not labour, has only the right to die !' 'Are we to be told that all the privileges of birth have been abolished ? *Eh ! qu'est-ce donc que l'hérédité dans le sein des familles ?*' 'What is the transmission of the fortune of fathers to children, without any other reason than the filiation of blood, if it is not the most immoral of all privileges, that of living in society without labouring, or of being recompensed in it beyond their work ?' 'Yes ! all our political theorists have their eyes turned towards the past ; even those especially, who pretend to be worthy of the future. 'When we announce to them that the reign of labour arrives, that that of idleness is at an end, they treat us as visionaries. They tell us that the son has always inherited after the father, just as a heathen would have said that freemen always had had slaves. But humanity has proclaimed by Christ, *No more slavery !* and it now cries by Saint Simon, *No more inheritance ! A chacun sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres*.'

In reality the struggle which is now taking place with more or less violence throughout Europe, between the old and new systems of government,—that is, government by authority, and government by popular impulse, is but prelude to that between the principle of property and of a community of goods. There are two kinds of revolutions,—those which are brought about by mere force, and those which are the result of moral causes ; and whenever the latter have occurred, the levelling principle has shown itself. Plough up the old pasture of society, and *this is the weed that springs up !* The most serious check which the Reformation sustained in the age of Luther was from the obloquy brought upon it by this principle : the greatest danger that Cromwell encountered

tered was from the levellers ; and the most formidable party that appeared during the French Revolution professed the broadest doctrine of equality, and sought to establish their system at any cost of blood. The ' Friends of Liberty ' in England, have reproached their friends and brethren in France for not having acted upon this principle after the Orleanist Revolution.

' We flattered ourselves,' says the Editor of a penny paper, ' that, having found out that the poorest of you had equal power with the richest—having found out that the country belongs to the body of you, and that the Government derives its authority from yourselves, and depends upon your wishes—having found out this—we did hope that you would have found out A LITTLE MORE—namely, that you had all of you EQUAL RIGHTS TO THE NECESSARIES AND LUXURIES OF LIFE, AND THAT NO ONE HAD A RIGHT TO ACCUMULATE MORE THAN HIS OWN SHARE; WE THOUGHT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE LOOKED INTO THE TITLES OF THOSE FEW WHO HAVE AMASSED INTO THEIR POSSESSION THE WHOLE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY, (that is, the produce of the land, and the labour which manufactures it, which are the wealth of the country,) and would have discovered that you have as good a right to take away from them as they ever had to take away from you—indeed, a better right, for have they not been unjustly enjoying it exclusively to your utter misery, slavery and every possible prejudice, during so many centuries? We take it for granted, (and we defy any person, however proficient in sophistry and quibbling, to contradict us,) that since all persons are born with equal right to live, they are all of them born with equal right to those things, without which they cannot live:—and those things being the manufactured produce of the earth, all persons are equally entitled to such produce, and equally bound to manufacture it. These are positions, from which no arguments can drive us: they are founded upon the basis of truth, nature and equity, and only falsehood, corruption, and injustice would think of attacking them; consequently, this will be denied only by those who do possess considerably more than their due proportion of actual wealth, or future wealth (that is, money, which represents the future produce of the earth, and the labour which manufactures it, and is the only means of their accumulation); and as long as such persons could fortify their arguments in defence of their unjust possession by the countenance and protection of a strong Government, whose own defence was the same as theirs, so long had you no chance of prosecuting your claims with success; but when you had overthrown this strong Government which turned the balance of natural equity in favour of their own injustice, we did think that *then* you would have urged your claims and *commanded* their immediate satisfaction.'

Equality, however, is no popular doctrine among those who have anything to lose, and this the same writer admits; ' not only the rich and proud,' he says, ' but every petty shopkeeper, every foreman of labourers, every one who is not, in fact, one of the lowest  
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of the low, that is the rabble, "the mob," trembles at the ominous sound, lest he should lose the little superiority he possesses over the mass of his fellow-creatures.' If it be asked upon what then this writer, and other such agitators, found their hopes of success, they tell us honestly, that it is upon numbers, upon 'the mass,' upon physical strength. Speaking of the incendiaries and the agricultural rioters of last winter, he says—

'And who can blame these poor men? are they not wretched, and are not their governors the cause of their wretchedness? does not their wretchedness drive them to desperation; and, for want of knowing better how to remedy the evils that oppress them, do they not—poor things!—proceed to those very measures, which will only retort upon themselves, and add to their misfortunes?—But their ignorance is not their own fault, but the fault of those who have governed them: and thus, the real authors of these outrages are the government. Supposing, now, the whole body of the people were to rise in like manner—all the labouring classes against their masters—into what a terrible state of misery would the country be plunged, aristocrats and all! would it not be universal ruin? Could the aristocrats culture the earth for themselves, or provide themselves with clothing, if the labouring classes refused any longer to sacrifice themselves for the exclusive advantage of their masters? what could be done?—but if the present outrages are continued, and become general—if the people not only refuse to produce further, but destroy what is already produced—what *then* will be done? Will not the aristocrats find out then, when it is too late, that they are not better than the mass of their fellow-creatures; but that, on the contrary, they are dependent on them for everything they enjoy or require! What would avail the government's standing army, if they could no longer supply it with food and clothing? would it not be the first to turn upon them?—and this must happen, unless society is so altered, that machinery shall no longer be used as the means of amassing great wealth for individuals, instead of relieving the people at large;—and this can only be effectually done by universal equality. It is, indeed, time to listen to the voice of the people, and that voice is, in a very great degree, directed and instructed by Robert Owen and his disciples, who have taught them to know their own rights.'

Hear also this address, to which the Committee of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge, 'solicit the attention' of the co-operators of the united kingdom:—

'Brother Workmen.—We, the producers of wealth, we in whom lieth the strength of the body politic, we in whom depends the prosperity of nations, have only to observe the signs of the times, have only to unite our labour, our subscriptions, and our portion of knowledge, and we shall soon discover ourselves to be, what in reality we are, the permanent and substantial basis of society. Then shall we soon find ourselves to be an intelligent and happy people, *no longer mental*

*mental and corporeal slaves*, no longer the collectors of honey for the indolent and unjustly opulent drones. No ; we shall then see that to gather the delicious food for ourselves will be far more desirable and advantageous, and by so doing we shall enjoy the fruits of our labour in the winter of age, instead of the grudging and scanty pittance of a parish workhouse. We shall then be surrounded with every necessary comfort, encircled *with friends in equality*, and our children amply provided for ; all this shall we effect by our united efforts in the cause of co-operation. Our misery and oppression have hitherto proceeded from our ignorance and divisions combined with competition ; but let us despair not, the dark and howling storm is past, the severity of the winter is over, the dense clouds are dispersing, the heavens are gradually brightening, and spring has made its appearance. The germ of truth is putting forth, and if we use our utmost endeavour to preserve and mature it, we shall ere long reap and gather in abundantly the much desired and long-anticipated crop.

We shall speak of the Co-operative societies in some future paper, wherein their fundamental principle may be considered practically and theoretically, as it has heretofore been developed in history or in political fiction. Their principle is at least harmless in peaceful times, and might probably be found highly beneficial to themselves, and not less so to the community, from which they cannot so separate themselves as not to form a constituent part. If at present it is dangerous, it is only because some honest but mistaken men, and some desperately wicked ones, are labouring with all their might to pervert it, and to make use of it as one of the many engines of destruction which are at this time kept in full activity by the press ; that press which declares its determination of destroying ' tithes, funds, primogeniture, coin laws, stamp tax, assessed taxes, &c. &c.' But the system itself is not more to be condemned because it is liable to such perversion, and is, in fact, at this time so perverted, than distillation is to be prohibited because of the abuse which is made of ardent spirits, or than reading and writing are to be pronounced injurious to mankind because there are such authors as Voltaire, and such journalists as at this day administer drams to an infuriated public, some of them under the open, undisguised patronage of a desperate government ! To the system of co-operation we are far from being inimical ; let the co-operators act upon the plain principle of doing unto others as they would be done by ; let them manifest the advantages of their system in their own increased comforts, in their improved morals, in the decency and peacefulness of their deportment, in the good report which they will surely obtain if they endeavour to deserve it, and their system will then extend itself as far as it is capable of extension ; but let them beware of mischievous and designing men, who are seeking to make them their

tools, and let them not suppose that the concerns of a great nation are not more complicated than those of a small community.

'We are deceived,' says Portalis, 'if in contemplating human society we imagine that the great machine can go on with one only of the springs which put it in motion; this error is as evident as it is dangerous. Man is not a simple being; and society, which is the union of men, is necessarily the most complicate of all mechanisms.'

It is a wide step from a co-operative society to the Saint Simonean principle of universal association, which the New Christians proclaim under the sanction of their final revelation! They agree with the levellers, that all reforms however radical, all revolutions however fundamental, are nugatory while property is left upon its present establishment; but, considering such steps as necessary preparatives, if they do not profess their readiness to go hand as well as heart with these pioneers in the preliminary work of overthrowing all 'thrones, dominations, principdoms, and powers,' (reserving 'virtues,' because they profess to respect them,) they let it nevertheless be known, that they shall look on with great complacency during the process. But when they come to what they call 'the superb question of the material organization of society,' or, in other words, 'the constitution of property,' they part company with the equalitarians; and they deem it little less than miraculous that the right of inheritance should have been respected through all preceding stages of revolution, seeing amid the wreck of all other institutions how needful, how indispensable it was for the preservation of social order that this should be preserved, and yet how inconsistently the revolutionists acted in stopping short of its abolition. With the right itself they are disposed to proceed as summarily as the Robespierreans could have done; but the new order which they would establish is altogether of their own devising, and the means of introducing it are not quite so obvious.

The Spencean philanthropists proposed only one simple alteration in the state of property—that all persons who possessed lands, instead of *receiving* rent for it, should *pay* it to the state, which, being thus in the receipt of the whole rental of the kingdom, would require no taxes, and would even be enabled, after defraying all the expenses of government, to make an annual distribution among the people, amounting to something about a pauper's allowance per head. In one respect, the scheme of the Saint Simonites resembles this, for they make over the whole right of inheritance to the state, when it shall have become an association of operatives (*devenue association des travailleurs*); but they go beyond the Spenceans, for they transfer to the state all goods and chattels

chattels whatsoever, as well as all landed property; and these, upon the demise of every occupant, are to be distributed, or rather allotted by the state, '*à chacun suivant sa capacité, à chaque capacité suivant ses œuvres*;' for there is to be no idle person in the Saint Simonean commonwealth. Saint Simon has come to say to the do-littles and do-nothings of the world, those who neither toil nor spin, 'Your idleness is unnatural; it is impious; it is hurtful to others and to yourselves: ye must work!' But though all are operatives, they are divided into three classes, corresponding to the fine arts,\* the sciences, and industry, under which heads, they say, all the manifestations of human existence may be arranged. They use the denomination of *artists* at present for the first class, but provisionally only, and with an acknowledgment that it is an inadequate appellation, and one which undoubtedly will be misapprehended, and that it is their intention hereafter to substitute another in its stead, which they refrain from using now, because it would certainly be still more widely misunderstood. This other word may probably be *priests*, or something equivalent to it. The men so designated they describe as those who are endowed with the sympathetic faculty in the highest degree, whether that faculty extends to the whole human race, or be confined within a circle of the most contracted social relations. Such are the men who in all ages have communicated to humanity that progressive movement which has brought it from the lowest brutalism to its present degree of civilization; and the individuals who at this time deserve the appellation are those unto whom the secret of our social destinies has been unveiled, and to whom it has been unveiled only because their love of human kind made it an imperious necessity for them to discover it. Priests such persons might have been denominated in organic epochs, poets in critical ones, the mission of the poet, like that of the priest, having always been to incline the mass of mankind toward the realization of that future

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\* *Beaux-arts, science, industrie, voilà donc la Trinité philosophique de SAINT SIMON, que nous avons opposée à celle de PLATON! Voilà ce qui différencie, pour nous, la philosophie positive de notre siècle, de la philosophie, dite métaphysique, créée il y a plus de deux mille ans. Cette différence, qui, au premier coup-d'œil, peut ne pas paraître considérable, est immense, Messieurs, parce qu'elle nous donne le secret de l'humanité, tandis que PLATON n'avait pressenti que celui de l'homme, et encore d'une manière imparfaite, puisqu'une vue générale des rapports de l'homme à l'humanité tout entière lui manquait complètement. Cette différence est immense, puisque la philosophie de SAINT SIMON doit servir de base à une morale sociale; tandis qu'on n'a pu établir sur celle de SOCRATE, développée par PLATON, qu'une morale individuelle, qui n'a pas été perfectionnée depuis dix-huit siècles, et qui ne saurait l'être, sans la conception nouvelle des destinées de l'humanité.*—Doctrines de Saint Simon, p. 352.

The pretext of Christianity is very ill-maintained by these New Religionists; they seem indeed to enter into its philosophy as little as they partake of its spirit. But it is not among Christians that they can hope to make proselytes; they address themselves, therefore, to unbelievers, whom they think to convince of the expediency of their doctrine, not of its truth.

which the one preaches and the other sings. But hereafter the two functions will be united, and the loftiest poetry will become the most powerful preaching, when religion, policy, and morals will be only different appellations for the same thing.

There will be innumerable subdivisions of these artists, priests, hierophants, or whatever they may be called. The two other classes are the *savans* and the *industriels*. All, without exception or distinction, are to receive a general education as the basis—the point of departure from whence each is to proceed according to his ulterior destination; then their special education is to commence, which is to embrace all human knowledge in its most advanced state (*toutes les connoissances humaines dans leur état le plus avancé.*) The course of instruction is to embrace all the professions which the social wants require, and it is to be so graduated that the education of every individual will be a series of studies regular and homogeneous, the close of which leads immediately to a profession, that is, to a social function. Their education is to have three distinct branches, the one directed to the developement of that sympathy wherein the fine arts have their source, another to the reasoning faculty which is the instrument of science, the third to that material activity which is the instrument of industry. Every individual possesses all these faculties in a greater or less degree; all, therefore, are to be cultivated till the individual disposition shall be so far evolved as to point out its appropriate destination in one of the three orders of the state. But it must not be supposed that education ends with youth; it is to continue through life, commencing beside the cradle, and terminating only at the grave; for it is more than hinted, that all are to be under the moral direction of certain *artistes*, who hold the place of the father-confessors in Romish countries. The Saint Simonites say, that the defenders of retrograde doctrines are the only persons who seem to comprehend the importance of moral education; they misapply it, indeed, but upon the point itself they are infinitely superior to the most popular spirits of the age. This leaf, therefore, the New Christians take from the Jesuits' book, from whom they depart far enough in their scheme of instruction. Latin, for example, having lost all its importance since men of learning no longer form a single corps throughout Europe, the study of that language has consequently become not only useless but injurious, on account of the time which it requires; and any argument for continuing to make it an essential part of education they think too preposterous to need refutation.

But by what form are men, when thus educated and classed, to be governed? and by whom is the distribution of property to be made which gives to every one according to his capacity, to every capacity according to its deserts? and on whom is that allotment  
to

to depend which places every individual in his appropriate class and calling, all rights of inheritance being abolished, and no freedom of choice allowed either to parents or to youth? Society, they tell us, is already provided with a mechanism so complete that it needs only to be applied to this wider purpose.

‘Amid the disorder which the decay and downfall of worn-out institutions have caused, instinctive efforts,’ say the Saint Simonites, ‘have been made, the manifest tendency of which is to restore order, by leading towards a new organization of material labour. We have a business (*unc industrie*) here in view, which may be regarded as new, if we look at the particular character, and the extensive developement which it has obtained in these latter times—the business of banking. The creation of that business is evidently a first step towards order; and, in fact, what is the part which bankers at this day perform? They serve as intermediaries between the *labourers*, who want *instruments of labour*, and the *possessors* of those instruments, who either cannot, or will not, make use of them: they perform in part the function of distributors, which is so ill-performed by capitalists and proprietors. In transactions of this kind which are operated through their intervention, the inconveniences which we have noticed are considerably diminished, or at least easily might be so; for bankers, by their habits and connections, are much more in a state to appreciate both the wants of industry, and the capacity of the industrials, than idle and insulated individuals can be, and therefore the capital which passes through their hands is both more usefully and more equitably employed.’

At present, indeed, self-interest is as much the moving principle of banking and of bankers, as it is of every other calling and class of men: but

‘change the political circumstances which cause this deplorable effect, banking and bankers then are necessarily modified, and reciprocally the *perfectionments* in banking, and in the industrial social function exercised by bankers, are perfectionments in policy. Consequently these latter perfectionments may result from facts which the publicists of our days consider as being purely industrial, but which to us are a thousand times more important than the greater part of the discussions which occupy at present our strongest political heads.’

‘Thus, the CENTRALIZATION of the most general banks, and of the most able bankers, is one *unitary* and *directing* bank, which should govern all, and would balance with justice the different wants of credit which industry experiences in all directions; on the other hand, the SPECIALIZATION more and more of particular banks, so that each should be confined to the superintendence, the protection and direction of a single branch of industry—*voilà*, according to us, *political* facts of the highest importance. Every act which would have for its result to centralize general banks, to specialize particular banks, and to connect them hierarchically one with the other, would also necessarily have for its

its result a better understanding of the means of *production*, and the demands of *consumption*, which supposes at the same time a more exact *classification* of labourers, a more enlightened *distribution* of the instruments of industry, a more just *appreciation* of works, and a more *equitable recompense* for labour.—This system will be realised in all its plenitude only in as much as the association of labourers shall be prepared by education, and sanctioned by legislation. It will not be completely realized till the constitution of property shall have undergone the changes that we have announced. Hence an idea may easily be formed of the Social Institution of the future, which for the interest of the whole society, and specially of the peaceful labourers, the industrials, will direct all industry whatsoever: for the present we may call it a General System of Banks.'

Hear, Casimir Perrier, Ternaux, and Lafitte! hear, ye Rothschilds, Couttses, and Barings! hear, Lombard Street! and thou, old Lady Threadneedle, hear! hear!

'The system will comprehend at first a central bank, representing the government in the *material* order, and this bank will be the depositary of all riches, of the whole funds of production, of all instruments of labour; in a word, of all that now composes the entire mass of *individual property*. Upon this central bank will depend banks of the second order, which will be only its extension, and by means of which it will be held in relation with the principal localities, so as to know their wants and their productive power. These again will govern in the territorial circumscription that they embrace; banks more and more special embracing a less extensive field—the smallest branches of the *Tree of Industry*. All *wants* will converge to the superior banks—all *efforts* will diverge from them. The general bank will not grant credit to the localities, that is to say, it will not deliver to them the instruments of industry till it has weighed and combined the different operations, and this credit will be afterwards distributed among the labourers (*les travailleurs*) by the special banks representing the different branches of industry.'—'For any one who reflects a moment upon this picture of the industrial government of a pacific society, it will be easy to conceive (at least under one point of view, the industrial aspect) that here is the solution of that question which so strongly occupies existing publicists, the communal and departmental organisation. They all are for organising cities and provinces, but none of them knows for what end there are cities, and provinces, and nations; *why* men are collected, and what they ought to do—all are impotent in their conceptions; or rather they imagine an *end*, which is resistance to power; a *motive of union*, which is resistance to power; finally, a *duty*, which is still resistance to power; so that constituting revolt every where, and nothing but revolt, they disorganise, instead of organising. Instead of *connecting* the commune with the prefecture, the prefecture with the administration—let us rather say France with Europe, and Europe with the globe, and, still farther, the globe with the

the universe ;—they detach, they fractionize, they divide the world, the globe, and even the village, because they see nothing but petty sovereign individualities, satellites without planets, and an insurrection against the universal law of ATTRACTION.’—But ‘ in an industrial society thus conceived, a chief is seen every where, every where inferiors, patrons and clients, masters and apprentices ; *legitimate* authority every where because the most capable is the chief ; every where *free* obedience because the chief is loved ; order every where. No workman wants either guide or support in this vast workshop ; all have the instruments which they know how to use, the labour which they like to perform ; all are employed, not in *working* man (*à exploiter l’homme*) ; not even in *working* the globe, but in *embellishing* the globe by their efforts ; in *embellishing* themselves with all the riches which the globe gives them.’

The rights of women are fully acknowledged by the Saint Simonites. Having been charged with pleading for a community of women as well as of goods, they repel the first charge as indignantly as the other, but they proclaim that women are to be delivered from that domination, that pupilage, that eternal minority, which all existing institutions impose upon them, but which are incompatible with the social state that is about to commence. Christianity, they say, has raised the sex from servitude, but has condemned them to *subalternity*, and throughout Christian Europe they are still under an interdict, religious, political and civil. The Saint-Simonites announce their definite enfranchisement, their complete emancipation, not abolishing the holy law of marriage, but fulfilling it by giving it a new sanction, and adding to the strength and the inviolability of the union which it consecrates. ‘ They demand, with the Christians, that one man shall be united to one woman, but they teach that the wife ought to be equal with the husband, and that, according to the peculiar grace which God has conferred upon her sex, she ought to be associated with him in the exercise of the triple functions of the church, the state, and the family : so that the *social individual*, which has hitherto been the *man* alone, henceforth shall be the *man and wife*,’ presenting politically thus the perfect Androgyne of philosophical fable. ‘ What the religion of Saint Simon puts an end to is that shameful traffic, that legal prostitution, which so often, under the name of marriage, consecrates the monstrous union of devotedness with selfishness, of intelligence with ignorance, of youth with decrepitude.’

But it is upon religion they affirm that their whole system rests.

‘ Is religion,’ they ask, ‘ to be reduced to a conception,—a purely individual contemplation ? Must it be regarded only as an inward thought, insulated in the feelings and opinions of every separate person, without any influence upon his social acts and his political life ? Or must not the religion of the future which is now opening upon our way,

way, be produced as the expression,—the explosion of the collective thought of humanity, as the synthesis of all its conceptions, of all its modes of being? must it not take its place in the political system, and wholly govern it?’

This they assert, and more than this, ‘that the political system must be in its whole a religious institution, *car aucun fait ne doit plus se concevoir en dehors de DIEU, ou se développer en dehors de SA LOI.*’ In fine it must embrace the whole world, because the law of God is universal. ‘If these propositions can be demonstrated to be false, the school of Saint Simon,’ they say, ‘must be overthrown, for its foundation will be destroyed.’ Thus their system resolves itself into a hierarchy; and they agree with the oldest lawgivers of all countries, and with the best and wisest men of all ages, that without religion no society can be secure; that in religion the foundations of civil government must be laid;—and that in the best conceivable state of society, if all men were what religion could make them, and what nothing but religion can make any man,—religion would be all in all! But that this consummation is impossible till the consummation of all things, they do not see, because their own religion has no root in the heart; because they are Saint Simonites,—New Christians, and not old ones. The exposition of their religious doctrine has not yet appeared, but from other acknowledged, though less official publications of the school, it seems that they reject from their Christianity whatever they suppose to have been derived from the old philosophy of the East; that the Deity is considered by them neither as spirit nor matter, but as including the whole universe, spiritual and material; and that they regard evil as nothing more than an indication of the progress which mankind are called upon to make, in order to be freed from it; in itself it is nothing: sin, therefore, will be abolished! and of the devil it would be superfluous to speak.

Their belief then in Saint Simon amounts to this, that they believe in him just as men upon the same level in England believe in Mr. Malthus, Mr. Ricardo, or Jeremy Bentham. Their faith in Christianity is much less than that of the Mahomedans, and falls short of the lowest degree of Socinianism. From more places than one in their exposition it is evident that they suppose men to have been originally in the lowest savage state; setting aside all regard to scriptural history, and evincing a more erroneous view of the course of events, than in any other part of their reasonings. Politically, no doubt, they are sincere; they believe their own system far better than any into which France is likely to settle, or, more truly speaking, through which it is likely to pass; and their representations of the effects

effects of a moral and political revolution deserve to be especially considered at this time.

They set before us no revolutionary scenes,—no details of those days ‘when the mutinous crew broke the rudder before they had constructed any thing which would act better in its place.’ They touch only upon the scandalous concurrence of opposite worship at the altars, and the demolition of altars by Atheism, and the fragments of the sceptre, scrambled for by a thousand hands, like spoil by the soldiers after a victory. And they speak only of families living without faith, without belief of any kind, having no other bond which connects them with society, than that of the taxes which they are called upon to pay. ‘Government,’ they tell us, ‘possesses now no other influence over the people than what arises from the penal laws; all that was heretofore done by education, by the moral law, by religion, by the habit of obedience and the sense of duty, is at an end!’ They tell us that atheism is considered as an essential character of science; that the superior minds of the age regard all faith as fanaticism, all religious belief as absurdities, and that in proportion as these opinions have prevailed, selfishness has predominated, and all generous feelings, all noble sentiments, have been treated as prejudices. They tell us that the object of all political re-organizations which are now attempted, and all social theories which are produced, are to *exclude* God from the government of the world, and from the thoughts of man! That the prevailing *faith* is an abnegation of all faith, built upon the hypothesis that no Supreme Intelligence presides over the order of the universe; that human events are subject to the caprice of chance; and that man has no existence beyond this limited manifestation which we call life;—our age having renounced the general hypotheses of Providence, order, good, and immortality, and abandoned itself wholly to those of fatality or chance, disorder, evil, nothingness. ‘What,’ they ask, ‘have been the works of Mirabeau and of his age, of which he was in all points so worthy a representative? they have broken the yoke of the past, they have destroyed the dominion of Christian theology and of feudality; and to effect this, what are the passions which they have excited?—distrust, hatred, vengeance, the thirst of blood; the cry soon became liberty, equality, fraternity, or death; and the fate of the atheistic orator has been to pass from the Mountain to the scaffold, from the Apotheosis to oblivion. Under the name of liberty every thing is permitted; and it is time that men should now perceive what are the consequences of that deadly philosophy which has produced this miserable state of things!’—Alas! they themselves are among its products; for seeing and feeling the necessity of religion, as the only principle by which the public weal

weal can be restored, the social virtues and the domestic charities be brought back, and states be once more established in security, they present us with a religion of their own devising ! They have forsaken the living spring, 'and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.'

In England, also, a plan for the 'Formation of a New State of Society,' altogether different from Mr. Owen's, as 'founded on the Doctrines and Principles of Christ's Kingdom,' has recently been proposed by Alfred Addis, B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 'As society make fresh steps in improvement, the Gospel,' he tells us, 'meets the demands of society, by discovering itself under improved aspects.' There is in society a constant and increasing tendency to change, and the exigencies of the present age 'call for such a sweeping reform in the administration of the affairs of nations, that nothing short of a complete dissolution and reorganization of the old systems of government can satisfy those exigencies. The time is now fast arriving, when men will neither require, nor will they bear those trammels and restraints which the presumption of power has so long imposed upon them,—when neither civil nor ecclesiastical usurpation shall any longer triumph upon the privileges and prerogatives of Christians, by which they are enthroned in the kingdom of Jesus Christ, as kings and priests with his God and Father.' What have law and government done ? 'They have perplexed society, plunged the world in war, sat like an incubus upon its resources, justified iniquity, perverted justice, and divided states.' 'Law and government require more often to be checked by the subjects, than the subjects to be checked by them.' 'Were all the governments of Christendom to be abolished at a stroke to-morrow, such an excision might be nothing more than an abolition of so many taxes, and so much useless expenditure. There would be no occasion for the creation of any fresh forms : let men but remove the scaffolding of civil government, the kingdom of Christ is already formed. There are sufficient materials in the local authorities of parishes, or in their separate congregations, for the purposes of government. THE KINGDOM OF THE PARISHES, or the KINGDOM OF THE CONGREGATIONS, without either army or navy, and with the local tribunals of the parish churches for their Parliaments, would be a much more economical and efficient kingdom than any kingdom in existence.' This would not 'indeed abolish the orders of kings and priests, but it would extend those dignities to every one.' 'Wherever there is a congregation and edifice for public worship, let that be an independent government for the settling of all private causes ; commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and all the departments of general business, prosper

per most when unshackled by any legal restriction !' and extra-parochial business there can be none, when the saints of which these congregation are to consist (*we, to wit*), 'shall reign upon the earth as the only kings and priests.' 'This may not indeed please either kings or lords, either the great kings or lords, or the little kings and lords, but the earth was not made for them.' This is not to be brought about by physical violence, 'but if kings and lords will array themselves against it,' if the beast will make war against the lamb, why then, 'gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God, that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men ; and the flesh of horses and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great !'

This indeed is a reform, which goes as far beyond the ministerial plan, as that plan has gone beyond the most sanguine hopes of its most radical aides and abettors ; and as regards economy and retrenchment, neither Colonel Davies nor Mr. Hume could improve upon it. But Alfred Addis has been born into the world too late : more evil is to be apprehended from the proceedings at the Rotunda, than from his 'Sunday Evening Lectures at the Congregation Lodge in Cole-street, Trinity-square, St. Mary, Newington.'

The Saint Simonites are not men like their founder—they are neither madmen nor fanatics,—they address themselves to the understanding, and, as far as they understand it, to the heart of man : and no system which has yet been advanced under the cover of pious fraud has ever been presented to the world so temperately, so reasonably, nor with so much ability as theirs. They have excited no slight degree of attention in Paris, where the minds of men are prepared for any thing by the state of moral and religious anarchy which the progress of liberal opinions has produced. Meantime, in our own country, doctrines not less subversive of the rights of property are disseminated with incessant zeal among the numerous classes to whom it appears that they have every thing to gain by revolutionary changes, and that in any changes they at least can lose nothing, for they cannot relatively be in a worse condition than they are.

Perhaps there is no more alarming symptom in these portentous times, than the general persuasion, which every man must have observed, that we are on the eve of some great crisis ; a restlessness in the public mind, like that which, in individuals, is often the first indication of some rapid and fatal disease,—a blind and uneasy and helpless prescience, such as dogs and birds manifest before the shock of an earthquake :—

'Our reasons are not prophets,  
When oft our fancies are.'

Lord

Lord John Russell has said that no government can withstand a combination of the stupid and the foolish; and, with the aid of government, Lord John himself has now gone far towards bringing to demonstration the truth of that proposition. But there is always a third party in such combinations: between such persons as he has designated, and the 'skilful knaves' of the world, there is a never-failing relation; and it has been said by one, whose worldly wisdom has never been impeached, that wherever 'there are collected numbers of the former, we may be sure that they are directed by the latter.' And folly itself is far from implying innocence or even harmlessness,—so far, indeed, that the word is used in Scripture to denote the greatest possible degree of guilt. There are men who put up their prayers (their only prayers) to that spirit of revolution which is now abroad:—

Oh great corrector of enormous times;  
Shaker of o'er-rank states; thou grand decider  
Of dusty and old titles, that heal'st with blood  
The earth when it is sick, and curest the world  
O' the pleurisy of people!

In this light it is that the best of those men, they who give themselves credit for cosmopolitan, patriotic, and utilitarian motives, look upon that spirit, that

—most unbounded tyrant, whose successes  
Make heaven unfear'd, and villainy assured  
Beyond its power there's nothing; almost puts  
Faith in a fear; and deifies alone  
Volatile chance!

Stupendous as is the folly of such men, their guilt is yet greater.

Bishop Reynolds, who enumerates among the 'causes of disloyal affections that indignation which grows out of errors in government, when men perceive that foolish and unworthy persons are advanced,' applies many denunciations in scripture 'against such as attempt to alter the long-established and wholesome constitutions of nations and people, and do rashly overrun the foundations of laws and customs: such changes,' he says, are 'usually mortiferous to the undertakers of them.' Not many years ago it was related in the newspapers, that some labourers who were employed in Ireland to take down an old bridge, set about their work by getting under it, and forcing up the key-stone; upon which the arch fell, and sent them, boat and all, to the bottom. Vested rights are the key-stone of our social edifice: if once it be practically admitted that they may be sacrificed to an abstract principle, and a popular cry,—that 'a breath unmakes them as a breath has made,' there will soon be no more security for private than for public rights, for individual than for corporate possessions: title-deeds

deeds will be worth as little as charters ; whatever will not bear the test of that abstract principle of utility by which the Sovereign People's Most Excellent Majesty (such is the designation seriously given in a paper called 'The Republican') may think proper to try it, will be swept away. 'Hear, ye deaf ! and look, ye blind, that ye may see !'

There are in this country (favoured as it has been' above all others) many evils which might be abated or lessened ; much misery that might be prevented or alleviated ; much wickedness that might be curbed and corrected. There is abundant need and work for a really reforming government. But it is not in the quiet, patient, laborious, unostentatious course of duty that popularity is either sought or gained. Ministers who came into office with a question which they had 'like a wolf by the ears, not knowing whether to hold or let go,' have let it loose ; with what motives and what conscience, God will judge,—with what issue, we and our posterity shall feel. Overturn ! overturn ! is the cry which has gone forth ; and all but those who expect either to find their own advantage, or their safety, by joining in it, foresee that this nation will find itself at the end 'as the shepherd who taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear.' Soon there will remain to be attacked nothing but the distinctions of society, that is to say, rank and fortune. The one is already threatened, loudly and insolently in some journals, and sometimes by insinuation, sometimes in a sneer, sometimes without disguise, by that notorious newspaper, which is universally believed to act under the personal influence of certain members of the cabinet, and has openly received the protection of government, after the most daring and most dangerous insult to the House of Commons that has been offered since the days of the Long Parliament. The levellers threaten the other. We say nothing of their numbers, though that point might deserve the consideration of those who think it wise and justifiable to appeal to the people upon questions which affect the whole fabric of government, when the passions of that people are inflamed to the highest degree. But let no man despise either their arguments or their ability. *Prima facie*, they have a fair case ; they know its strength, and they know their own. They know also that all the reforms which are so loudly called for, and so largely promised, can be of no possible benefit to them, unless as so many steps toward the removal of the only inequality by which human happiness is really affected. They are mistaken in supposing that a state of equality is possible in the present condition of human nature ; or that, if possible, it would not lower the standard of civilization, and be incompatible with that freedom which every man in this kingdom possesses now, whether he enjoys or abuses it. (This is a question

a question upon which we will enter in a future number, with the diligence and research that it requires.) They are mistaken in thinking that the rich are too rich, or that social good could ever spring from a dislocation of society; but they are not mistaken when they say that the poor are too poor—that their condition might be amended, and that it ought to be amended; and till it shall be amended they see before them (and who does not see?) the materials for instigating a *bellum servile*. ‘That man,’ as an old writer says, ‘is in a lèlhargy, who doth not now sensibly feel God shaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet.’

ART. V.—*Outlines of History*. London. 18mo. 1830.

ACCORDING to Plato, human souls are ætherial spirits, which, unable to attend the triumphant career of the heavenly choir in their progress through the spheres, have sunk to the terrestrial regions, and been imprisoned in corruptible bodies. Even in this state, however, there are various and important gradations. He distributes these degraded spirits into nine classes, the first of which animates the bodies of true philosophers, and, in general, the men of comprehensive sympathies. The five succeeding classes need no description here, and we shall content ourselves with delineating the three lowest. The seventh class of spirits animates the agriculturist and artisan; the eighth, the sophist and demagogue; and the ninth, the tyrant. Plato evidently hints that each of these individual spirits passes in rotation through each of these nine steps, and that the happiness of mankind depends on the class which may at any given period predominate; and it may perhaps be worth a page to apply the reveries of the ancient philosopher to the events of the passing time—to endeavour to evolve eternal truth from the fantastic imagery in which he has enveloped it—in the language of the poet, to ‘unsphere his spirit,’ and gather ‘from old experience’ some intimation of the probable future; for, Plato, after all, was no mere cloister-dreamer, and however strange it may sound in the ears of our modern sciolists, the experience of the later Greeks in the practical tendencies of the various forms of government was incomparably more extensive than all that the history of modern states can furnish. They had seen, for themselves, government after government proceed from limited monarchy to aristocracy, and then degenerate into lawless democracy, from which the transition to tyranny was rapid and inevitable. They had witnessed each successive change, and marked, with observant eye, its origin, progress, and results.

Writing as we do in June, 1831, it assuredly does not require a power

a power of observation, quickened by the experience of an Athenian, to perceive that we are in a transition state; that our age is passing from the long-sustained domination of the agricultural and manufacturing *genii*; and that the more malignant demons of the sophist and the demagogue are rapidly taking possession of the persons of our rulers. The sophist indeed no longer parades our streets, and offers his mercenary instructions in the art of making the worse appear the better reason, and of confounding the eternal distinctions between truth and falsehood, right and wrong; but, shrouded in the obscurity of a garret, daily commits to all the winds of heaven his pestilent doctrines, and, in virtue of his concealment, claiming an oracular infallibility, deals in assertions equally unfounded and flagitious. The demagogue, unchanged in character, exhibits the same deceptive arts and unwearied assiduity; and although twenty centuries have elapsed since Cleon led the mob of Athens, and Hyperbolus caused even the rabble to blush at the absurdities of their idol, we may still recognise the same spirits enacting the same parts, though in different persons, on the English and Irish stage. The catastrophe of this drama, as exemplified in ancient history, is familiar to every school-boy. What infatuation, then, prevents our applying this knowledge to the events passing before our eyes? Why should we hesitate, with these facts before us, to admit the inevitable conclusion, that unless the better spirits be roused into instant and strenuous exertions, the domination of the base will be established, only to be succeeded by the last and lowest *genius*—that of the solitary tyrant?

In a word, the shallow conceit which would sneer at the standing records of history, as equally worthless with the pages of a superannuated *Ephemeris*, is in fashion in high places; but not yet, we hope, so firmly established that we shall excite nothing but a smile by an attempt, in spite of the Plunketian doctrine, to illustrate the present state and probable prospects of our own country, by a brief reference to some of the grand outlines of the Grecian and Roman 'Old Almanack.'

The earliest form in which the Athenian government presents itself to the inquirer, is that of a limited monarchy, under which it offers few materials for history, because the people were happy at home and respected abroad. The Dorian irruption, pregnant with great events, excited a spirit hitherto unknown, and gave a totally new impulse to the minds of the inhabitants. The changes, however, which they adopted were neither violent nor precipitate. When Codrus perished by an act of patriotic self-devotion, they abolished the kingly name and office, but continued the sovereignty in his family under the new title of Archon.

or president, who enjoyed his office during life. Years passed away under this new form, during which Athens enjoyed peace and prosperity, for the change to which she had been subjected was more nominal than real.

A greater and more vital change, however, was effected on the extinction of the dynasty of the Medontidæ, for so were the descendants of Codrus entitled. At this period the archonship was rendered a decennial office, and thrown open to all families of noble descent; a measure, in itself revolutionary, and destined to continue in force no longer than seventy years. A still wider step toward democracy was then taken; the duration of the office was limited to a single year, and the number of holders increased to ten. Then commenced the fearful *double* struggle in which we are already engaged—the struggle between contending factions of the nobility on one hand, and that between the popular body and the dis-united and tottering aristocracy on the other. Sedition, civil war, and every other domestic and political misfortune were the unhappy consequences, until the people, wearied with their suicidal contests, and convinced that the whole social fabric had dissolved into its primitive elements, delegated to Solon the task of re-organising the state. The most perfect reconstruction which he could devise, or rather perhaps which the temper of the times allowed him to effect, was the establishment of a *timocracy*, in which the several classes of citizens were arranged with reference principally to property, and which entirely excluded persons below a certain census from eligibility to office. As a check to the too great influence of wealth on the one hand, and the undue ascendancy of ambitious talent over the popular deliberations on the other, he created, or rather perhaps new-modelled, the celebrated court of the Arcopagus: to this body, composed of the oldest, wisest, and most experienced citizens, he intrusted the power of annulling all unworthy elections, of restraining all rash innovations, and of *rejecting every law which was not found to harmonize with the settled principles of the constitution*. The vigour of the vital principle which this wise legislator breathed into his institutions may best be estimated by considering that the absolute, though most equitable government of Pisistratus, was conducted without in any degree violating their principles or forms. Their intrinsic equity and adaptation to the habits of the people gave them an elasticity which firmly supported any change in the form of the executive. Under the shadow of this admirable constitution, the public mind of Athens flourished in genial beauty and luxuriance; it developed a vigour which the most gigantic efforts of foreign foes could never arrest, and put forth blossoms whose fragrance will never cease to breathe the choicest perfumes over

over the springing intellect of successive generations. It fostered the unconquered resolution and stern public virtue of Miltiades and Aristides, the political talent of Themistocles and Pericles, the splendid genius of Æschylus and Sophocles, and the lofty virtue of that philosopher from whose lips Plato and Xenophon derived their all-but inspired wisdom and eloquence.

It might have been supposed by a mere speculative reasoner, that a system so productive of individual security and general prosperity would have concentrated in its support the energies and hearts of all who were happy enough to live under its benignant influence; and a benevolent enthusiast might, with still greater confidence, have predicted, that if any hostility or disaffection should arise, it would be found among those less fortunate classes of society, which, crushed by penury and embruted by ignorance, are ever ready to attribute the inevitable sufferings under which they groan to some imagined iniquity in the social system or its administrators.

It might have been with great appearance of reason argued that nothing could be more absurd than to suppose, that those whose pre-eminence it guaranteed, and whose property it secured, would ever co-operate in impairing its sanctity, or in sapping its foundations. Yet experience has proved, that however plausible such anticipations might appear, none could prove more futile in the issue. History assures us—nor is it among the least important of her lessons—that the measures which overthrew this magnificent social fabric; which neutralised the conservative power of the Areopagus, and transferred the supreme authority to an uncombed democracy, were those of Pericles, the Alcmaeonid. The man who originated the measures which terminated in the prostration of the aristocracy, and the oppression of the wealthy—was himself the noblest of all the citizens of Athens—marked out, by birth as well as by talent, the natural leader of the order which he destroyed. By releasing the deliberations of the popular assembly from the control of the Areopagus, this high-born genius deprived the constitution of all stability, and exposed it to every blast of popular caprice. It was no longer a machine regulated on known principles, but subjected to the wanton management of the most influential demagogue of the day.

Such are the facts as recorded by history, and it only remains for us, to analyse, if possible, the motives which could have led such a man to pursue such a line of conduct; to endeavour to evolve some general principle, which may guide us in our judgment of the conduct of our contemporaries. Personal ambition not only overcame all those selfish feelings of regard, which he might have been supposed to entertain for the interests of his order; but still

more fatally blinded him to the eventual ruin he was preparing for his country. That he did deliberately plan and accomplish the overthrow of the authority and weight of his order is evident, when we consider the composition of that august court whose rights he abrogated. The Areopagus consisted of a limited number of the most eminent characters of the day, and of 'all the nobles of Athens distinguished by extent of possessions and sobriety of mind'—in Aristotle's words, *εὐπατριδὲς πλουτῶ καὶ βίῳ σωφροὺν διαφερόντες*. These therefore presented an insuperable obstacle to the ambitious views of Pericles, who knew how much more easy it was to excite a mob than to persuade an assembly so constituted. He determined to rid the vessel of its ballast; and the event answered his expectations.

The aristocracy made indeed an honourable struggle against the torrent of democratic power, but this was finally terminated by the banishment of Thucydides; and Pericles, the demagogue, became the virtual autocrat of Athens for the remainder of his life. This period indeed extended to nearly fifteen years, during the greater part of which he continued to exhibit the splendid—and unrivalled—example of a spirit equal to the control of the elements which itself had evoked. At length, with the gloomiest anticipations for the result, he felt the charm rapidly dissolving, and found himself obliged to guide the storm he could no longer restrain. In despair, he plunged his countrymen into that fatal war from which no wreck of the ancient constitution was destined to emerge. Athens, which, on the day when the Areopagus was shorn of its strength, was not only one of the eyes of Greece, but in truth and effect the leading state, saw within a few short years, under the *energetic, pacific* and *consistent* influence of a reformed system, her colonies wrested from her, her fleet annihilated, her walls levelled with the ground, and a new tyranny imposed upon her citizens by their hereditary rivals. During the brief interval that had elapsed, the strife of faction within her walls had not been less fierce and furious than the struggles of war without. The polished eloquence of Pericles had been succeeded by the hoarse denunciations and rabid fury of a Cleon. Scarcely were the tones of this base brawler silenced when there appeared on the stage of public life a youth pre-eminently qualified to be the popular leader of the Athenians. The nephew of Pericles, Alcibiades, compensated for the want of his uncle's graver political ability, by a splendour of genius which dazzled all eyes, an address which captivated all hearts, and a variety and depth of knowledge which peculiarly belonged to the pupil of Socrates. Yet gifted as he was, and of principles sufficiently pliant to allow him to adopt whatever line of policy might appear best calculated to win the populace at the moment, he found

found it impossible to adapt himself with sufficient address to the ever varying current of vulgar caprice, and in an evil hour, both for himself and his country, gave up the ungrateful effort in despair, and enlisted himself in the service of her most inveterate enemies. Thus were those talents, which in a more healthful state of things might have proved the ornament or the salvation of his parent city, converted into instruments of the most deadly injury. It is a melancholy reflection, though the fact is invaluable to the student of the human character, that the restless activity which characterised both these noblemen, Pericles and Alcibiades, was the symptom of a morbid excitement of intellect, which issued, in the descendants of both, in forms of insanity varying in a manner not inconsistent with the respective characters of the individuals. The grandchildren of the grave statesman Pericles became grinning idiots, those of the more mercurial Alcibiades, frantic maniacs. For these circumstances we have the authority of Aristotle.

In Rome we view a state of things more readily intelligible to a native of the continent, than to an uneducated Englishman of the present day. A caste, noble by blood, monopolized all the higher offices of state, and were alone eligible to magistracies. This exclusive system was broken down by the Licinian laws, after a protracted struggle between the patricians and plebeians. From the period of these enactments the road to the highest honours of the state was opened to every Roman citizen; a few offices connected with the religious ceremonial being alone confined to the patrician order. This system, so remarkably similar to our own provisions on the same subject, continued, without any important alteration, for upwards of two centuries. During this period, Rome made perpetual advances in power, civilization, and arts. After a contest which could only have been maintained by a singularly energetic and united aristocracy, she had obliterated her great rival Carthage from the face of the earth; and during the intervals of that mighty struggle had achieved other conquests, equally important and scarcely less arduous. Her cup of prosperity was full, the whole western world was at her feet, and nothing but internal dissensions could have tarnished her glory or endangered her security.

The contests between distinct races had long ceased—the nobility of plebeian blood equalled the patricians in the number of their statues, the splendour of their triumphs, and the estimation of the public; the dissensions which ensued, therefore, assumed a new aspect, and the opposing factions were distinguished only as *the rich and the poor*. The rapid and enormous influx of wealth which followed their long career of conquests rendered every Roman citizen impatient of those laborious and frugal habits by which

alone permanent independence can be secured: the meanest bearer of that proud title thought it beneath his dignity to earn his daily subsistence by mechanical arts, and was eager to become a landholder, by converting into private property those public estates which had hitherto supplied the general treasury without the necessity of taxation. Hence the clamorous outcry for an agrarian law; a clamour not unheard indeed in earlier times, but which now acquired formidable power from the character of the individual who had put himself at the head of the democratic faction, and led the needy and rapacious in their assault upon wealth and authority. Tiberius Gracchus was endowed by nature with all the talents necessary to a successful demagogue; he was conscious of his power to direct the populace, and his ambition rendered him willing to invest them, at any sacrifice, with a sway which he foresaw would be virtually his own. And who was the man whose personal views incited him to invade the privileges of the aristocracy, and rob that order of an ascendancy which had proved so auspicious to the destinies of Rome? On the paternal side his family was at the head of the plebeian nobility, while on the maternal side he was the grandson of Africanus, and boasted the noblest strain of patrician blood. It is not, indeed, unlikely that personal resentment had some share in kindling his animosity against the senate. Their refusal to sanction the treaty with the Numantines, which he had guaranteed as the quaestor of Mancinus, had probably stung him as a personal indignity, and hurried him into the ranks of faction before he had maturely weighed the consequences of his conduct. The changes which he proposed principally affected property, and had he carried these into effect by constitutional means, his name would not perhaps have been, as it now is, inseparably connected with the promoters of sedition. Constitutional measures, however, were found insufficient, for the time at least, to effect his purpose; and in the frenzy of thwarted ambition, this rash or unprincipled politician had recourse to one of those violent expedients which, breaking down the established principles of a government for the sake of some ideal amendment, deal a vital blow to the entire system.

The constitution of Rome had invested the tribunes individually with the right of a veto upon all proposed enactments. The office, erected as a defence to the popular liberties, was sacred and inviolable; it was held for one year only, and the holders were elected by the people. Octavius, a colleague of Gracchus, ventured to exercise his right, and put a veto upon the favourite measure of the demagogue: the infuriated reformer, burning with a zeal which could not brook the delay of even a few months, appealed to the sovereign will of the people. Adopting the favourite  
sophism

sophism of all demagogues, ancient and modern, he taught them that all power was to be exercised for their benefit ; that to oppose their will was treason against the source of all power ; and that no institution was so venerable, no rights were so sacred, as to be allowed to interfere with the immediate accomplishment of their desires. Such doctrines prevailed ; the people forcibly assumed a power unknown to the constitution, they violated the sacred character of the tribune's office, and expelled Octavius *for doing what he was created tribune to do*—giving a veto to a measure which he, rightly or not, considered dangerous to the common-wealth.

By this disastrous step Gracchus triumphed ; the agrarian law was carried, but instead of producing the happy effects which it might possibly have done had it been established by lawful means, it proved the death-blow to the tranquillity of Rome. The barriers of the constitution were broken down ; force had overpowered legal right, and by force alone could any future contest be decided between factions set free from all the restraints which usage and law had formerly imposed. Accordingly, the history of the following century presents an unbroken series of conspiracies, massacres, and civil wars, until the battle of Actium, precisely one hundred and two years after the first fatal violation of constitutional law, gave the empire repose by submitting it to a tyrant. Ten years after the tribuneship of Tiberius, his brother Caius appeared on the stage. Of the fury with which this grandson of the elder, and brother-in-law of the younger Africanus prosecuted his hostility to the senate, we may form some idea from the fact recorded by Plutarch, that—

‘Whereas the orators, before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces toward the senate-house and the comitium, he then for the first time turned the other way, that is to say, towards the forum, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus, by a small alteration in the posture of his body he indicated something very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form. For, by this action, he intimated that all orators ought to address themselves to the people and not to the senate.’

After procuring the restoration of his brother's agrarian law, his next measure was to extend the freedom of the city to all the Italian allies. The evil of the Roman assembly already was, that its numbers were greater than was consistent with the character of a deliberative body, but by this change he would have placed the entire government at the mercy of any daring faction which could muster a sufficient force to take violent possession of the comitium. After an undisturbed domination of two years, he lost the confidence of the people, and, having dared to array himself against the consul, he and a multitude of his adherents perished in the streets of Rome

Rome. Soon after, the recurrence of foreign wars and the imminent danger with which Rome was threatened by the descent of the northern barbarians, put a stop for a time to internal dissensions ; but the constitution had never recovered its health, and on the restoration of comparative peace—the wound opened again—the mob party instantly resumed their violence. Their new leader was Caius Marius, and in this instance the demagogue was himself a natural democrat. Born an indigent plebeian, Marius had risen from the ranks to be the most successful general of his day ; and it was not therefore unnatural that he should attach himself to the party from which he sprung, and declare uncompromising hostility to a system whose advantages his brutal ignorance utterly incapacitated him from appreciating. His history, however, furnishes to all demagogues a warning lesson on the danger of the weapons proper to their vocation.

Even Marius, outrageous and unscrupulous as he was in support of his party, lost, in his sixth consulship, their confidence. Servilius Glaucius the prætor, and Saturninus the tribune, his readiest and most useful instruments, became dissatisfied, and raised an ultra-democrat insurrection, in which they seized the Capitol. The democrat consul found himself in the new position of leader of the conservative party, and was obliged to besiege his former supporters, whom, on their surrender, he unsparingly massacred. But the first act of the drama was rapidly drawing to a close. The principles of anarchy and disorder had diffused their influence throughout the body politic, and general dissolution was at hand. Rome saw all Italy in arms at her gates, her Asiatic possessions transferred to an eastern despot, eighty thousand of her subjects butchered in a single day, and the sovereignty of the sea in the undisputed possession of pirates ; she saw, on every side, insult, injury, and menace, and looked back with astonishment and despair to the proud height from which she had precipitated herself. From this abyss the indomitable energy of a single individual was destined to extricate her. Sylla, a Cornelian by descent, saw that the salvation of his country depended on the restoration of power to the party to which he belonged by birth, and was attached by political feeling. He espoused the cause of the aristocracy, and his unconquered energy and accomplished talents, no less than his merciless recklessness as to means, ensured the triumph of the party he led. He subdued the insurgent Italian states, and was rewarded with the command of the expedition against Mithridates. Fain would the democratic party, headed by Marius, have deprived him of this well-earned honour. By actual force they repealed his appointment and transferred it to Marius. But their triumph was as ephemeral

as it was violent. Sylla unhesitatingly marched his army back to Rome, overthrew his adversaries, banished their leaders, and entrusted the management of affairs, during his own absence, to Cornelius Cinna, whom he imagined a faithful partisan. The departure of Sylla was the signal for new commotions. The exiled Marians returned, new democratic leaders sprung up, and Rome, the mistress of the civilized world, was blockaded, captured, and plundered by her own children. Marius, aided by the renegade Cinna, re-established the popular party, and signalized his triumph by the proscription of all that was noble, dignified, or virtuous in Rome.

His sanguinary career of vengeance was shortly terminated by his death, and he bequeathed to Cinna the task, equally hazardous and ungracious, of supporting the democracy and becoming the antagonist of his former patron. Cinna was the first tyrant Rome had seen since the expulsion of the Tarquins. During the three years of his uncontrolled and ruthless domination his fellow-citizens learnt, by ample experience, that there is no tyranny so unrelenting and capricious as that of a successful demagogue; that the absolute will of a mob, embodied and personified in a single leader, is at once the meanest and the most ferocious of despotisms. Miseries so extensive and intense scarcely admit of alleviation from the certainty that vengeance must ultimately, as in this case, recoil upon the tyrant. Cinna was assassinated by his own soldiers; and the leadership of the popular party devolved on the younger Marius and Papirius Carbo, who exerted themselves to the utmost in preparing against the storm already lowering from the east.

In the meantime, Sylla, disowned and cast off by his countrymen, continued, with a forgetfulness of selfish and party feeling unprecedented in history, to wage a successful war with Mithridates. Persevering in hostilities on his own responsibility, and with his own resources only, he peremptorily refused to sheathe the sword until he had compelled that monarch to submit to the conditions he proposed. He brought the contest to the desired termination, and without delay resolved to return to Italy, and rescue his countrymen from the iron oppression of the opposite faction. The enterprise was gigantic. The Marian party had two hundred thousand men in arms, and boasted that the populace, not of Rome only, but of every allied state and municipal town in Italy, were devoted to their cause. To encounter such an opposition Sylla led no more than thirty thousand men. Among these, however, were the flower of the aristocracy, and the remnants of those brave warriors with whom he had achieved the glories of the Social War;

War; men whose animosity against the dominant faction in Rome was equal to their enthusiasm for their leader, and both were boundless. The struggle was desperate, but at the end of three years not a single man of eminence belonging to the democratic faction was to be found alive in Italy. All had perished, either by proscription, in the field, or in the massacres which terminated the long-contested sieges, and Sylla found himself as undisputed lord of Rome as Marius or Cinna had ever been before him. This extraordinary man's views, however, were not personal; he had no desire to retain in his own hands the supreme authority of the state, and he accordingly applied himself to the *reform* (we use the word in its proper sense) of the constitution, and the restoration of power to the aristocracy. The senate was purged of its democratic members, and reinstated in all the rights and privileges which had belonged to it before the innovations of the Gracchi. The popular branch of the government was limited by depriving the tribunes of the initiative in the assembly, and confining their power to the simple veto; while the knights, to whom the Gracchi had confined the judicial power, were deprived of that privilege, and reduced to comparative insignificance. Lands in various parts of Italy were assigned to the Syllan veterans, who were thus distributed throughout the peninsula as outposts and guards to the re-organised government; and having thus accomplished his great purpose of re-establishing the aristocracy, Sylla abdicated his dictatorial power and retired to an unmolested privacy.

The individuals whom his retreat left the most prominent characters on the stage, were Catulus, Pompey, Metellus, Crassus, Lepidus, Hortensius, and Lucullus. Catulus, the civil leader of his party, was the son of that colleague of Marius whom, on his final triumph, the gloomy demagogue had condemned to death. He was a stern and uncompromising assessor of the privileges of the senate, and both foresaw and predicted every danger which menaced its authority; and had he possessed the military genius of a Pompey, the eventual fate of his party might have been very different. Pompey, the representative of a family lately ennobled, and the son of a most unpopular father (who perished in his tent, probably by the hands of his own soldiers,) had, from his first appearance on the stage of public life, attracted universal attention by the activity and success with which he reunited the fragments of his father's veterans after the death of Cinna, and joined Sylla at the most critical moment of his career. His subsequent successes in Sicily and Africa confirmed the opinion entertained of his military talents. Metellus, the representative of the highly ennobled patrician family of the Cæcili, by the steadiness of his character and mili-  
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tary skill, served as a counterpoise to the more active ambition of Pompey. Crassus, the representative of the Licinian family, highly noble although plebeian, was the son of that illustrious orator who was butchered by Marius. His title to the position of a leader rested rather on his enormous wealth than on any pre-eminent ability. Lepidus, a patrician of the Emilian race, scarcely deigned, even before the death of Sylla, to pay due obedience to the senate, and was preparing, under the new character of a democrat and a patriot, to destroy his party and imitate the example of Cinna. Hortensius, a new man, and, had not Cicero lived, the first orator of ancient Rome, had acquired by the talents and assiduity he displayed at the bar, an influence second to that of none among his noble associates. Although by natural inclination and acquired position an aristocrat, his political feelings were too feeble to induce him to plunge into the vortex of faction. His eloquence was always at the service of his party, but he could never be prevailed upon to encounter the laborious vocation of a political partisan. His boast was that his voice had never been silenced by the din of arms. Lucullus, the most amiable of men, and the bosom friend of Sylla, had escaped the sight of the bloody scenes which accompanied that leader's victories, having been employed during that period in Asia. His intellect was evidently of the highest order, but the enervating influence of the Epicurean doctrines, which affected him as well as his friend Hortensius, robbed him of the energy requisite for a great political leader.

Such were the most prominent public characters at the death of Sylla. They were, however, supported by a phalanx of virtue, talent, and respectability, which would have given weight and stability to any government; nor is it possible to omit particular notice of two of their adherents, then rapidly rising into notice and distinction, Cicero and Cato. It would be utterly superfluous to enlarge upon the character or position of men so well known as these; but it may be permitted to us to remark, that if profound political knowledge, and the extensive inquiries of one of the acutest of human intellects into the principles of society and government entitle a man's opinion to deferential attention, the suffrage of Cicero will have no ordinary weight in favour of the party he espoused: while, on the other hand, if keen powers of observation, strong common sense, and a stern regard for public morals as the basis of public happiness, enable a man to estimate the practical effects of the institutions operating around him, the voice of Cato must be decisive as to the superior merit of the aristocratic system of Rome.

We have already traced this system through one cycle of decline, fall, and restoration: it now remains for us to consider, how the  
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reconstructed edifice, fortified as it was by rank, valour, wealth, eloquence, and philosophy, was so suddenly overwhelmed in common ruin with the noblest and ablest of its defenders. Alas! we have already twice asked a similar question, and our answer must again be the same as before. The warning voice of history is monotonous, but its very monotony, like the funereal knell, only renders it more solemn and impressive. The personal ambition of a minority of the aristocracy, comprehending some individuals of surpassing ability, led them, in an evil hour, to head the populace in attacks upon their own order, which they were thus able, step by step, to subvert. The first to pursue this course was Lepidus, who, under the pretence of asserting the rights of the people, took up arms, and threatened to march upon Rome, abrogate the Syllan institutions, and restore the democracy. The loss of the history of this rebellion by Sallust is one of the most serious misfortunes political history has to deplore. His attempts, however, were met with vigour by Catulus and Pompey, who dispersed his adherents and drove him into banishment, where he died, the victim, as it is said, to disappointed ambition.

The pressure of the Sertorian war, and the insurrection of the Italian slaves, suspended for a time the process of destruction; the more stirring spirits of the age, united against a public foe, had neither opportunity nor inclination to prosecute intestine feuds. With the return, however, of peace and prosperity recurred the periodical fit of political agitation. The tribunes, no longer contented with a defensive power, eagerly claimed their old weapon of attack—the right of initiating measures in the assembly; and in this claim they were supported by Pompey. He had taken umbrage at the dissatisfaction exhibited by the senate with his conduct in the Sertorian war, and still more at their refusal to invest him prematurely with the consular insignia—and thus mere personal pique threw him for a time into the enemy's ranks. His influence enabled the tribunes to achieve their aim; in consequence of which the state was again committed to the tumultuous fluctuations of popular agitation, which rapidly hurried it to destruction. From the first moment of his re-*negadoship* he was hailed as the popular idol of the day. The incense of this new adoration intoxicated him with its fumes; and he hurried forward in his mad career, until he was universally regarded as the most deadly enemy of the senatorial order. But this was not the course for which either nature or position had intended Pompey. One of the most active of the followers of Sylla, his pretensions to the new character of a patriot were too manifestly hollow and spurious long to delude even the most credulous

dulous of the populace. For a time the cheat prevailed : there was, however, at least one by-stander who watched with exultation and contempt the frantic folly of the new man of the people ; one who, with no party to betray and no principles to compromise, had sagacity enough to perceive, that the ancient avenue to the supreme power had been again broken open, when the offensive privileges were restored to the tribunes ; and who felt, also, that he had the resolution necessary to penetrate it, and to impose on the aristocracy the yoke, which Sylla had magnanimously disdained to compel them to receive. The future Lord of Rome saw his path prepared and smoothed for him by every new act of the triumphant demagogue—and he awaited his hour. Julius Caesar was the representative of the noblest branch of the Julian family—a house which traced its origin to the royal stock of Alba, and, amid the obscurity of distant ages, claimed the goddess Venus as their ancestress. Thirteen patrician statues adorned his hall, the original of each of which had held the consular office or others of equal dignity. If nobility of birth and the conscious pride arising from such distinction were alone sufficient to set man above the arts of a demagogue, assuredly Cæsar could never have descended to them. Hear the youthful democrat's own boast respecting the splendour of his descent—‘ My aunt Julia,’ he says in his funeral oration over her, ‘ was maternally descended from the kings of Rome ; paternally, she was connected with the immortal gods. For her mother’s family, the Marcii Reges, are the descendants of Ancus Marcius. The Julii are the descendants of Venus. There is, therefore, in our family, both the sanctity of kings, who are the most powerful among men, and the holiness of the gods, to whom even kings themselves are subject.’—If, again, family injuries could exasperate man into an implacable hostility against the party by whom they had been inflicted, Cæsar ought to have been found among the deadliest foes of the Marian faction. The Julii had been nearly exterminated during the sanguinary persecution set on foot by Marius. The future despot himself had escaped the storm, through the accidental connexion of his aunt Julia with Marius, in consequence of which he was brought up under that chief’s immediate superintendence. His marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, had tended to connect him still more closely with the democratic party, and to impress upon him the facility with which absolute power might be attained under a pretended advocacy of popular rights. From the first moment, therefore, of his appearance in public, this first of Roman Nobles never ceased to proclaim popular sentiments, and to represent himself as the patron and supporter of democratic

democratic principles. Long, however, did he keep himself in the back-ground, contented with watching the ample preparations in progress by the Syllan leaders for the prosecution of his ulterior designs. For him there were no premature honours, no extraordinary commissions ; and he was compelled to wait until the full age required by law qualified him for the important situations in the gift of the people. The three years previous to his consulship had been signalised by a keen and tedious contest between Pompey and the senate. This great general, victorious in his Asiatic campaigns, had assumed an almost irresponsible and absolute authority. Relying upon his popularity with the army, he disposed of kingdoms and provinces, as though he had conquered on his own account, and not as the servant of the state ; while he had taken on himself to promise his veterans grants of land. This haughty and arrogant demeanour met with merited opposition on the part of the senate, headed by Crassus, who insisted that the acts of Pompey, like those of any other officer, should be submitted to the constitutional check and revision of the senate. In vain had he procured the consulship for two successive years for his lieutenants and creatures, Afranius and Piso ; the senate continued obstinate, the acts remained unratified, and the veterans still murmured at the delay of the expected gratification. It was in this situation that in an evil hour he listened to the application of Cæsar. Returning unexpectedly from Spain, Julius soon perceived the true state of affairs, and resolved to employ the personal ambition of Pompey and Crassus in furthering his own ulterior views. Crassus was already his friend, and subjected to the magic influence of the stronger over the weaker mind. Soliciting a secret interview with Pompey, he proposed that fatal coalition from which may be dated the downfall of Roman liberty. As the price of co-operation, he engaged to procure the ratification of Pompey's Asiatic acts, and the assignment of lands to the soldiers, as well as to allow Pompey the personal direction of affairs in the city. The proposal was accepted, and every virtuous Roman heard with alarm and indignation, that the low popularity of Cæsar, the unbounded wealth of Crassus, and the military power of Pompey, were leagued in opposition to the aristocracy.

The senate, however, though alarmed, was not dismayed, and succeeded in forcing upon Cæsar, more as an antagonist than as a colleague, Calpurnius Bibulus, a near connexion and faithful adherent of Cato ; nor would the conspirators have succeeded in their plans, had not the laws been violated and set aside. The first question on which the senate placed themselves in direct opposition to the measures of the triumvirate was the assignment

assignment of lands. The original proposal of Pompey comprehended only his veterans, but in the hands of Cæsar the measure had been extended into an agrarian law, which embraced no less than twenty thousand of the poorer citizens. This the senate, as might have been expected, utterly refused to admit, upon which Cæsar, in the true spirit of a reformer, defied their opposition, and declared his intention of appealing to the assembly of the people, a large proportion of whom were directly and most vehemently interested in the success of the measure. The decisions of the assembly were in themselves independent of those of the senate, and had the proposal of Cæsar been legally adopted there, it would not have been the less law in consequence of its previous rejection by the senate. The laws had, however, imposed two most important checks on the popular deliberations; and both of these were in this instance violently broken through. The constitutional *veto* of Cæsar's colleague, and the protest of the Augurs, were treated with equal contempt. The chiefs appeared in the rostra, and declared their intention of supporting the will of the populace, not by their influence only, but, if necessary, by force also; the consul was driven from the forum, and confined to his house for the remaining eight months of his magistracy. The constitution was thus annihilated, never more to be revived; the aristocracy was again prostrated, and the triumvirs, backed by the deluded mob, remained undisputed masters of the republic.

The infamy of these proceedings fell upon Crassus and Pompey, while Cæsar reaped a full harvest of popularity: the former noblemen had fatally betrayed the order to which they belonged and which they had in earlier days defended, but the latter, though of far higher blood than either, was only following up the line he had marked out for himself from the beginning. Popular as he was, however, the time had not yet arrived when Cæsar could with safety grasp at the ultimate object of his ambition. The idol of the people, he had not yet supplanted Pompey in the affections of the army, and could not therefore hope to direct a successful blow against his colleagues until he had secured a sufficient military force in his personal interest. To accomplish this object, he asked and obtained that extraordinary commission by which the province of Gaul was ceded to him for five years, a period within which he hoped to be able to model an army able and willing to achieve for him the undisputed sovereignty of the civilised world. In the meantime the domestic government of Rome was entrusted to Pompey, and he, from negligence or design, allowed a spirit of turbulence and disorder to arise which he at length found it impossible to repress. Every form of violence, in which the licentiousness

tiousness of the populace, or the demoniacal passions of individuals could display themselves, disgraced the administration of the triumvir; and the illegal tribuneship of Clodius, the banishment of Cicero, the war waged in the forum between Clodius and Milo, and the murder of the former, are among the outrages which attest the feebleness or treachery of the hand which held the reins of government. The five years were now drawing to a close, and a new compact became necessary between the three lords of the ascendant. Crassus, wearied of remaining an idle spectator of the warlike glories of Cæsar, and the domestic superiority of Pompey, claimed for himself the East, and the Parthian war; Cæsar obtained the renewal of his commission, while to Pompey was assigned Spain with her armed legions, as some balance to the military power of his rivals. The city, meanwhile, still continued a scene of lawless disorder, and at length the senate, with the concurrence of the people, conferred a sole consulship on Pompey, with the powers necessary for putting an end to a state of affairs so disgraceful.

Thus was the supreme authority constitutionally committed to Pompey. The aim of all his hope was reached, and he imagined that the necessity for dissimulation was at an end. The haughty spirit of the aristocrat was again let loose, and he now only sought to drown for ever those most 'sweet voices' by whose favouring breath he had been wafted to his proud position. In his overweening arrogance, he saw not that the eye of one was on him, who marked with joy and exultation the frenzy that supplied him with his most effective weapons; he dreamt not that he had sealed his doom, and that the avenger was at hand. In his newly resuscitated zeal for the aristocracy, he banished upwards of forty of the principal heads of the democratic party—and these all found refuge with Cæsar. Under such circumstances no private feelings could have prevented the collision into which the respective positions of these two leaders hurried them. Pompey's utmost wishes were realized, he had attained the point at which he was willing to stop; Cæsar from the outset had had far higher aims, and his restless spirit could know no repose until they were attained. The fate of Crassus and his army left them to divide the field without an arbitrator. The issue of the closing contest between the aristocracy and the democracy of the Roman state is well known; Italy submitted without a blow to the high-born traitor to his order, who had made himself the assertor of popular rights and the tribunician privileges; while Pompey and the body of the nobility, of whom, after a long series of injuries inflicted on them at his hands, he was now the last chief and the last hope, were compelled to have recourse to the slavish populations of the east for support. It must not however be imagined that all the noble families of Rome

Rome were ranged under the banner of Pompey, for in the ranks of his adversary we find the Fabii, the Valerii, the Æmili, the Licinii, the Antonii, and the Syllan branch of the Corneli, names than which no nobler can be found in the page of Roman history. Not a few of these illustrious families had, no doubt, pleased themselves with the fond conceit that it was in the nature of things absurd to imagine that the real strength and dignity of the senatorial order were invaded by a Julius, and left to the defence of a Pompeius; names not less widely distinct in point of ancestral dignity to a Roman ear, than Russell and Peel would be to ours. The result, however, proved their error; and after a desperate struggle, not relaxed in energy by the death of Pompey, the aristocracy were compelled to submit, and saw their order degraded by the introduction of barbarians from the provinces, and base partisans from the city. So immense was the influx, and such the ignorance of the strangers, that ridicule was mingled with indignation, and the following notice was distributed in the city—*Bonum factum, Ne quis novo senatori curiam ostendat*—importing that no good citizen should shew the new members the way to the House of Lords. It is not surprising that a strong reaction should have been produced by measures so violent; and that many of the most zealous partisans of Cæsar, on recovering from their delusion, should have become his most inveterate enemies, and joined the remnant of the aristocratic party, in that rash enterprise to which they were led by him who was entitled *ultimus Romanorum*. The feeling of the populace meanwhile had passed through the usual transition. In their brawlings for liberty they had been led by Cæsar; supported by them, Cæsar had attained the supreme authority, and under his administration they found some respite from those positive evils which had oppressed them under the comparatively unstable government of the preceding demagogues. Their stupid cry for liberty, therefore, was now converted into cheers for the tried benefit of their favourite's domination. Cæsar became their watch-word, and those who had in good faith fought the battle of popular freedom, found themselves suddenly abandoned by the very parties they had desired to serve. Taking advantage of this state of feeling, the Cæsarian chiefs proscribed and exterminated all the remaining heads of the opposite party, and thus cleared the ground for the erection of a social edifice. The natural contest among themselves was the next act of the drama—and the western world became the inheritance of a youth, whose highest and indeed only claim rested on the name of Cæsar. Scanty, however, were the advantages, short-lived the honours, which the Julian race derived from these gigantic efforts, this boundless accumulation of misery and crime. Caligula was the only

only prince of that lineage who, after Augustus, enjoyed the fruits of Cæsar's blood-stained ambition. The second emperor was a Claudian, the fifth a Domitian, both among the highest names of the ancient aristocracy; and fearful was the vengeance they took on the upstart nobility for the injury the *order* had sustained at their hands. No such design, probably, was meditated in their wanton and frantic cruelties, but the retribution was not the less certain or signal because it was inflicted by an unconscious hand.

Such are the facts which history has handed down to us respecting the subversion of ancient governments; and the only lesson which the perverted ingenuity of the advocates of democracy can deduce from them is, that concessions to the popular voice should be made at the first outcry, without resistance or delay. These would argue, that had Pericles granted every thing they desired to the people, no Cleon could ever have appeared; that had Tiberius Gracchus fully succeeded in his designs, there would have been no room for a Marius or a Cinna. We are, however, inclined to take a far different view of the case,—convinced that concessions so premature would, in either instance, have precipitated the dissolution of the bonds of society, and have brought the respective states more rapidly to the condition in which they were at length found by Lysander and Sylla. The idea of satisfying popular clamour by concession while anything remains to be conceded, is founded on a fallacy of the most palpable description. The popular will is not the sentiment of any definite and given body of men; if so, it would be easy to ascertain their desires, and to know with what they would rest contented; it is the emanation of countless and ever-changing minds, mingling in perpetual agitation, and ever stirring up some new cause of turbulence. As well might you attempt to enter into a compact with the wave which breaks upon your shores, that when its spray shall have vanished it shall be followed by no succeeding billows, as attempt by concession to arrest the inroads of the governed upon the powers which exercise coercion or restraint upon their will. It would be, by no means, difficult to prove,—on the contrary, it is as clear as the sun at noon-day,—that were this principle of concession to the popular voice to be so completely brought into action as that the actual majority of individuals composing any community were to possess the supreme authority, no society could possibly subsist. It can hardly be doubted that the actual majority of every community are at all times hostile to *Law*; that hence every social system carries in its own body the seed of a natural decay—and that unless this tendency to political dissolution effected at some point of the process its own cure, all society must long since have ceased to exist,

exist, and we must again have gone back to the state when 'wild in woods the noble savage ran.' But this, like every other evil arising from the necessary conditions of our existence, brings its remedy with it. Long before the final consummation of anarchy and licence, a reaction takes place; the multitudes of the timid and the feeble see themselves, with horror, left to the tender mercies of the ferocious and the strong, and joyfully surrender to some bold spirit their unnatural and odious freedom, as the price of protection.

Such is the cycle which all free human societies are perhaps destined to run; but we are not mere puppets, whirled round by a machinery over which we can exercise no control; it belongs to every generation to accelerate or retard its own progress, and to render inevitable change, gentle and inoffensive, or sanguinary and disastrous. We are all destined finally to undergo the mortal shock which will remove us from earthly interests and passions, yet we know that it depends in no small degree upon ourselves whether that change be premature or otherwise, and that it is mainly in our own power to render the decline of life tranquil and even cheerful. One means alone can secure to any society the largest amount and longest duration of political happiness of which its institutions are capable, and that is the strenuous and unremitting efforts of all the governing party, aided by the wise and good of every class, to maintain the sanctity of law, and the inviolability of right. We have seen that the fatal blow to the liberties of both Athens and Rome was dealt through the violated rights of the privileged orders. The lesson is neither local nor temporary; the facts are only exemplifications of the great principle which governs human affairs, that in every state there must exist a conservative and innovating party; a party in possession of power, and a party bent upon obtaining it; that the latter consists not of one body, but of an infinite and self-generating series; and that when the first detachment has gained the desired position, it in turn finds assailants in its former followers. If then the party which should naturally be conservative, yields on principle at every summons, an endless series of precipitate changes, with all their attendant horrors, must be the inevitable result; if they relax their efforts for an instant, they must be swept away by the resistless torrent of innovation.

Sic omnia fatis

In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri;

Non aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum

Remigiis subigit, si brachia forte remisit,

Atque illum in præceps pronò rapit alveus amni.

Political sciolists may oppose one more objection to the appeal

on which we have ventured. They may contend that the introduction of the representative system has so modified practical politics that we cannot fairly argue from the changes which ancient governments underwent, to the probable results of alteration in our own. The representative system has doubtless conferred the greatest benefits on the cause of rational liberty, by affording the means of extending to whole nations privileges which could otherwise only be enjoyed by individual cities. If, however, the representative body are to be the servile delegates of the popular will, and the mere channel for conveying to the executive the demands of the mob, it constitutes a form of government infinitely wilder and more dangerous than the fiercest of the ancient democracies ever witnessed. It presents all the disadvantages of the most absolute democracy, without offering any of the chances of safety which a public assembly of the people, even under the worst circumstances, afforded. In the most furious assemblies of Athens and of Rome, their best and wisest citizens were always there to be heard; Aristides and Phocion, Cicero and Cato were still able at least to raise their voices, and let the people know the true tendency of the course they were pursuing. But from a representative body, such as we have supposed, all wisdom and virtue might be excluded, and, if the people were bent on unwise or iniquitous measures, assuredly would be excluded, and thus, at the very moment of impending ruin, no warning voice might be heard, no persuasive remonstrance raised. Nor let it be supposed that the influence of such men as we have been naming was insignificant. Their enemies were obliged to have recourse to banishment and assassination to rid themselves of a force which they could not long have resisted—the accumulating force of justice and reason overpowered for a time by the fury of passion. But such a constitution as we have been supposing would rid itself voluntarily of a safeguard which the ancient enemies of their country, *in limine*, and prospectively, were obliged to remove by violence and blood.

We have little connexion, immediate or remote, with the aristocracy of the empire; we earn our bread by the sweat of our brow, and no change short of one which would convulse our country to the centre could affect our interests. Our only motive, therefore, in offering these suggestions, is a deep and unalterable conviction, that an aristocracy like our own, checked as it is by the knowledge and spirit of the times, is the form of government under which the greatest portion of liberty is enjoyed, and person and property most effectually secured. Of tyranny from the English government, neither we nor any other sane human being has the slightest fear. Our demagogues prove, by their

their daily conduct, that they at least have unbounded confidence in its lenity and forbearance. Convinced, therefore, that the euthanasia of the British constitution predicted by Hume has not the remotest probability of becoming its ultimate fate, our fears take the contrary direction, and we entirely agree with the American writer, Briscoe, that if the liberties of Britain perish, it must be beneath the dagger of the Democracy.

It would have been easy to have illustrated our argument from the annals of our own country and of our French neighbours, but the results of these struggles are not yet fully developed, and national or party feeling might have biassed the impartiality of our judgments: we have therefore preferred an appeal to the mighty dead, whose full career of glory, passion, crime, and ruin is before us; at the approach to whose sepulchres all the sordid influences of interest and petty jealousies of party vanish, and from whose experience we can only glean the sacred lessons of wisdom and of truth.

Liberty is the vital principle of every true political system, as oxygen is of atmospheric air; and yet philosophers teach us, that of that very atmosphere four parts out of five consist of an ingredient hostile to life, and which cannot be breathed for a minute without inflicting sudden death. One of the greatest lights and ornaments of our own period, surprised at this proportion of baleful influence, surmised that the grand secret for health and longevity would be to augment the vital and diminish the deadly ingredients. The experiment was tried: a gas containing a far greater proportion of oxygen than the atmospheric air was procured, and great was the delight with which Sir Humphry Davy inhaled the resuscitating draught: his chest expanded, his blood flowed more freely, visions of glory glanced before his eyes; but the action soon became involuntary; grins, not spontaneous, distorted his countenance; his limbs severally assumed independence of action; total self-forgetfulness ensued; he was conscious only of an insatiable craving after the pernicious vapour which had intoxicated his senses; and had the experiment been long continued, inevitable frenzy must have been the result.

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- ART. VI.—1. *Lives of the British Architects.* By Allan Cunningham. 1 vol. (Published in the Family Library.) London. 1831.  
2. *Designs for Parsonages and Farm Houses, &c.* By E. F. Hunt. 1828.  
3. *Exemplars of Tudor Architecture.* By E. F. Hunt. 1830.

**E**VERY country has an architecture more or less peculiarly its own; formed, like the character and language of its inhabitants,

habitants, by the blending of various foreign ingredients which have at different periods introduced and naturalized themselves, but which have been also in turn modified by the original stock, as well as by the local peculiarities of climate, soil, social condition, and political history.

This NATIONAL character attaches itself far more to domestic architecture than to that which is displayed in public buildings, ecclesiastical or civil. In the erection of these, the architect, often himself a stranger, or taught abroad, has sometimes wholly copied a foreign model, and merely transferred the entire cathedral or palace from the banks of the Rhine or the Po to those of the Thames and Isis. But in designing the residences of the opulent classes of any country it became necessary to consult the manners, habits, and wants of the future occupants, the character of the climate, and the nature of the ordinary materials within reach. And in whatever degree the architect has neglected to adapt his design to the type required by these local circumstances, to that extent has he sinned against taste and propriety, and failed in producing that harmony of ideas, that association of ornament and purpose, which, as an essential element in the quality of beauty, it is the object of his art to create.

It is not to be disputed that in the domestic architecture of our towns the classical style in some of its modifications, Grecian, Roman, or Italian, has proved itself correctly applicable, and from its constant adoption has become appropriate to such situations, to the exclusion of other styles. Its horizontal lines and storied orders, pedimented windows, and balustered attics, accommodate themselves with peculiar facility to the disposition and purposes of town houses, whether connected in rows, or standing separate from each other. The same style, in some of its many varieties, has become equally suited to suburban villas; and the apparition of a Gothic abbey, or Baronial castle, in Waterloo Place, could be hardly more startling and offensive than at Chelsea or Richmond. Even Holland House, venerable though it is as a remnant of the olden time, and agreeably reminding us, as we pass it, of the days when St. Giles's stood 'in the fields,' and Covent Garden was the *pleasaunce* of a rural convent—now that London has embraced it, looks quite out of place; and the toy-shop architecture of Strawberry Hill and other *soi-disant* Gothic villas, supposing even they were pure examples of the style they usually caricature, would be grating to the feelings from their refusing to harmonize with the character of the buildings that surround them.

This same incongruity is, in our estimation, a strong, perhaps a conclusive argument, against the adaptation of the old English, or what is usually called the Gothic, style, even to churches in similar

similar situations, and compels us to regret the numerous examples of the kind which are daily perpetrated in the vicinity of the metropolis. Prepossessed as we are in favour of the pointed style for ecclesiastical edifices in general, yet we cannot overcome the sentiment of repugnance excited by their striking discrepancy in these cases, from the characteristic architecture of all the neighbouring buildings. However pleasing and appropriate they would have been in the days when Westminster Abbey was reared, and when Cheapside presented a double row of fantastic gables like the market-place of Rotterdam,

‘Sed nunc non erat his locus;’

London has been completely Italianized in its general architecture, and the two modes contrast too strongly to please in juxtaposition.

In the greater number of cathedral towns the comparative magnitude and importance of the cathedral itself is sufficient to give the predominant character to the place, or, at least, to the *close*, and its immediate environs; and hence in these situations the inferior buildings should be made to follow the tone impressed upon the scene by that edifice; and the residences in its vicinity are most pleasing when they have a monastic character. But when a church is to be erected in the midst of rows of modern Italianized houses, it is for the ecclesiastical building to follow, not to give, the prevailing character of the scene. In such a position, however rich and elegant the design, however pure the style, however perfect the execution of a Gothic edifice, its general effect is, to our feelings, completely destroyed by a want of harmony with the *genius loci*. Styles so distinct will no more combine in an architectural scene than in a single building; and there seems to us as much incongruity, and even barbarism, in the introduction of a Gothic church among the horizontal cornices and Grecian peristyles of a modern street, as in the justly ridiculed Palladian windows which pierce the west front of the rich Gothic cathedral of Milan,—as much as there would be in placing a Grecian chapel in the quadrangle of Trinity or of Christ Church.

In such cases not only is the advantage of assimilation, one of the principal elements of beauty, lost, but the dissimilarity of the objects brought into contact, and the discordant ideas they suggest, are destructive of the pleasurable effect either class of objects would produce by themselves, and a source of positive pain to the beholder.

In the erection, however, of a *country* residence, where the choice of a style is less fettered by the proximity of other buildings, associations of a more general and imaginative nature come into play, and dictate the adoption of the national or indigenous architecture.

architecture. In this country, which is still rich in the possession of numerous specimens of buildings, both ecclesiastical and domestic, belonging to the earlier ages of its history, the *old English style*, in some of its varieties, is that which we consider specially appropriate to an English country residence. The village church always—often the parsonage—and usually the neighbouring farm-houses and cottages, partake, in their several degrees, of this character, and assist in determining its choice. The natural scenery around presents congenial images in the venerable grove with its patriarchal rookery, and the ancient oaks spreading their broad arms over the lawns and glades of the *feudal* park. The local annals of the estate, of the site itself, or of the proprietor's family, combine to call for the employment of a style which is connected with so many of the most pleasing recollections of our national history. The irregularity of outline which it admits, and indeed almost requires, allows of any arrangement of the apartments which comfort or fancy may suggest, and accommodates it to all the varied wants of modern life. Moreover, it is equally appropriate to every rank of habitation, from the princely palace, of which so valuable an illustration has been afforded in the recent magnificence of Windsor, down to the snug parsonage or humbler cottage. And its intrinsic beauty and picturesqueness are thus increased and set off by the valuable qualities of harmony with the neighbouring buildings, fitness for all its possible purposes, and historical and local association. In all these points it infinitely excels the classical styles. The symmetry and regularity of these interfere with the convenient disposition of modern apartments; their porticos and colonnades shut out the light, unless made so shallow as to destroy the intended effect; nor, in our opinion, does their outline harmonize with the general character of the rural scenery of this country, any more than their plan with its climate, or the ideas they recall with its history. To us the Grecian temple appears as completely out of place in an English landscape, as would a cloistered abbey or feudal castle in the prairies of Kentucky or the Illinois.

The history of domestic architecture in England is still for the most part unwritten, and would form the substance of an highly interesting work. From the remains, so often ploughed up in our fields, of villas with tessellated pavements, and baths of very artificial construction, there can be no doubt that the Romans, during their occupation of the island, introduced very generally their own style of house-building; and the Britons themselves probably copied from them to a certain extent, as their descendants evidently did in the plan and decoration of their religious edifices. But from the complete absence of any remnants of the British habitations of  
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that day, it is useless to speculate on their form or materials. The same remark applies to the Saxon æra; for the few simple circular or square towers of three or four stories, which are the most ancient buildings we can trace in the island after the departure of the Romans, were apparently erected rather as military posts for the protection of the country, or as places of temporary refuge during an invasion, than as permanent residences. Coningsburgh in Yorkshire and Castleton in Derbyshire are some of the largest and best preserved examples of these early Saxon fortresses, if they in truth belong to that æra.

But our Saxon ancestors reared few such places of strength. Their habits were peaceful and agricultural, rather than warlike; and they lived, as William of Malmesbury informs us, in low and mean houses, having no pretensions either to splendour or strength. It was indeed this defenceless condition of the island which rendered it so easy a prey to the Norman conqueror. And it was to remedy this defect, and secure his newly-acquired dominions, as well against invasions from without as rebellions within, that William lost no time in erecting strong castles in all the principal towns of his kingdom, as at Lincoln, Norwich, Rochester, &c., for the double purpose, as we are told by Stow, 'of strengthening the towns and keeping the citizens in awe.' His followers, among whom he had parcelled out the lands of the English, had likewise to protect themselves against the resentment of those they had despoiled, and imitated their master's example by building castles on their estates. The turbulent and unsettled state of the kingdom during the succeeding reigns caused the rapid multiplication of these strong-holds; until, in the latter end of the reign of Stephen, there are said to have been no fewer than 1115 castles completed in England alone. 'The whole kingdom,' says the author of the Saxon Chronicle, 'was covered with them, and the poor people worn out with the forced labour of their erection.' It was soon found also that they were likely to be no less inconvenient to the sovereign, enabling a cabal of barons to baffle the power of their liege lord; and one of the first acts of Henry II. was to prohibit the erection of any castles without a license. Some of these are extant. The oldest known, is that granted by Richard II. to Richard Lord Scrope, his chancellor, for the building of Bolton castle. It is styled in the document, '*Licentia batellare, kernellare (crenellare), et machicolare*'.

Many of the castles of this age were of great size, and possessed a certain rude grandeur of design. To the single keep-tower of earlier date several other towers, both round and square, were added, united by flanking walls, so as to inclose a polygonal court-yard, the entrance to which was usually between two strong contiguous towers.

towers. An outwork, called the barbican, often still further defended the approach, as well as a moat and drawbridge. Plates of iron covered the massive doors, in front of which the grated portcullis was let down through deep grooves in the stone-work; and overhead projected a parapet resting on corbels, between which were the openings called machicolations, from which melted lead, hot water, and stones could be thrown on the heads of the assailants who should attempt an entrance by forcing, or, as was the usual mode of attack, firing the doors. The gateways of Caerlaverock, Tunbridge, Conway, Carisbrook, and Caernarvon, are good specimens of this kind. The keep-tower, or stronghold, rose pre-eminent above the rest, and generally from an artificial mount. It contained the well, without which the garrison would not have been enabled to hold out in this their last place of refuge; the donjon or subterranean prison, the name of which was often extended to the whole keep; and several stories of apartments, which were probably not occupied by any but retainers, except during a time of siege. The staircase which communicated with these stories was either pierced in the thickness of the walls, or built on the outside of the tower.

After the age of Edward III., who both ameliorated the institutions of the country, and introduced into it a certain degree of elegance and refinement, we find a considerable improvement in the character of the habitations which remain to us. By degrees it was found possible to associate much convenience and magnificence with the strength requisite for defence; and the former confined plan of the close fortress expanded into a mixture of the castle and the mansion. The courts were multiplied. The tilt-yard, surrounded by the stables and domestic offices, occupied one. A second gateway led from thence into the inner court, which was often double, and environed by the principal living range, consisting of spacious and magnificent apartments, the hall, the banqueting-room, the chapel, with galleries of communication, and numerous sleeping chambers. The windows were often large and beautifully ornamented, but always high above the ground, and looking inwards to the court. The keep was entirely detached and independent of these buildings. Such was the royal palace of Windsor erected by Edward III.; and such the splendid baronial castles of Warwick, Ludlow, Spofford, Harewood, Alnwick, Kenilworth, Ragland, and many others. The last mentioned is one of the most perfect examples we are acquainted with, of the union of vast strength and security with convenient accommodation and great ornamental splendour. The keep is a perfect fortress in itself, and encircled by a range of minor towers and moat. Its masonry is unrivalled.

At a later period, a still further change took place. The powers of the great barons had long since yielded to the growing dominance of the crown, backed by the wealthy and commercial classes inhabiting the towns, who were admitted to a considerable share of political power, and strongly supported the royal authority, as a necessary protection for their peaceful and industrious pursuits, and for the wealth which they accumulated through these means. The reign of law, in short, had gradually succeeded to that of the strong hand. The peaceable were able to trust to the executive for the defence of their persons and property, rather than to the strength of their own walls and roof-trees, or the falchions and iron mail of their friends and retainers. The residences of the nobility and rich landed proprietors again assumed, though by degrees, and, with the exception of some districts, like the borders of England and Scotland, a civil in place of a military appearance. Beauty and ornament were consulted by the builders instead of strength, and the convenient accommodation of the ordinary indwellers, in lieu of the means for disposing of a crowded garrison, and its necessary provision in time of siege. The mansions erected under these circumstances partook but slightly of the castellated character. They usually retained the moat and battlemented gateway, and one or two strong turrets, to build which a royal licence was still necessary; but their defensive strength could only have availed against a sudden and momentary attack. They were generally quadrangular in form, the larger class inclosing two open courts—of which one contained the stables, offices, and lodgings of the household; the second, the principal or state chambers, with the hall and chapel. Large and lofty bay windows, reaching almost to the ground, and several of them opening to the gardens on the outside of the building, though these were inclosed by high battlemented walls, and generally by a moat likewise, evidenced a sense of comparative security from external violence. Wingfield Manor-house, in Derbyshire; Cowdray, in Sussex; Kelmingham Hall, in Suffolk; Penshurst, in Kent; Deene Park, in Northamptonshire, and Thornbury Castle, in Gloucestershire, are some of the richest specimens extant of the highly-ornamented embattled mansions of the time of Henry VII. and VIII., the period of transition from the castle to the palace, and undoubtedly the best æra of English architecture.

Such buildings differed but little from the monastic residences of the same, or of an earlier date. The lordly abbot emulated the proud baron in all the outward demonstrations of wealth; and perhaps more than rivalled him in the interior luxury and conveniences of his establishment. It seems probable, indeed, that the latter merely imitated the improved accommodations and still in-  
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creasing magnificence which these cloistered *virtuosi* were 'the first to invent, or copy from their continental brethren. And when unprincipled violence overwhelmed them, good and bad, in one indiscriminating catastrophe, and they were rudely thrust forth from the sumptuous asylums, whose riches and splendour had so largely helped to draw down this ruin, by provoking the envy of laymen and the rapacity of the monarch,—these stately structures required but little alteration to fit them to the purposes of the nobles and courtiers upon whom the favour of the 'despoiler' had bestowed them.

Of the minor country residences of that and the earlier reigns, many, interesting examples remain scattered through the island, sometimes fulfilling their original destination, but far more frequently employed only as farm-houses, and going fast to decay. Except in an occasional moat, the embattled gateway, and a strong wall, generally embattled also, inclosing the court-yard on those sides where the buildings were wanting, they exhibit but few means of defence. Aubrey, himself, writing in the seventeenth century, thus describes, in his quaint and picturesque way, the characteristics of the old manorial or hall-houses of the times of the Plantagenets and Tudors.

'The architecture of an old English gentleman's house (especially in Wiltshire and thereabout) was a good high strong wall, a gate-house, a great hall, and parlour; and within the little green court, where you come in, stood on one side the *barne*. They then thought not the noise of the threshold ill musique. This is yet to be seen in severall old houses and seates, e. g. Bradfield, Alderton, Stanton St. Quentin, Yatton Keynell, &c.\*

In

\* MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. In this MS., which is the rough draft of, or rather an imperfect collection of materials for, a history of his native county, Wilts, Aubrey begins by what he calls 'Chronologia Architectonica,' or An Inquiry into the History of English Architecture. He, however, makes but very little way in this branch of his work, not having even clearly arrived at a knowledge of the relative ages of the circular and pointed arches. Some of his remarks, besides their relation to our subject, are expressed in a style of such *naïveté*, that we cannot forbear extracting them, more especially as they have never been in print. Had Allan Cunningham been acquainted with them, we are sure they would have found a place in his delightful and instructive volume. The old antiquary's sad and woeful regrets after the 'good old times' of heritable jurisdictions, had their root probably in the destruction of his own hereditary property during the civil wars. The embarrassments which commenced then at length reduced him to complete poverty, in which he died about 1680. 'The Saxons,' he says, 'who succeeded the Romans in this country, were so far from having arts, that they could not even build with stone. The church at Glaston was thatched. They lived sluttishly, in poor houses, where they ate a great drale of beefe and mutton, and drank good ale in a brown mazzard, and their very kings were but a sort of farmers. The Normans then came, and taught them civility and building.' 'For the government, till the time of Henry VIII., it was like a nest of boxes, one within t'other; for copyholders (who, till then, were villeins) held of the lord of the manour, who held of a superior lord; who held himself, perhaps, of a superiour lord or duke, who held of the king. Upon any occasion

In the true spirit of an antiquary, he complains of the destruction which had even then taken place among these venerable habitations of our forefathers. Alas! since his day, time and devastation have been still more unsparingly at work there. Three, out of the four 'old houses and seates' he mentions in this passage, have, to our knowledge, been levelled with the ground, and the fourth exists only as a farm-house.

The leading causes of the decay of those goodly halls which were formerly so thickly sown over the face of this country, that scarcely a parish or a manor was without one or more examples (for there were dowry houses and lower houses often erected for the junior branches of the family, in addition to the upper or great house), have been, of course, the concentration of landed property into larger estates and fewer hands, which has been gradually in progress through the last century or more, and the increasing predilection of our wealthy classes for the gaieties of the metropolis or the crowded watering-place, rather than the quiet and simple enjoyments of the rural residence. The race of country squires has been thinning for a long time past; and willingly as we acknowledge the improvement in manners, information, and refinement, which has followed the more frequent intercourse of society in towns and places of amusement, yet it is questionable

occasion of bustling, in those days, a great lord sounded his trumpet (all lords kept trumpeters, even down to King James), and summoned those that held under him; those again sounded their trumpets, and so downwards to the copyholders and villains. The Court of Wards was a great bridle in those days. No younger brothers, by the custom and constitution of the realm, were to betake themselves to trade, but were churchmen, or retayners and servants to great men—rid good horses (*now and then took a purse*;) and their blood that was bred at the good tables of their masters, was upon every occasion freely let out in their quarrells. It was then too common among their masters to have *Feuds* with one another, and their servants, at market, or where they met, in that slashing age, did commonly bang one another's bucklers. Then, an esquier, when he rode to town, was attended by eight or ten men, in blew-coates, with badges. The lords (then lords indeed as well as title) lived in their countries like petty kings (*roytlets*) and had *jura regalia* belonging to their seigniories; had their castles, and *burroughs*, and sent *burgesses to the Lower House*; had gallows within their liberties, where they could try, condemn, hang and draw;—never went to London, but in parliament time, or once a-year to do their duty and homage to the king. The lords of manours kept good houses in their countries, did cate in their great gothique halls, at the high table or *oreite*, the folke at the side tables.' 'Every baron, or gentleman of estate, kept great horses for a *man at armes*; lords had their armouries to furnish some hundreds of men. Then were entails in fashion (a good prop for monarchy.) Destroying of justice manours began in Henry VII., but now is common, whereby the meane persons live lawless, with nobody to govern them, fearing nobody, having on nobody dependance. Thus, and by the selling of the church lands, is the balance of the government quite altered, and putt into the hands of the common people. No ale-house, nor yet innes, then, except upon great roads; when they had a mind to drink, they went to the friaries, and when they travelled, they had entertainment in the religious houses for three days, if occasion so long required. The meeting of the gentry was not then in tippling-houses, but in the fields and forests, with their hawks or houndes, with their bugle-hornes in silk baudrics, &c.'

whether

whether some of the homely virtues and sterling qualities of our ancestors have not disappeared in the process. At least, we must consider its advantages to have been greatly counteracted, perhaps overbalanced, by the irremediable loss which the rural population have suffered from their desertion by the landlord, who formerly spent his rents among them, acted as the constant arbiter of their differences, the promoter of their festivities, the paternal corrector of their errors, and the guardian of the peace of the neighbourhood. And we own that the glories of Brighton and Cheltenham sink in our estimation, and give place to a feeling of melancholy regret, whenever we pass the remnant of some ancient manor-house, once the scene of comfort and joyous hospitality, now dreary and dilapidated,—the porch removed, and leaving unsightly traces of its former station,—the richly wainscoted banquetting-room converted into a cheese-loft,—the stone-hall, with its fretted ceiling and colossal fireplace, employed as the cellar,—its many-mullioned bay windows blocked up with rough stone or uncouth plaster,—the chapel filled with straw and faggots,—the gate-house turned into the cart-stable,—the cows littered in ‘the little green court,’—and the dank walks and almost obliterated terraces of the garden overgrown with nettles, among which broken balls, and vases, and balusters lie strewn about, attesting the ancient ornature of the place, and vividly recalling to the imagination the figures of airy elegance or stately dignity, that once glided along the walks, and trod the broad flags, where now we see only the clumsy boor and gawky slip-shod dairy-woman.

In a few of the houses, built during the reign of the last of the Henries, we may observe some slight traces of the *Italian* architecture, which in the next reign was more liberally introduced and mixed up with the original Tudor, or early English, into an irregular, certainly, but, in most instances, an exceedingly rich and effective composition.

Whilst in England, and the north of Europe generally, the debased Roman architecture of the lower empire, which forms the foundation of the Saxon, Norman, or Lombard style, had been successively improved into those several beautiful modifications which are now classed indiscriminately under the term Gothic,—whilst artists of a genius meriting immortality, though a strange oblivion has shrouded almost all their names,\* were in these countries giving full scope to their inexhaustible powers of invention, in the production of an infinity of novel, daring, and magnificent conceptions, all of them beautiful, though scarcely any two alike,—the

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\* The Life of William of Wykeham is the only part of Mr. Cunningham's volume dedicated to these ancient worthies, and the fault is none of the author's. The career and character of the beneficent prelate are detailed not more *con spirito* than *con amore*.  
architects

architects of Italy had never stepped out of the ancient track, nor diverged for an instant into the luxuriant domain of the pointed style, but continued, with a plodding perseverance, to combine, transpose, and confound, the *orders* which their ancestors had bequeathed to them as models. With the seat of empire, the arts had migrated to Constantinople; and when the towns of Venice and Pisa were desirous of exhibiting their newly-born opulence in the erection of splendid cathedrals, it was in the capital of the lower empire, where St. Sophia had already risen to astonish the eastern world, that they were compelled to seek a fitting artist. But on the revival of learning the ancient Roman edifices were disinterred, and admired, and measured; the MS. of Vitruvius was decyphered; and the eastern, or, as it is called in Italy, Lombard architecture, was in turn corrected by reference to its classical original. Brunelleschi, celebrated for having first dared the execution of the cupola, in the cathedral of Florence,—Bramante, the original designer of St. Peter's,—Michael Angelo, who completed it, and all the contemporary architects, adhered to the Vitruvian style, even while engrafting upon it fantasies and conceits of their own—the more defective the further they departed from their model, until at length Palladio recalled them to the simple and correct beauty of the antique.

At this late period the intercourse between the different states of Europe had become considerable, and the fame of the Italian architects was a subject of deep interest in this country, where the rage for building was no less strong and general than in Italy. In the brilliant reign of Elizabeth, the English nobles and princely proprietors vied more than ever with each other in the magnificence of their mansions. It might have been supposed that the noble Tudor houses, such as we have described them, with their pannelled walls, buttresses, and battlements, traceried windows, sculptured dripstones, florid pinacles, and embossed chimney-shafts, were sufficiently rich and gorgeous to satisfy the prevailing taste for splendour; but in their anxiety to strike and surprise the admiration of their countrymen, many deserted the native styles, and sought for designs, and even artists, from abroad. Italian architecture became, by degrees, the mode; and, even where the indigenous style was adhered to in the general design, many of the enrichments and ornamental features were borrowed from the Italian. First of all, the porch, or gateway, as the most conspicuous points on which to exhibit these exotic novelties, were decorated on either side the entrance, and perhaps a second and third story above with pilasters, belonging to the different Greek orders; the door-way itself exchanged the low pointed, or Tudor, for the circular arch,—the deep, elegant, and sweeping Gothic mouldings, for the Vitruvian architrave, cut across by the awkward

ward projecting imposts. 'The porch of Milton Abbey, built in the reign of Henry VIII., is one of the earliest examples of this innovation. Lower Marney-hall, in Essex, built in the same reign, is another. In plan it is a regular embattled quadrangular mansion, built entirely of brick. The gate-tower is flanked by large and lofty octagonal turrets with narrow pointed windows, but topped with lotus-leaf ornaments and scrolls instead of battlements, while the mullions of the large windows terminate above in debased Ionic capitals;—all these enrichments are moulded in brick. Next was introduced the cupola, whose invention in Italy had made so much noise, that it appears our country squires were anxious to have miniature specimens of it at home. It was applied as a covering to the high turrets, round, square, or polygonal, which flanked the entrance or terminated the angles of the building, and, surmounted with gilded vanes, certainly produced a rich and imposing effect, as we experience in Burleigh and Cobham. The parapet over the porch and the projecting windows was, at the same time, exchanged for the pediment; and busts of the twelve Casars, and similar devices, took the place of the ancient heraldic animals and shields. Then followed the removal of the panelled battlements, and the substitution of a parapet carved into fantastic notches or scrolls, or perforated with oval openings, and ornamented with obelisks, balls, busts, statues, and other singular decorations. These ran up the gables, which were often twisted into strange shapes, and sometimes wholly replaced by the level balustrade. And thus the most characteristic features of the old style, its numerous steep gables and spiry pinnacles, were succeeded by the uniform horizontal straight lines of the new. At length the whole building was surrounded by columns or pilasters, rising, tier above tier, to the exhaustion, sometimes, of the four orders,—open arcades took the place of the entrance porch,—and nothing remained of the Tudor style but the mullioned window, which, however, was of itself sufficient to give a peculiarly picturesque and old-fashioned aspect to the whole building.

It is customary with architects and amateurs to exclaim against the transition style of this age as 'a bastard offspring of an unnatural combination,' 'replete with extravagant absurdities,' &c.\* But in truth we consider these Precisians somewhat hypercritical. The great question respecting any style appears to us to be, not of what elements it is composed, but what is its effect? If strict unity and chastity of style is an essential in architecture, where are we to find it? Not, certainly, in the Italian school, whether of Bramante, Palladio, or Inigo Jones. Not in the Roman of the Colosseum, or the theatre of Marcellus. Those architects

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\* Hunt, Exemplars.

who can digest the union of the column and the arch, or who scruple not to raise a steeple upon a Grecian temple, need scarcely revolt at the association of the gable with the pediment, the mulioned window with the balustered attic. To us it has always appeared that the architecture of the Elizabethan age constitutes a style of its own—not well defined, it is true, but what style is well defined beyond the pale of the pure Greek?—a compound of two extremely different modes, the Italian and the Tudor Gothic, but being, in fact, neither the one nor the other; and in which the contributions from each are brought, not into harsh and repulsive contrast, but generally into harmony, the Italian being somewhat Gothicked, and the Gothic Italianised, till their opposing features are subdued, and a *tertium quid* produced, which has as much title to rank as an independent style as the Anglo-Norman, for instance, which is a decided passage from the Roman to the Gothic, just as the Elizabethan is from this back again to the Roman. And indeed there is, as might be expected, no inconsiderable similitude between these two transition styles; the same repeated tiers of circular arches, resting on Roman columns, the same excess of decoration, even to the spiral-twisted columns, and the angular, diamonded, or Chinese-looking and Arabesque patterns of their sculptured ornaments. We cannot see on what principle those who admire the elder and the ruder of these mixed styles, so loudly decry the similar mixture of later date. At all events, though willingly acknowledging the pure Gothic, as seen in some of the rich Tudor mansions, collèges, or abbeys, to afford the most perfect models of our early architecture, and that the style which succeeded this was a deterioration—we yet do not envy the mind of that man who can view the noble and splendid piles of Longleat, Charlton, Wollaton, Burleigh, Cobham, Blickling, Audley End, and many others which we could name, with no feeling but critical disgust, and call them architectural abortions. To our fancy, as to Mr. Cunningham's, there is something indescribably pleasing in the luxuriant richness of the buildings of that age;—but it is not owing to their size or profusion of ornament, for we could mention many houses of a minor class, and of simple design, which produce the same effect. In spite too of their Italian features, they possess a general character much more exclusively *English* than either the correct Palladian which succeeded them, or the pure Gothic of the preceding age, which at the same period was common to France and Germany as well as England. There may be such, but we have certainly no recollection of any building resembling a true Elizabethan mansion in any part of the continent. Those which approach nearest to it among the French and German châteaux, or public buildings, are yet removed to an immeasurable distance by the  
high

high many-storied roofs which, with their tiers of small gabled windows, look like the hull of a three-decker with all its ports open. In Italy itself, from which the designs and the architects themselves came, we know of no true parallel: the mullioned window, for instance, is always wanting. It is evident that the Italian design was always greatly altered to suit the climate and the taste of England.

Indeed, were we not afraid the comparison might be considered profane, we should say there is something in the rich irregularity of the Elizabethan architecture, its imposing dignity, gorgeous magnificence, and quaint and occasionally fantastic decoration, reminding us of the glorious visions that flitted across the imagination of the immortal bard of the same age. He, like the architects of his days, borrowed largely from the foreigner, but made his importations appear exclusively his own. He had the same contempt for the pedantic trammels with which the classical dramatists were wont to fetter their genius, as his contemporaries exhibited for the rules of the 'orders.' And just as the purists of continental literature were, till lately, unable to appreciate his varied beauties, in their horror of his violations of the unities, his quaint illustrations, and homely touches of nature, so we think the Vitruvianists—the men who measure beauty with the compasses, and gauge our sensations by the sliding rule, who think human nature has an instinctive perception of the true proportion of the diameter of a column to its height, and the depth of a mutule to its projection—overdo their part, and, in their minute criticism of this style, overlook the splendid effect of the whole, and the pleasing impressions it almost universally creates. We recognise no other test of beauty. And to place our meaning in the strongest light, to take the bull, as it were, by the horns, we avow ourselves admirers even of that *ne plus ultra* of barbarism in the eyes of architectural scholiasts, the gate-tower of the schools at Oxford, with its five 'storied orders richly dight,' crowned with battlements and crocketed pinnacles. Not that we mean to compare that building with the Parthenon on the one hand, or King's College Chapel on the other. But we do not scruple to prefer it to any of the professed Italian, or, as they are vulgarly called, Greek buildings, with which Oxford was afterwards disfigured (not excluding its neighbour the Radcliffe library), and to nine-tenths of the clumsy and inelegant compositions of the age of Wren and Vanburgh. The style of Elizabeth and James was the natural compound of the old and long respected Gothic, with a new rival and opponent, the Roman. The style which succeeded was the Roman, debased and disfigured by all the caprices, conceits, and grotesqueries of a century of Italian architects, whose inventions never rose above the whimsical.

Symmetry was an essential element in the Elizabethan mansion, though it admitted great irregularity of outline. Where the Italian style prevailed, as in Longleat and Audley End, the form is regular, the roof-line horizontal, the sides flat, and repeating each other. But though possessing much grandeur and beauty, we consider these examples to have something of monotony, and to be inferior in richness to those which, like Burleigh, Charlton, and Cobham, combine a symmetrical plan with a roof-line broken by numerous and singularly ornamented gables and cupolas, while their projecting towers and wings afford intricacy of outline and great variety of light and shadow.

The architectural garden, which always accompanied this style of mansion, is not the least pleasing part of it. We delight in its wide and level terraces, decorated with rich stone balustrades, and these again with vases and statues, and connected by broad flights of stone steps—its clipped evergreen hedges—its embowered alleys—its formal yet intricate parterres, full of curious knots of flowers—its lively and musical fountains—its steep slopes of velvet turf—its trim bowling-green—and the labyrinth and wilderness which form its appropriate termination, and connect it with the ruder scenery without. Much have we regretted, with Sir Uvedale Price, the barbarous destruction of many such quaint and venerable ‘*plaisances*,’ by the Kents, Browns, and Reptons of the last half-century; who, justly offended with the extravagant stiffness, and grotesque fooleries of the Dutch style of gardening which immediately preceded them, ran into the opposite extreme, and prided themselves on restoring the garden *wholly* to Nature, and banishing from it *every* vestige of art,—in bringing the wild scenery of the forest up to the drawing-room windows, and making the house spring as directly from the grassy meadow, as if it were itself a natural production, or had been pitched there for the day, like the tent of the Arab.

We fear but few Elizabethan gardens have survived the havoc unhappily made among them by these rash improvers. Those of Lievens in Westmoreland, and Haddon Hall in Derbyshire, are some of the most perfect examples we are acquainted with; and the mansions themselves being of about that date, and the contemporary furniture, by the good taste of their possessors, preserved throughout in the same style, we are irresistibly carried back, as we tread their polished floors and trim alleys, to the days of Queen Bess, and almost expect to see her train of gallant courtiers and stately dames, emerge from behind some of the tall yew hedges, or to find them treading a galliard in the venerable banquetting-room.

The ornamental garden came from Italy with the change

we have been last discussing, in domestic architecture. ‘ ’Twas Sir John Danvers of Chelsea,’ says Aubrey, ‘ who first taught us the Italian gardens. He had well travelled France and Italy, and made good observations. He had a fine fancy, which lay chiefly in gardens and architecture. The gardens at Lavington in Wilts, and likewise at Chelsea, are monuments of his ingenuity. He was an intimate acquaintance and favourite of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, who took great delight in that elegant garden at Chelsea. Wilton garden was the third garden, after these two, of the Italian mode.’\* Lord Bacon has, in his *Essays*, laid down instructions for forming a garden in the taste just introduced in his time, and in which he took such ‘delight.’ Whether he realized it at Gorhambury, we know not; but that at Chelsea, of which Aubrey, in the above-quoted MS., gives a detailed description and plan, was by no means on so magnificent a scale. It was to enclose thirty acres in all, and contain a closely shaven lawn or green of four acres, a wilderness of six, alleys or shady shrubberies covering four acres, and the orchards, and garden proper, occupying the remainder. We cannot read his description of these several parts, and of the columus, statues, fountains, aviaries, and banqueting-house, which he introduces as ornaments, though some of these may be considered trifling and redundant, without feeling, in defiance of Pope’s satire, that such a garden must have been a most appropriate accompaniment to a splendid architectural mansion, and a delightful scene for exercise or recreation. Our landscape gardeners, as well as our architects, seem to have forgotten that utility and fitness are the two great sources of beauty, and the former have committed, in our eyes, as great an error, when they banished the fruit-garden and the orchard, with every useful and every artificial feature, from the pleasure ground, as the latter, when they endeavour to make an English manor-house put on the appearance of a Grecian temple.

It is on this principle we confess ourselves of opinion that the domestic architecture of England fell off, as the forms of the Italian style of building became more completely established. At first mere ornament was borrowed from it, and applied to structures which were substantially English; but when the colonnade, and peristyle and portico were introduced; when the plan and arrangement of the house became thoroughly Italian; when its travelled Lord—

‘ Taught the winds through long arcades to roar,  
Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door,  
Conscious he play’d a true Palladian part,  
And if he starved, he starved by rule of art—’

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\* Aubrey MS. in Mus. Ashm.

—from that period we cannot but date the decline of the true and appropriate architecture of our English country residences. Nothing, indeed, can be more evident than that the form of a dwelling-house ought to be adapted to the climate; and consequently, that the most characteristic features of Italian houses, the colonnades and loggios, which are there purposely contrived for admitting the air and excluding the sun, are unfitted for a climate of whose sun we can seldom have too much, or too little of its cold draughts of air. In architecture, of all the arts, it is most true, that

‘Beauty never dwells where use is exiled;’

and from all that has ever been discovered by analysis of our perceptions of admiration, it is clear that a mode of ornament or design, which would be beautiful at Rome or Athens, may be unpleasing in Middlesex—to say nothing of the Highlands.

But though it is with hesitation that we offer this opinion on the architecture of Inigo Jones and Palladio, as practised in the time of Charles I., and confine our observations wholly, for reasons we have before given, to country residences, we feel no scruple whatever in declaring our unmixed dislike for that which succeeded it after the Restoration, and which was brought chiefly from France or Flanders. But taste, even in Italy, had degenerated at this time into a corrupt and grotesque style of decoration, in which straight lines of all kinds were avoided, and a multitude of huge serpentine scrolls, and brackets, and consoles, and crooked angles, and twisted curves of every conceivable figure, and immense scallop-shells inclosed in broken pediments, and heavy festoons or cornucopias of fruit and garden-stuff, took the place of the pure Grecian ornaments, which, though corrupted by the Roman, and still more by the Italian architects, had never till then been entirely lost sight of, and which modern artists have gradually found it necessary to revive, till it is recognised as a fundamental canon in the present day, that *classical* architecture possesses but one model—the true Grecian,—and that the further this is departed from the more signal the failure.

It would, however, lead us too far were we to enter upon a critical examination of the domestic architecture of the last century and a half. That many of the mansions raised throughout the country within that period are imposing from their grandeur and vastness, or that a few have redeeming points about them, and parts which may fairly escape censure, we are far from denying. But where is there one which satisfies as a whole, or would be taken safely as a model by any builder of taste in the present day? Our route lies among the earlier English styles, which we trust

are beginning to obtain the notice and admiration, to which, in our opinion, they are in the highest degree entitled.

First, however, we must say something on the materials with which our architects had to deal, for much of the mode of construction of our ancient houses, and much even of their architectural character, was determined by the nature of the materials afforded in the neighbourhood of the site. And, indeed, the influence of these local circumstances is seldom sufficiently appreciated. The architecture of the ancients seems to have originated in Egypt, Chaldæa, and other eastern countries, where timber is rare, but which abound in strata of soft freestone, easily excavated, and of granite which, though difficult to cut, is raised with facility in large and solid blocks. The first habitations, as well as the first places of worship in these countries, were doubtless caves cut out of the soft rock; for we find innumerable examples of such cave dwellings, temples, and tombs, throughout Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, the Cyrenaica, Sicily and Magna Græcia, bearing the marks of high antiquity! The entrance is often ornamented with pilasters on either side, and an architrave above, rudely carved in the surface of the rock. In these grottos we think we see the rudiments of the Egyptian and ultimately even of the Grecian temple. When, afterwards, the building was raised in open air, the dark and narrow cella still retained much of the character of the cave. Immense blocks of transported stone, generally granite, were raised on each other to form the walls, and still larger slabs laid horizontally across them for the roof. Hence the flat entablature characteristic of Ancient architecture. But among the vast forests of the alluvial regions of the north, where stone was rare and timber most plentiful, the log hut or the osier cot was the earliest and rudest kind of habitation. For the larger sort of buildings, a frame of massive timbers, resembling the inverted hull of a ship, formed the skeleton of the ancient hall or place of worship; the principal beams springing from the ground, and naturally curved, united in a pointed or Gothic arch overhead. The intervals were filled up with wattled osiers plastered with clay or lime.

Again, in the southern climates where ancient architecture arose and perfected itself, little shelter was needed from the elements. Life was passed almost wholly in the open air. The cell which formed the sanctuary of the deity, and represented the original cave, was never entered by his worshippers, and the open portico and peristyle was invented to protect them from the scorching sun. But the tribes of the bleak north must at an early period have found the advantage of a building closed against the external air, for the purposes of worship; and in rearing these edifices of the only materials they could command, it was natural that they should  
endeavour

endeavour to imitate the high over-arching groves within whose sacred recesses they had been accustomed to hold their religious meetings. And long after these early wooden churches gave way to more costly structures in stone, we cannot but fancy that the original idea of the forest-sanctuary was constantly present to the mind of the architect, as he reared the tall and taper shafts on either side the nave,—spread them upwards into branching ribs which over-arched the lofty vault,—confined his sculptured ornaments almost exclusively to imitative foliage, and admitted, through the traceried net-work of the high and narrow windows, just that dim light which penetrates the gloom of the deep forest, and produces a reverential awe predisposing the mind to religious adoration. The intention and spirit of Gothic architecture is certainly to be looked for in the effect produced by the interior of the building. In the Grecian temple, on the contrary, the interior is nothing, the exterior every thing. And this consideration will explain much of the contrast which these modes exhibit: as physiologists have illustrated the structure of the human frame by likening it to a vegetable turned inside out—so we shall perhaps better understand the characteristic differences of the two principal modes of architecture, by considering the Gothic church as a Grecian temple with the outside turned inwards. The beauty and symmetry of the Grecian exterior is the essence and object of its construction. The Gothic exterior is wholly subsidiary to the interior. Its ornamental parts, including the towers, battlements, and pinnacles, are inventions intended to relieve as much as possible the ungainly and heavy aspect of the exterior of a huge barn-like building, and to conceal or make the best of the buttress-work necessitated for the support of its lofty and spreading roof.

The same local circumstances of climate and accessible material, occasioned a like contrast between the Domestic buildings of the northern and southern nations of Europe. The flat terraced roofs of the latter were evidently intended to give the inhabitants the enjoyment of the cool morning and evening air from the tops of their houses—the steep ridges and pointed roofs of the former to throw off the weight of snow, which in high latitudes would often break in a flat roof. There was also another cause for this difference. The shores of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy produce a volcanic sand (*pozzolana*), which, mixed with lime, forms a cement of as firm a texture as stone itself. A flat roof covered by this cheap and simple mixture is, in the climate of the south, as perfectly impenetrable to moisture, and as durable, as if sheeted with lead. But in the north, neither is there any such solid cement to be procured, nor perhaps, if procurable, would it stand the frequent alternations of frost and moisture  
common

common in those climates ; and the northern architects having only slate, shingle, or tile, for the coverings of their roofs, were thus driven into the adoption of the ridge and gable, as the only form in which these materials can be employed. The Gothic label and drip mouldings form another characteristic feature of this style, necessitated by the northern atmosphere as a protection for the stone-work from the injurious attacks of moisture and frost. The stories, projecting one beyond the other, as commonly met with in the early northern houses, were doubtless intended to shelter the foundations from the wet ; and as this was only required, so it could only be completely executed in timber-houses—though we find the same feature imitated, after habit had brought it to be esteemed ornamental, in the corbelled oriels of stone habitations.

In the erection of the great abbeys and collegiate churches, where no expense was spared, the materials were frequently fetched from great distances. Thus, the soft freestone of Caen in Normandy was used in the construction of many of the principal churches and conventual buildings of the south and east of England. But in building private houses the cost of carriage was too great to admit of the use of such distant materials. Hence stone houses are only or chiefly to be met with in those parts of the country which possess beds of workable stone ; as, for instance, upon that generally broad band of oolitic freestone, which, beginning in Dorsetshire, stretches in a north-east direction across Somerset, the north-west of Wilts, Gloucester, Oxford, Northampton, Lincoln, and the northern extremity of Yorkshire. It is upon, or within a short distance of this tract, that we meet with nearly all the most noble and decorated specimens of early domestic architecture, as well as a rich assemblage of churches—all highly ornamented, in consequence of the easy-working character of the freestone. It is, however, greatly to be regretted, that in some parts of the range this stone is liable to weather, as it is called, or scale off ; a circumstance from which the splendid buildings of Oxford, in particular, have suffered such cruel mutilation. Eastward of this line runs the range of chalk hills, through the counties of Dorset, South Wilts, Hants, Berks, Bucks, Hertford and Cambridge, branching off likewise into Surrey and Kent. In these, flints and hard chalk are the ordinary building materials, very unfavourable to architectural purposes, and occasioning a paucity of handsome ancient residences throughout that district. In the exceptions which occur, as at Cambridge itself, the stone has been laboriously brought from the neighbouring oolite range. In the remaining eastern counties, the soil chiefly consists of alluvial clays and gravel, and compelled the adoption of *bricks* as a substitute

stitute for stone in the construction of houses of every class ; by which the prevailing character of their architecture was materially affected. In London, however, the buildings are said by Stow to have been chiefly of wood, up to the time of James I., who, by divers proclamations, enforced the use of brick and stone, as well, it is said, for the sake of preventing the too rapid consumption of our native forests, as for security against fire. In the western, and many of the midland counties, Devon, Worcester, Shropshire, Cheshire, Stafford, Leicester, Warwick, Nottinghamshire, &c., where the deep marly soil, which geologists call the *new red*, prevails, and which were anciently covered with extensive oak forests, timber has been always the principal material employed in the construction of houses. It is in this district that we still see so many of those picturesque buildings in which the wooden frame-work, painted black, contrasts so strikingly with the intervals of white plaster. Where the hard beds of stone which are interstratified with the marl have been employed, as in so many of the churches of these counties, the destruction occasioned by its weathering has been usually greater even than what we have remarked of the Oxford oolite. Lamentable indeed is the condition of many of their exteriors. Their sculptured ornaments of every kind, pinnacle and crocket, cusp and foliated capital, are all corroded into shapeless knobs, while each separate stone of the angles or flat wall is worn down by repeated exfoliations of the edges to a round lumpish form. The natural dingy red colour of the stone, by itself unfavourable, completes the disfigurement of the building. The architect or antiquary may study with interest these faded beauties, and glean some information even from their unsightly remains ; but, as architectural objects, their power of exciting general admiration is gone for ever. The same remark is unfortunately applicable to many of the otherwise most beautiful buildings of Scotland, where this red sandstone is still in common use, and little attention paid to its want of durability, so lamentably attested.

But not only did the materials composing the walls of our forefathers' houses mainly depend on the geological features of the country, but those also of the roof, and consequently, as we have already remarked, its form and structure. In woody districts, splinters of timber (shingles) were formerly much used in this country, as they still are in Germany and the Alps. Near the slate districts of Wales and Westmoreland, that material was of course employed for the purpose ; and a coarser, but highly picturesque slab, called there stone-tile, in the midland oolite range. In the eastern counties, burnt tile was the substitute ; and in the chalky soils, straw-thatch, which is still the almost universal roofing

roofing material for their farm buildings and cottages in the present day.

Antiquarian writers have usually overlooked these obvious causes for the local preference of particular building materials, and have erroneously ascribed the general substitution of stone or brick for timber, and of slate or tile for thatch, to one particular epoch. Thus it has been asserted, that up to the reign of Elizabeth, the houses of the gentry throughout England were entirely built of timber; whereas it is certainly not too much to say, that of the mansions of earlier date than that reign, which remain entire or in part at this day, three-fourths at least are built of stone or brick. The latter material is stated by Bagford and other writers to have been first introduced in the reign of Henry VII. Yet Ewelme Palace, in Oxfordshire, erected by William Delapole, and Hurstmonceaux Castle, in Sussex, both of brick, are attributed to the reign of Henry VI. Oxburgh Hall, in Norfolk, was erected in the reign of Edward IV. Leland mentions the walls of Hungerford as early as Richard II. being of that material, and Stow says that Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, enclosed the burial-ground in the Charter-house for those that died of the plague in 1348, with a wall of brick. That roofing-tiles were in use before the time of Richard I. is proved by the order made in the first year of that reign, Henry Fitzalwayne being Mayor of London, that the houses of that city should be covered with 'brent tyle,' instead of strawe or reeds. Indeed it is highly improbable that the art of making bricks and tiles, which had been practised in such perfection by the Romans during their occupation of the island, as is evident in the numerous remains of their buildings, should have been wholly lost, however much it may have deteriorated, in those parts of the country where brick earth is plentiful, and stone and slate impossible to be procured.

We have dwelt the more on these points, because many of the characteristics of our early domestic architecture seem to have been determined by the nature of the materials employed. The stories jutting forth one over the other, so as almost to arch over the narrow streets, and allow the occupiers of the upper floors not only to converse, but occasionally even to shake hands across the way, could only be executed in houses of which the frame work was timber, and were suggested by the necessity of keeping the wooden foundations dry, at a time when no other mode was employed for conveying away the rain water from roofs than the dropping eaves or dragon-mouthed spout. In like manner the deep ornamental verges, and richly figured barge-pendants, which so highly adorn some ancient manor-houses, are necessarily peculiar to wooden structures, and only to be met with in those districts where timber was

was the most accessible material. Our modern imitators constantly misapply this picturesque ornament by attaching it, with the far-projecting eaves which it accompanies, to buildings entirely of solid stone, needing no such protection for their ground-course, where the stone coping and parapet would be far more appropriate. On the other hand, in the erection of residences in districts well supplied with stone, and particularly near the oolite quarries which we have traced across the heart of England, the beauty of this material, and the ease with which it is carved, suggested a variety of characteristic adornments—the pierced and battlemented parapet—the crocketed pinnacle—the grotesque sculptures attached to the dripstone—the feathered window-arch—the heraldic figures that terminate the gable—the panelled angle turrets, and the armorial shields scattered over the walls.

Even in the counties where brick was necessarily substituted for stone, the facility of moulding and colouring that material gave rise to some peculiarity of design in the richly embossed chimney-shafts and finials, and the devices let into the walls for the sake of giving variety to a flat surface, which we see in the beautiful mansions of Helmingham, Basham, Hampton Court, Chenies, Hengrave, Hunstanton Hall, and Stutton, in Suffolk.

We began by declaring our partiality to our native architecture, at least for country residences, admitting the classical styles to be more suited to the metropolis and the large towns of recent date. From what we have already said it is clear that there is a sufficient variety of early English styles to satisfy the varied tastes of builders and their patrons. They may be classed as, 1. The castle. 2. The ecclesiastical residence, abbey, or priory. 3. The embattled mansion of the Tudors. 4. The gabled manorial-house of the same or an earlier age. 5. The Elizabethan. Individual examples of these classes may be found, it is true, graduating insensibly into each other; but yet each has its own distinguishing generic character, which forms the spirit of the building, and which it is to be regretted that modern architects have seldom preserved in their compositions. What, for instance, can be more incongruous than the union we so frequently see in the modern Gothic, as it is called, of the machicolated towers of the feudal fortress, with the large pointed and traceried windows, flying buttresses, and canopied niches of the church? Some architects seem to imagine that a crenellated parapet running round every member of the building, down to the larder and pig-stye, with a label over every gaping sash window, make a Gothic edifice; while the addition of a few circular turrets stuck full of loop-holes, with a flag-staff on the highest, shall convert it into a castle. Others surround a plain square house with a multitude of octagonal turrets

turrets terminating in nondescript cappings, and consider they have accomplished a Tudor mansion! Juster ideas have, it is true, begun of late to prevail on the subject; and the publications of Robinson and Hunt, as well as the late works executed by Messrs. Wyattville, Hopper, Burn, and perhaps one or two more, afford pleasing proofs that some architects, at least, have learnt to distinguish the characteristic features of the different classes we have enumerated, and have the taste to preserve them separate. Some of those points of distinction which appear to us to have been most usually neglected, we will briefly run over.

The castle is necessarily of a stern, massive, and gloomy character;—its leading idea is solidity and defensive strength. The principal windows of the true castle always looked inwards; and as this would be incompatible with the light, airiness, and prospect required in a modern residence, at least it is indispensable that they be at a considerable height from the ground, unequal in size and range, deep-cut, so as to give the appearance of a great thickness of wall, and occupying but a small comparative space of the exterior surface. There are few modern castles which satisfy us in this respect, (we may quote, as a rare instance, that of Mr. Dawkins Pennant, lately erected at Penrhyn by Mr. Hopper). Every one must have felt how unpleasing and absurd is the union so frequently presented by them of strength and weakness; the heavy machicolated parapet frowning over rows of sash windows, the lower tier of which open down to the ground, while the whole building is, perhaps, placed upon a flat lawn commanded by rising grounds on almost every side.

The ecclesiastical residence, the dwelling of the mitred abbot with his train of shaven devotees, or of the princely bishop and humbler priest, naturally was designed to correspond with the consecrated edifice round which these buildings were usually grouped; and hence the architecture of the abbey or priory is essentially of a piece with that of the cathedral. The church itself, with its lantern towers, belfry, and flying buttresses, and the cloistered quadrangle, are the principal features of this class. For the square-headed window, of course there is no deficiency of authority; but, unless the later styles are adopted, the pointed arch is more characteristic. We have noticed a most beautiful instance of the union of the two in the convent of St. Martin at Bourges, where a range of flat-headed windows, exactly of the size and form of a large modern French casement, have their jambs enriched with clustered shafts which bend with a very acute curve over the upper angles of the opening, while the label above, though rectangular, rises with an ogee curve in the centre, and terminates in a highly-enriched finial. The interval between the  
label

label and the window-head is filled up with rich foliage. There are no traces of either transoms or mullions, so that the windows seem to have been intended for the large folding casements which now occupy them. The building belongs to the very latest Tudor or flat-arch style, and the design of the whole is peculiarly rich and elegant. The abbey, of course, is most congenial to a low sequestered spot, just as the lordly castle courts an eminence. Were it not for the frequent instances of the contrary practice, this hint might be supposed unnecessary.

The quadrangular embattled mansion of the last Henries affords scope for the display of much grandeur and magnificence, and adapts itself most conveniently to the plan of a modern house. The carved oriel, and deep many-lighted bay window, often projecting in a multitude of capricious angles and curves besides the regular octagon, the panelled angle-turrets, with richly embossed finials, and the wreathed chimney-shafts, are characteristic beauties of this class of building.

The gabled manor-house, together with these ornamental features, admits, at the same time, of a much greater irregularity of form and outline, so as to accommodate itself to every variety of disposition, and to buildings of every size, from the baronial residence to the parsonage and grange. Mr. Hunt's designs for these several purposes are pleasing compositions;—Plate 12 is a peculiarly happy adaptation of this style to the plan and elevation of a modern country-house on the largest scale. Several of his sketches and plans for parsonage-houses are equally commendable. We cannot avoid expressing a hope that these buildings will in future be more frequently erected in this old English style, which alone is suited to their ecclesiastical character. Who has not had his feelings rudely grated on seeing, perched by the side of the venerable church with its ivy-covered buttresses, mossy battlements and pinnacles, and variety of round, lancet, and square-headed windows, the spruce red-brick rectory, with just five square holes in the front for windows, and a central one for the door with fanlight over it; while a slated roof and rows of red chimney-pots crown this specimen of modern taste? It is true that cheapness is necessary in the erection of a parsonage, and comfort, not appearance, the first object of consideration; but, in reality, unless a superfluity of ornament is adopted, the old English style of house is not necessarily expensive. All the forms which particularly mark this congenial style may be wrought in the cheapest materials with comparatively little labour; and a small portion of ornamental work, tastefully disposed, is capable of producing very considerable effect. It is neither in the elaborately chiselled buttress, nor the purfled pinnacle, that the character is developed;  
these

these belong rather to the cathedral pile, or spacious baronial hall, than to the minor domestic edifice. In this the span of the roof is seldom so wide as to require the counteracting power of the one, or the continuity of parapet-line so extensive as to need the intervention of the other\*.

Lastly, the Elizabethan house is distinguished by the number and size of its rectangular and many-mullioned windows, which give a peculiar lightness and elegance to its several parts. The roof-line may be either horizontal or broken with gables, turrets, and cupolas. In either case it is enriched with perforated parapets, balustrades, or other architectural devices; while similar embellishments ornament the entrance, and the terraces which connect the building with the garden.

We have said nothing, as yet, of interiors. The domestic arrangements of early English habitations are no longer suited to the habits and wants of the present age, so different from those of our forefathers. Indeed, as is remarked by Mr. Hunt, even the houses of the Tudor age were deplorably deficient in many of the comforts with which modern residences abound. And in this respect a decided amendment is visible in the buildings of the Elizabethan age upon those of Henry VIII., and again in the mansions of James I. and Charles I. Correspondent, indeed, with the increase of convenience was the decrease of taste; and, as the plans of houses progressively improved, their architectural character declined: nor would the most ardent admirer of the pure old English style venture to compare the dwellings of earlier days, in point of comfortable and cheerful economy, with those of the eighteenth century, when architecture, as an art of design, was at the very lowest ebb.†

The chief feature in the interior of an ancient residence of every class was the great or stone *hall*, which often gave its name to the whole house. It corresponded to the refectory of the abbey, and its disposition and plan varied very little under any circumstances, or at any time. The principal entrance to the main building, from the first or outer court, opened into a *thorough lobby*, having on one side several doors or arches leading to the buttery, kitchen, and domestic offices; on the other side, the hall, parted off by a screen, generally of wood elaborately carved, and enriched with shields and a variety of ornament, and pierced with several arches having folding doors. Above the screen, and over the lobby, was the minstrel's gallery, and on its front were usually hung armour, antlers, and similar memorials of the family exploits. The hall itself was a large and lofty room, in shape a parallelogram; the roof, the timbers of which were framed with pendants

\* Hunt, *Parsonages*, p. 3.

† Hunt, *Exemplars*, p. 101.

richly carved and emblazoned with heraldic insignia, formed one of its most striking features. 'The top-beam of the hall,' in allusion to the position of his coat of arms, was a symbolical manner of drinking the health of the master of the house. At the upper end of this chamber, furthest from the entrance, the floor was usually raised a step, and this part was styled the *dais*, or high pace. On one side of the dais was a deep embayed window, reaching nearly down to the floor; the other windows ranged along one or both sides of the hall, at some height above the ground, so as to leave room for wainscoting or arras below them. They were enriched with stained glass, representing the armorial bearings of the family, their connections, and royal patrons, and between the windows were hung full-length portraits of the same persons. The royal arms usually occupied a conspicuous station at either end of the room. The head table was laid for the lord and principal guests on the raised pace, parallel with the upper end wall, and other tables were ranged along the sides for inferior visitors and retainers. 'Tables, so placed, were said to stand *'banquet-wis.'* In the centre of the hall was the *rere-dosse*, or fire-iron, against which faggots were piled, and burnt upon the stone floor, the smoke passing through an aperture in the roof immediately overhead, which was generally formed into an elevated lantern, a conspicuous ornament to the exterior of the building. In later times, a wide arched fire-place was formed in the wall on one side of the room. Mr. Hunt quotes a pleasing passage from an old religious writer, of the date of 1511, from which it appears that the hall fire was discontinued at Easter-day, then called 'God's Sondaie.'

'Ye knowe well that it is the maner at this daye to do the fire out of the hall, and the black wynter brondes, and all thynges that is foule with fume and smoke, shall be done awaye; and there the fire was shall be gayly arrayed with fayre floures, and strewed with green ryshes all aboute.'\*

'The lords of manours,' says Aubrey, 'did eate in their great gothicque halls, at the high table or oreile, the folk at the side tables. The meate was served up by watchwords. Jacks are but an invention of the other daye; the poor boys did turn the spitts, and licked the dripping-pan, and grew to be huge lusty knaves. The body of the servants were in the great hall, as now in the guard-chamber, privy-chamber, &c. The hearth was commonly in the midst, as at colleges, whence the saying, "round about our coal fire." Here, in the halls, were the mummings, cob-loaf stealing, and great number of old Christmas playes performed. In great houses were lords of misrule during the twelve dayes after Christmas. The halls of justices of

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\* *Exemplars*, p. 120. \*

peace were dreadful to behold. The screenes were garnished with corslets and helmets gaping with open mouth, with coates of mail, lances, pikes, halberts, brown-bills, battle-axes, bucklers, and the modern callivers, petronells and (in King Charles's time) muskets and pistols.\*

The halls, in fact, of our colleges, at either university, and the inns of court, still remain, as in Aubrey's time, accurate examples of the ancient baronial and conventual halls; preserving, not merely their original form and appearance, but the identical arrangement and service of the tables. Even the central fire is, in some instances, kept up, being of charcoal, burnt in a large brazier, in lieu of the rere-dosse. In other respects, probably little, if any thing, has been altered since the Tudor æra; and those who are curious to know the mode in which our ancestors dined in the reign of the Henries and Edwards, may be gratified by attending that meal in the great halls of Christchurch or Trinity, and tasking his imagination to convert the principal and fellows at the upper table, into the stately baron, his family, and guests, and the gowned commoners, at the side tables, into the liveried retainers. The service of the kitchen, butteries, and cellars, is conducted, at the present day, in every point, precisely according to ancient unvaried custom.

The hall, such as we have described it, is found in every old English mansion down to the Elizabethan period; and there is scarcely any finer example left than that of Longleat, in spite of its Italianized exterior. But about that time, or still earlier, the nobles began to disuse the custom of dining in company with their retainers and household in the great hall, and a separate apartment was reserved for the use of the family, and called the dining-parlour, or banquetting-room. This change of manners seems to have partly taken place by the time of Henry VIII., since it was then made a subject of complaint that the 'hall,' at court in particular, was not duly 'kept.' In the ordinances of Eltham, 1526, complaint is made, that 'sundry noblemen, gentlemen, and others, doe much delight and use to dine in corners and secret places, not repairing to the high chamber, nor hall, &c.' Peers, in attendance at court, or in parliament, as well as all the officers of the royal household, had the privilege of eating in the hall with their retainers, the number of the latter being expressly stipulated, according to their rank or office, as appears in the '*Liber Niger Domus Regis*,' the book of household regulations of Edward IV.: 'a duke,' it is there said, 'shall have etyng in the hall one knyghte, a chapleyn, iii squyers, iiij yeomen,' and so on, down to a baron,

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\* Aubrey MS.

who is allowed 'etyng for a gentelman and a yoman.' This privilege was called 'avoir bouche a court.' The whole list of persons having 'etyng in the hall' is enormous, and makes it clear, that the magnificent hall at Westminster, built for this use, by Edward II., must have had its spacious area completely crowded at times when the king had summoned his peers around him. The great hall of Eltham, also probably built by the same monarch, is but little inferior in grandeur to that of Westminster.

The chapel was another principal feature in the early English residence of every class. It usually formed one side of the first court, and was occasionally quite detached from the main building. Both the hall and chapel were often overlooked from windows in galleries and upper rooms. Archbishop Parker, in a letter dated 1573, says, 'If it please her Majesty, she may come in through my gallerie, and see the disposition of the hall at dynner-time, at a window opening thereunto.'

The other apartments were the great chamber, or withdrawing room, usually reserved for state occasions, and hung with tapestry, and the gallery, appropriated to the reception of visitors, to amusement, and indoors exercise. This was a long room with several bay or oriel windows, projecting externally, and forming agreeable nooks for private conversation within. The gallery was often embellished with royal or family portraits, maps, and genealogical tables. The larger houses had, in addition to these apartments, the smaller in their stead, the parlours—sometimes divided into summer and winter parlours. Of these rooms, some were hung with arras, others wainscoted in small panels of richly grained oak. Aubrey says, 'the drapery moulding in wainscot is peculiar to the time of Henry VII. and VIII. In the halls and parlours there were wrote texts of Scripture, and good sentences on the painted cloths, which does something evidence the piety of those days, more than now.' The ceilings were framed into panels by moulded ribs, enriched with bosses and pendants at their intersections. When plaster was substituted for timber in the ceilings, the patterns became more intricate, and the ornaments still more numerous.

The staircase in the older houses was carried up in a separate turret, generally circular, the steps being of stone running round a central pillar, and the outer handrail grooved into the substance of the wall. In the castle of Amboise, built on a high cliff above the Loire, the principal entrance to the castle from the level of the river below, is by means of a circular tower of this kind, containing a spiral road, (it cannot be called a staircase, having no steps,) accessible for horses and even carriages. In the reign of Elizabeth, staircases first became splendid ornamental features in  
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houses, being framed of wood, enriched with massive handrails and balustrades curiously carved, as were also the bracketed string-boards and soffits. The newels at every landing supported the figures of heraldic animals or other devices, as well as pendant ornaments at their lower extremity. The effect of these elaborate staircases was highly ornamental and characteristic ; and their introduction is always advisable when that style of building is attempted.

That the whole interior of a modern house should be made to correspond precisely with the external architecture is unnecessary, and would be highly inconvenient. The space occupied by the great hall would be thrown away on an apartment now never applied to its ancient purposes, from the total change in domestic habits. And for this reason it is that the attempt to give the appearance and proportions of the ancient hall to the modern vestibule which goes by that name, is usually a failure. The idea of fitness and utility is wanting. The room we know not to be applied to the purposes of the old hall, and the association is therefore injured if not destroyed. The gallery is, perhaps, one of the characteristic features of old interiors most suited for adoption in our modern residences. When employed as a corridor for communication with the principal range of apartments, whether below stairs or above, it becomes equally ornamental and useful. Its lofty embayed windows, emblazoned with armorial coats, its vaulted or fretted ceiling, with the full-length portraits, old high-backed chairs, couches, coffers, and cabinets, which form the appropriate furniture of its walls, compose a rich substitute for the more homely passage, and an agreeable place for indoors exercise and amusement.

In the architectural enrichments throughout the house, a correct taste will always keep up the character of the prevailing style ; as in the ceilings, chimney-pieces, stoves, doors, bookshelves, and other fixtures. And fortunately each style and age affords its peculiar and beautiful models for these purposes ; and the valuable publications of Mr. Pugin and others have enabled our artisans in wood, plaster, or metal, to execute with the utmost correctness the details of the most elegant ancient designs.

But in moveable furniture a much greater latitude may fairly be allowed. Indeed, if we were to confine ourselves strictly to that which was used by our ancestors, our modern notions of comfort must be woefully foregone. Heavy tables formed of planks laid upon trestles, massy oak benches or stools for seats, and floors strewn with straw, formed the accommodation which satisfied the princes and prelates of our early history. In no point, certainly, has there been so signal an improvement in modern times, as in  
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the ordinary domestic furniture. The artisan now enjoys luxuries of this kind, which were, but three centuries ago, beyond the reach of the crowned head. Even in the time of Elizabeth, the comfort of a carpet was seldom felt, and the luxury of a fork wholly unknown. Rushes commonly supplied the place of the former, and the fingers were the invariable substitutes for the latter. Harrison, writing in the time of Elizabeth, thus describes the furniture in use immediately before his time.

‘ Our fathers (yea, we ourselves also) have lien full oft vpon straw pallets, or rough mats, covered onlie with a sheete, vnder coverlets made of dogswain or hopharlots, (I use their own terms,) and a good round log under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers, or the good man of the house, had, within seven yeares after his marriage, purchased a mattresse or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that, peradventure, lay seldom in a bed of down or whole feathers. As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well ; for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking strawes that ran oft through the canvas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides.’

The lateness of the period at which the luxurious improvements in furniture were introduced is shown in Sir John Harrington’s amusing reproaches of the ‘ error rather than austerytie’ of those sticklers for old customs who looked upon cushions and carpets as heretical innovations. He asks—

‘ Doth it not as well become the state of the chamber to have easye quilted and lyned forms and stools for the lords and ladyes to sit on, as great plank forms, that two yeomen can scant remove out of their places ; and waynscot stooles so hard, that since great breeches were layd aside, men can scant indewr to sitt on ?’

But though the balance in point of comfort is infinitely in favour of modern upholstery, on the other hand the splendour of our hangings, bed furniture, and plate, is far inferior to that of the earlier periods. Carved and inlaid bedsteads, with hangings of cloth of gold, paled with white damask and black velvet, and embroidered with heraldic badges ; blue velvet powdered with silver lions ; black satin, with gold roses and escutcheons of arms ; tapestry of cloths of gold and silver for hanging on the walls ; gold plate, enamelled with precious stones, and cloths of gold for covering tables,—these are pomps and vanities occurring in every page of the elder time—and no doubt their effect must have exceeded in magnificence anything we see or hear of in the present day. These gorgeous ‘ moveables’ descended from generation to generation, and every ancient will is filled with bequests and inventories of them. Indeed, in the times that preceded the invention of those ingenious improvements upon the financial arrange-

ments of our ancestors,—consols and reduced three per cents., and when the lending out money for hire was considered a disgraceful transaction, and almost confined to the Jews, such rich chattels, including plate and jewels, were employed as the most convenient, if not the only investments of spare funds, being convertible into cash, upon pledge or by sale, at will. Thus the ‘world of wealth’ accumulated by Wolsey, ‘to gain the pope-don, and fee his friends at Rome,’ consisted in—

‘The several parcels of his plate, his treasure,  
Rich stuffs, and ornaments of household.’

And it may be, that a ‘cypresse chest,’ such as Mr. Hunt gives us the drawing of, filled with cloths of gold and silver, rich velvet hangings, and embroidered tapestries, or a cupboard of massive plate, such as chargers and goblets, and cups of gold set with rubies, sapphires, and other jewels—articles which were then met with in every wealthy establishment, according to Harrison,—were as substantial and secure representations of wealth, and as readily realized, in case of need, as a pocket-book of Mexican bonds or Columbian scrip in the present day.

Although, however, in the furniture of an early English house we meet with no models for our imitation, and that we agree fully with Mr. Hunt in deprecating the abominations sometimes attempted by our *tasteful* upholsterers, as imaginary representations of ancient furniture, in portable buttresses, and chairs bristling with crockets and pinnacles,—yet in the age of Elizabeth and her immediate successors, we meet with a highly rich and elegant style of moveables, capable of easy adaptation to all the luxurious wants of our most fastidious Sybarites. The couches and settees of carved and twisted ebony, the velvet and damask cushions, piled upon one another like our Ottomans, the canopied hangings, the ebony and ivory, or inlaid cabinets, cypress or cedar coffers, elaborately carved oaken buffets, tables spread with velvet, or damask, or ‘Turkie work’ (Persian carpets), fringed with gold, the great folding screen covered with figured cloths, or stamped leather, or needlework, and the embossed audirons—these are all admissible in the present day; and the elegance of no modern boudoir would be disparaged, or its comforts diminished, by their introduction. And though there may appear some anachronism in the application of furniture of the style of the sixteenth century to buildings of the thirteenth or fourteenth, yet this is fairly excusable of such perishable articles, and the associations connected with the one harmonize sufficiently with the other. Such a style of furniture is, at all events, infinitely more appropriate than our modern upholstery. What a disagreeable rebuff have our highly-wrought feelings sometimes experienced, when, on entering the arched porch of Gothic abbey or embattled castle, and penetrating

trating its vaulted galleries, we have found ourselves in a room fitted up in all the flimsy frippery of a Brighton or Cheltenham lodging-house, with marble chimuey-pieces from Leghorn, spindle-shanked rosewood chairs from Oxford Street, Grecian sofas, Italian cornices, and French chiffoniers!

Mr. Hunt in one passage laments that the splendid bed-hangings of early times are gone out of use, and have given way to flimsy materials and tasteless handicraft. His list of gorgeous beds, extracted from ancient testamentary documents, such as, amongst others, the large bed of blue satin embroidered with silver lions and gold roses and escutcheons, of Edmund Earl of March, and the Duke of Norfolk's 'great hangede bedde, palyed (chequered) with cloth of gold, whyte damask, and black velvet, and powdered with the initials in gold of his name and his wife's,' are certainly dazzling; but it must be allowed that the cleanliness of washable bed-hangings carries with it a charm beyond the magnificence of the most gorgeous materials. We own our preference of fresh calico curtains, and snow-white counterpanes, to our beds, over the same articles in cloth of tapestry or velvet, embroidered with gold till they stand upright of themselves, and descending uncleaned, except by an occasional brushing, through half a dozen generations, of which they successively witness the births, bridals, and deaths. It is curious that Mr. Hunt recommends the latter style of furniture as 'benefiting society by affording employment to a vast number of persons of both sexes in respectable occupations,' since, he at the same time declares, that 'the flimsy but overwhelming draperies of modern times are at least equal in cost, though intrinsically almost valueless, to the sumptuous cloths of earlier days.' We presume, then, their fabrication must be admitted to afford equal, if not still greater, employment to our native industry.

We are, however, ourselves pleased to be able to trace a growing improvement in the taste of the furniture of our living apartments, as well as of our domestic architecture, and a predilection for the rich and elegant designs of the Elizabethan age. Already there is a great and constant demand for its carved cabinets, scrolled chairs, tapestried hangings, and figured velvet cushions; and France and Germany are ransacked for these articles in order to restore to our ancient manor-houses and Tudor mansions their appropriate internal fashion of attire. Our upholsterers (or, rather,—we beg their pardon,—*decorators*) are already imitating the festooned canopies of Queen Bess; and many a carver is employed in framing seats after the model of the 'great Turkey leather elbow-chair, with the tapestried cushions,' which accommodated the person of 'his most sacred majesty' at the castle of Tillietudlem. In short, though the *wisdom* of our ancestors is rapidly going out of  
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fashion,

fashion, it is some consolation that we are becoming daily more and more alive to the correctness of their *taste*.

Our readers, who take any interest in topics such as these, will do well to make themselves acquainted with all the works named at the head of this paper. That of Mr. Allan Cunningham will gratify not only them, but a much wider circle. It is a volume full of instruction and amusement—not only containing lively and spirited sketches of the lives of the most eminent architects of our country, but conveying, in an unpretending fashion, views concerning the history and progress of the art, such as will at once gratify general curiosity and reward critical examination. This remarkable man, as we all know, was bred a mason; and it will therefore be easily believed, that a work from his pen on such a subject abounds in shrewd practical hints and technical observations worthy of universal attention. We are far from subscribing to all his views; but the intelligent sympathy with which he records the fortunes and fates of such men as Wykeham, Jones, Wren, and Vanbrugh—the diligence of his researches—the generous candour of his sentiments—the unaffected ease and clearness, and, here and there, the picturesque strength and eloquence of his language—are more than enough to justify us in recommending his book as one of the best and most interesting that have as yet appeared in any of these Cabinet Libraries.

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ART. VII.—*Friendly Advice to the Lords on the Reform Bill*  
London. 1831.

WE endeavoured in our two last numbers to show the constitutional, and, as it were, *theoretical* objections to the ministerial project of Parliamentary Reform;\* and we cannot refrain from expressing some degree of satisfaction at the general concurrence with which our observations have been received by the vast majority (as far as we have the means of judging) of *that* class of persons to which literary discussion addresses itself. Indeed it is a fact too remarkable to be overlooked, that not only are the men of property, the men of business, and all those who are concerned in the actual workings of the social system, opposed to the pretended Reform, but that nearly all the *Literature* of the country (with the exception of the daily press—if that may be called a branch of literature) has ranged itself on the same side. The classes of society too which are more especially connected with literature, show the same spirit—the clergy unanimously—a great majority, including the most influential men, of the bar—the three universities—and, generally speaking, the educated youth of the country, are all hostile to this Revolutionary Reform.\* It is singular, that,  
inundated

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\* Our readers will smile at a *complaint* said to have been made by one of the Cabinet—

inundated as we have been with anti-reform publications of all shapes and shades, there has not appeared one single work in support of the ministerial measure which has seemed to the public deserving of notice. The short and slight pamphlet, entitled 'Friendly Advice to the Lords,' recently put forth, has obtained some notoriety from being attributed to the pen of the Lord Chancellor; but it—wholly avoiding the merits of the general question—applies itself to the single object of schooling their Lordships, and does not, therefore, make any exception to the truth of the foregoing proposition.

The *theory* of the question, both as relates to the general balance of power in the constitution, and the particular mode in which the *Bill* may be expected to affect that balance, having been thus, we say, victoriously decided against the Reformers, who make, and have made, no other answer than the vociferations of the mob, or the insane Billingsgate of some daily journal,—we are now anxious to consider the matter more *practically*, and to examine the immediate and tangible *causes* and *consequences* of the Revolution with which we are so imminently threatened.

To some persons it may, at first sight, seem superfluous to inquire into the causes of the present crisis.—'We are in it,' say they, 'no matter how—the useful inquiry is, how we are to get out of it.' But we beg leave to observe, that we cannot understand our true position, or the real nature of our danger, nor whether that danger can be best avoided *by turning back* or *by going forward*, till we have carefully examined the road which has brought us to this pass; and why Parliamentary Reform should have become more formidable in the last few months than it had been for so long a period preceding.

The first question to be resolved is the meaning of the term *Reform*. Is it intended to *restore* our constitution to some *former* state of purity, or to *recast* it in the theoretic hope of some *future* perfection? On this primary question—the basis, indeed, of a rational investigation—the two chief advocates of the Reform Bill—Lord John Russell and Mr. Jeffrey—have fallen into the most direct and (if the case had been less important) the most ludicrous contradictions and inconsistencies,—Lord John Russell, with elaborate absurdity, placing the foundations of his Bill in the days of the 'Henries and Edwards, on the *charta de foresta*, and the statute *de tallagio non concedendo*;' while the Lord Advocate, with national indifference to the old statutes of England, and with rational indifference to the arguments of his leader, laughed at

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Cabinet—that 'THE WOMEN were all against them.' We smile at the silly confession, but we confirm with deep pleasure the important fact. If good sense, honour, piety, and ancient morals were banished from the rest of the earth, they would be found in the hearts of the women of England! How could they be otherwise than against a Revolution?

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such antiquarian nonsense, and confessed the intended or pretended *Reform* to be a *reconstruction of the constitution*, made 'in the spirit of the times,' and under the experience, if not after the example, of America and France. The smaller fry of orators, (for infinite are the descending gradations of littleness in these times,) and the two or three obscure penmen who have appeared in the ministerial cause, have united in their respective productions the contradictory arguments of Lord John and the Lord Advocate; which, ludicrous as we have said they were from two persons on the same side, become farcical, when, like the two voices of the Monster in the Tempest, they are heard from under one guberdine. But of these two contradictory assertions it unluckily happens that neither is true. Lord John's pretence that he is *restoring* the constitution to any former shape is notoriously unfounded; and Mr. Jeffrey's imagination that those who affect to guide their conduct by what they call the *spirit of the age* will be satisfied by *this* Reform, is egregiously puerile. We will not attempt to repeat the exposure which has been so frequently and so forcibly made of both these theoretical fallacies. We shall leave them to defeat each other, and shall apply ourselves to examine the practical conclusions, on which the ministers now rest the question—namely, that an immediate and urgent *necessity* for the Bill is created by the state of *public opinion*, and that since the general election all argument is idle; for *the sovereign people has expressed its omnipotent will!* 'In November, 1830,' say they, 'public opinion rendered some attempt at Reform highly expedient; but in June, 1831, the public voice pronounces it inevitable; the hour is come when it can be no longer delayed: and *the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill*, is the precise measure which policy and justice, and, above all, the *irresistible vox populi*, dictate.'

Now all these propositions we deny—the first, as to the state of public opinion a few months ago, boldly and unhesitatingly; the latter, as to the present state of the public mind, more doubtfully. Shakspeare, that greatest observer of human nature, who illustrates the most profound truths by the most familiar allusions, warns us of the uncertain and disputable value of 'opinion,' which every man may represent as best suits his own purpose,—'*A plague of OPINION! a man may wear it on both sides like a leathern jerkin.*' We certainly will not venture to say which *side* of the *jerkin* is at this moment in most extensive wear; but every hour that passes confirms our original impression, that the popular insanity was never so general as it appeared, nor is now at anything like the same heat and height to which it boiled a month ago.

If indeed this fever had been the result of natural or spontaneous causes—had there been any real complaint of a system of  
misgovernment

misgovernment—had property become precarious—had our liberties been invaded—had our religion been threatened—had public wealth diminished—had public credit failed—had the power of the crown or the aristocracy increased to a comparative superiority over the popular branch of our constitution—had we exhibited any symptoms of national decay, or had the constitution taken any new form tending in even the slightest degree to national abasement;—Reform—reform of such errors and innovations as might have produced those public evils, would have been a duty—more or less dangerous, according to the extent of the excision which might be necessary, but yet a duty—sacred and imperative, and to be steadily though cautiously performed, however painful the operation might promise to be. But when it is notorious and *admitted*, that (whatever *theoretical* errors or anomalies may have grown into our system) the *practical* condition of this country equals at this hour the prosperity of any former period of our history, and is superior to that of any other nation in the world; when it is notorious and admitted, that the power of the popular branch, as compared with that of the other estates, was never so great and commanding as it has lately become; and when it is equally notorious that, up to the hour when the ministers launched this fatal measure, the public had expressed less anxiety about it than at many former periods both remote and recent,—there are wanting the only honest motives, and the only adequate justification, for the perilous experiment to which we are invited to submit.

Shallow declaimers, both in and out of parliament, are fond of repeating that all *Governments* (until Lord Grey's happy administration) have been 'the patrons of abuses and the enemies of improvement.' These sciolists have not adverted to one important political truth which the conduct of Lord Grey and his colleagues is rapidly and extensively explaining and exemplifying—that *Governments* were originally constituted for the express purpose of preventing and resisting *change*—that it is essential that they should have a strong tenacity to things as they are—that while, on the one hand, such resistance and tenacity should not be so obstinate as to neglect manifest public expediency, or to disregard *matured* and *undisputed* public opinion, they should, on the other, be *strong enough to restrain sudden and epidemic violences*—to afford the public time either to recover from delusion, if delusion there be, or to ascertain and consolidate the wishes and opinions of the majority in the cases where there may be a rational desire and real necessity for alteration.

The proper action of a government may be assimilated to that of the pendulum of a clock. It should check and regulate the action of the great popular weight, which, without the constant  
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but elastic—the gentle, yet steady resistance of such a regulator, would hurry the works into a whirl of unchecked motion, dislocating the parts, and ultimately destroying the whole machine. A ministry, therefore, which, like that of Lord Grey, not only removes the pendulum, but adds its weight to the already unbalanced preponderance of the moving power, grossly *miscalculates* the *theoretical use*, and fatally *misapplies* the *practical power*, of a GOVERNMENT. But even this example, appropriate as far as it goes, does not exhibit the whole absurdity and mischief of the conduct of the ministry. In any case it would have been their duty to endeavour to moderate and guide the movement of the people, instead of urging and accelerating it; but in the present instance they have been the instigators and creators of the movement—the *primum mobile* of the innovation—which has not been pressed on the government by the people, but to which the people have been instigated by the arts and violences of the government. In short, *Parliamentary Reform* was not, and, we believe, is not, a national want or a national wish: it is a *mere party measure*—not the claim of the people, but the scheme of a faction;—not a compliance with public opinion, but the device of private interests and personal ambition! and it has grown to its present gigantic and formidable stature by the simple and natural cause we have just alluded to, namely, that the power whose constitutional duty it was to check or regulate such movements, has been in this case the original and the constant instigator of the mischief. If the Doctor, instead of cooling, should inflame the disease—if the Police, instead of suppressing, should be foremost in the riot—diseases and riots so treated by those who were called in to allay them, would naturally rise to the same violence that Reform, from a similar cause, has now attained.

*Is it yet too late*—is the fever at such a height—is the riot so uncontrollable, that there is no hope for safety if the friends of the patient were to call in the advice of wiser doctors, or the help of more honest magistrates? We indulge a hope that this is not so. We firmly believe, that the rapid growth of the Reform question has been all superficial. It is a kind of *scobea scandens*, a parasite creeper, which has spread to a great extent and height with very little root, and which will wither, as fast as it sprouted, for want of a deep and substantial hold of the soil. Such is, at least, our expectation, and the object of this paper is to contribute to its accomplishment, by showing that the evil has suddenly grown up from slight and temporary causes, and may, therefore, it is hoped, be with the less difficulty checked and eradicated.

Most important here is that celebrated admission of Lord John Russell—important and celebrated as made by *him*, though in itself a notorious truism—that the nation had for some years shown  
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a great apathy on the subject of Reform, but that *lately he and his friends* had endeavoured to arouse the feelings of the people, and that the people had at last responded to their call.

Mr. Croker, by way of recording this valuable admission, and of putting the important fact in a tangible and striking shape, made, from the Journals of the House of Commons, the following enumeration of the petitions for Reform in the last ten years.

‘ I find that, in the year 1821, 19 petitions only were presented in favour of Reform. In the year 1822 the number was reduced to 12. In the year 1823 the number was 29. In the year 1824 there was *no petition* at all. In the year 1825, *no petition*,—in the year 1826, *no petition*,—in the year 1827, *no petition*,—in the year 1828, *no petition*,—in the year 1829, *no petition*,—and even in the session 1830, only 14 petitions presented in favour of Reform. Such was the state of the public mind on this subject up to *that date*.’

Petitions, as they have been manufactured of late years, are, we are well aware, but very doubtful proofs of public opinion; the discreditable arts by which they have been, in so many instances, obtained, have thrown some degree of suspicion over them as *criteria* of the genuine feelings even of those who sign them; but this doubt does not apply to the converse of the case: the absence of petitions. The very ease and frequency with which they are manufactured on subjects of minor importance is an additional proof that where there have been no petitions there has been no public feeling; the public may cry out without being hurt, but they are never hurt without crying out. We therefore assert—Lord John Russell grants—Mr. Croker has proved, and all mankind, *except one*, acknowledge the notorious fact, that up to the period of the general election last summer there was no loud or general call for Parliamentary Reform—still less any urgent and pressing *necessity* for so vital a change. The *one* exception to which we have alluded is a very remarkable one, and it is what the lawyers might call a *negative pregnant*—the denial proves something more to our purpose than the mere fact, which it entirely denies, would have done.

The pamphlet attributed to Lord Chancellor Brougham, the title of which stands at the head of this article, is not very bulky; but short as it is, its essence has been further condensed by the master-hand of the ingenious author himself into the following pithy note :—

‘ There is no error more fatal than theirs who maintain the prevailing opinion on Reform to be one suddenly and lightly taken up by the people of England. *To resist a sudden popular impulse is the duty of all wise and good statesmen, but in an especial manner of the Peers.* The desire for Parliamentary Reform is more than half a century old, and every year has augmented its force. It was acknowledged even by Lord Chatham, no rash speculator, no friend of revolution.

tion. He felt its justice, and he truly foresaw its gathering strength, when he said, "If the Commons reform not themselves, they will be reformed from without with a vengeance."

Now, let us comment on this text: we fully and entirely concur in the proposition—which would certainly not have been stated if it could have been by any art denied—that '*to resist a sudden popular impulse is the duty of all wise and good statesmen, but in an especial manner of the Peers.*' On this great fundamental truth we are all agreed. But then we are told that 'there is no error more fatal than to imagine that the prevailing opinion on reform has been suddenly and lightly taken up.' That this opinion may be fatal—*fatal to the Bill*—we believe; but that it is an *error*, we deny, and we call as witnesses to prove our case—Lord John Russell, Lord Grey, Lord Melbourne, Lord Brougham—the whole cabinet!—from every one of whose speeches for the last ten years we could extract innumerable admissions, that it was *not* a question of urgent necessity. Was not this expressly avowed by Mr. Tierney, as leader of the Whigs, and by several subordinates, when they began their flirtation with Mr. Canning, and showed such a readiness to *back out* of Reform? Was it not indirectly, but conclusively admitted, when the whole of that party joined Mr. Canning, and sat cheering at his back, when he expressed, with laconic indignation, his eternal hostility to Reform? And again, and finally, where are the petitions of 1824—of 1825—of 1826—of 1827—of 1828—of 1829?

But 'the *desire* for Parliamentary Reform is more than half a century old.' This *desire* seems not to have been very strong. It is, indeed, near sixty years since the *Wilkes* of Middlesex came to the following resolution:—'Resolved, That the most effectual means for obtaining redress for the violated rights of election, and other national grievances, is by bills for shortening the *duration of parliaments*, for excluding *placemen and pensioners from the House of Commons*, and for a more fair and equal representation.'—So voted the freeholders of Middlesex in 1773, but did the people of England sympathize with them?—no: that reform fever was generated by the turbulence of an individual, and for a while inflamed by the disturbances of the American colonies, but it died away with the exciting cause, and was never heard of again till the contagion of the French revolution began, about 1790, to find its way into England (Lord Grey being one of the chief propagandists). But did the people of England then feel with Lord Grey and the party who arrogated to themselves the title of 'Friends of the People'?—no: their celebrated petition was scouted not only in Parliament, but by the country at large; and some leading 'friends of the people' received at that time very alarming proofs that 'the *people*' were far from recognising them as '*friends.*'

'*friends.*' And, again, Parliamentary Reform fell into a long and profound slumber, showing now and then signs of life in James Paul, William Cobbett, or Henry Hunt, but utterly indifferent to, and disregarded by the great mass of the people. About ten years ago Lord Durham, then Mr. Lambton, made a motion on the subject, only remarkable for the contemptuous indifference with which that 'vital question' was treated by all parties, and particularly by those who supported it. Sir Francis Burdett, also, once or twice broached the subject, but in a style which proved that he took little interest in the matter, and expected still less from his auditors or the public, and that he only made the motion as a less troublesome mode of canvassing Westminster. Lord John Russell, too, made a couple of motions chiefly for the purpose of keeping the question out of the hands of Sir Francis, and the speeches and plans which on these occasions he spouted and broached are now only remembered for their *irreconcilable inconsistency* with his *present* measures and doctrines.

Now, we ask, is there a man in England so bold as to assert in his place in either house of parliament, or in the press with the avowal of his name, that, all this while, the '*urgent necessity of Parliamentary Reform*' was the prevailing opinion of the people of England?' The assertion is so notoriously unfounded, that every publication of the day has quoted extracts from the speeches and writings of Lord John Russell, Lord Melbourne, the Lord Advocate, and Lord Brougham, ridiculing, censuring, exposing the folly and wickedness of schemes of Reform infinitely less foolish and less wicked than that which they themselves now propose; and, we repeat, the majority of the present cabinet actually did join Mr. Canning,—(and the others were anxious and ready to have joined him,)—whose first principle of political conduct, so often and so vehemently repeated, was resistance to any and every Reform.

We will go farther; and will venture to assert that Parliamentary Reform had never less hold of the public mind than it had when the late revolutions in Paris and Belgium, exploding, by an unlucky coincidence, at the moment of our general election, afforded the present ministry—then the Opposition—an occasion of raising a clamour about Parliamentary Reform, just as the Wilkites in 1773, and the 'Friends of the People' in 1790, had availed themselves of the disturbances in America and Paris. But even with these powerful incentives their success was more limited than might, perhaps, have been expected. Few constituencies required from their candidates any pledge as to Parliamentary Reform; and we recollect but two prominent instances in which the doctrine of Parliamentary Reform was distinctly made the *sine qua non* of success,—we mean those of Mr. Henry Hunt at Pres-

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ton, and Mr. Henry Brougham in Yorkshire. Many other cases there no doubt were in which persons professing to be friendly to Reform were elected, and in which such professions facilitated their election; but no others, as we remember, and certainly no others remarkable, in which Reform was made the sole test of eligibility; and this comparative apathy was shown too at the very season when the French Revolution, with all the splendour of its surprising victory and all the renown of its vaunted moderation, might naturally have dazzled and seduced men's minds, and when, as Lord John Russell admits, the Opposition candidates were anxious to excite the public mind to a warmer interest in the question of Reform at home.

We will not pursue this topic further, except to observe that every reader, by consulting his own recollection, or by looking back to the files of the newspapers of July and August last, will find abundant proof that the urgent and inevitable necessity of a large Reform in the representation was not *even then* (and if it had been so at that moment, it would not have much weakened our argument)—but it was not *even then* ‘the prevailing opinion of the people of England.’

But ‘the *desire* for Parliamentary Reform is more than half a century old, and every year has augmented its force.’ The author is here much too modest, when he supposes the *desire* for Parliamentary Reform to be only fifty, or even, as we have said before, sixty years old. It is, in truth, as old as the Great Rebellion; that rebellion was caused, or, at least, carried to extremities, by a sect hostile in religion to an established church, and in politics to an hereditary throne—that sect has existed to this day in the same religious and political principles, and its adherents have shown themselves, on every occasion, the steady and active friends of everything that had a tendency to overthrow the Church and the Monarchy. Powerful by their perseverance and enthusiasm, and, for a sect, numerous, they have never had much sympathy with, or support from, the great mass of the people—they would have pushed the revolution of 1688 much farther than the moderate Whigs or enlightened Tories—they hailed and encouraged the American insurrection, and their influence gave it its tone, and fixed its character—in the same spirit they applauded the first French revolution, and, in the impious cant of their Cromwellian ancestors, (texts which Lord John Russell loves to quote,) saw the *hand of God* in the subversion of the church and the execution of the king! On every occasion *they* have been loud and active in inflaming popular discontents—*they*, indeed, have been, in all times, parliamentary reformers—*they* have kept alive the sacred flame of discontent, ready, whenever *they* should have an opportunity, to set fire to the combustible matter which a popular constitution like ours must  
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now and then generate. In *their* hearts Reform has, ever since 1640, been secretly cherished, and occasionally boldly exhibited; and our readers will from this hint surmise, that it was neither ignorance nor modesty that induced the '*Friendly Adviser*' to limit the antiquity of his doctrine to *fifty years*, but a very wary prudence, which wished to keep out of remembrance the 30th of January, 1649, and which quoted '*Lord Chatham*' to prevent the thoughts of his readers from wandering back to *Laud* and *Strafford*. This old republican party has been of late years reinforced by another and more numerous sect—infidels in religion, and levellers and agrarians in politics—of whose principles and practices we have given, in a preceding article, an account, which we hope will have been read with the attention that it merits and the alarm that the designs which it exposes ought to create.

But does not the *Adviser* see, and if he does not, will not the Peers, that this date of '*above half a century*,' and the prophecy of '*Lord Chatham*,' though they may prove the *antiquity*, contradict the supposed urgency and pressing *necessity* of Reform? England has fared pretty well, both as to external glory and internal prosperity, for the last half century; and the minatory anticipation attributed to Lord Chatham has been hitherto as vain as Mr. Fox's prophecies of the political degradation, or Mr. Tierney's anticipation of the financial ruin of England. If, in spite of Lord Chatham's vaticination, when it was as yet uncontradicted by events, our parliamentary system survived the trial of American independence, and the successive and tremendous shocks of the French revolution, why should we tremble at it *now*, when we have had fifty years experience of its fallacy? If the *Society of the Friends of the People* in Paris, commonly called the *Jacobin Club*, or if Lord Grey's *Society of the Friends of the People* in England did not intimidate the Crown, and the Lords, and the Commons, when there really was an urgent danger of popular commotion, why should such an effect be now produced when the danger, whatever it may be, is one not springing from the mass of the population, but excited, created, *invented* by the ministers themselves? Lord Chatham's menace, too, is, in another respect, strangely misapplied on the present occasion. '*If the Commons reform not themselves, they will be reformed from without with a vengeance.*' Will any man, even the *Adviser*, assert that the present danger has been occasioned *from without*; that it has sprung from the *spontaneous impatience* of the people? No such thing; the ferment has been solely and exclusively created *from within*, by Mr. Brougham, Mr. Hume, Mr. Lambton, Lord John Russell, Sir Francis Burdett—Lord Holland, Lord Grey, Lord King, and *tutti quanti*—and, above all, by the accession of that party  
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to the councils of the Crown, and by the counsels which the Crown has been unhappily persuaded to adopt. The disturbance and the danger are, in this respect, of a nature quite new in the history of the world; they have been made and are maintained by the measures of the ministers: and the actions of those to whom the constitution looks for the prevention and repression of the direct interference of popular power have, in this instance, been the greatest incentive to whatever degree of ferment may exist.

There is no one who has at all considered the constitutional nature and use of the kingly office, who must not lament to see its power applied to purposes for which it never was intended. Why is an individual man exalted into such pre-eminence above his fellow-creatures? Why are the primates of the land, the noblest in birth, the greatest in wealth, the most exalted in talents, supposed to be honoured by bearing the title of his 'servants'?—why is so large, and, to the superficial observer, so extravagant an expense incurred for the maintenance of his dignity?—why is his person fenced round and guarded with so many courtly forms, and with such reverential care?—why is a moral impossibility converted, in his favour, into an axiom of the constitution, *that he can do no wrong*?—why are the title of *Sacred Majesty*, and the service of the bended knee, (almost too solemn for humanity,) dedicated to him?—why are the prayers of the nation put up in his behalf, on every occasion of public worship, with such earnest reiteration?—why, in short, are his person, his character, and his office impressed with the marks of little less than sanctity, and environed with an awful respect little short of devotion?

We answer—for two main objects (if, indeed, they do not resolve themselves into one)—the first is, to enable, by such adventitious aids, the *moral power* of the appointed *guardian* of a frame of society in which honour and riches are unequally distributed, to counterbalance that *physical force* which has a tendency to level such inequalities, and to obliterate such distinctions; and, secondly, to place the monarch above the temptation and beyond the reach of popular impulses. Popular applause is a draught so sweet, yet so intoxicating—so powerful, and yet so evanescent, that he who should habitually drink of it would become incapable of maintaining that steadiness, that discretion, and that high, cool, and, as it were, *providential* dignity which constitutes the essence of the royal office. The constitution has wisely invested that office with the distribution of all grace and favour, well knowing that it needs it all to counterbalance and soften the innate and inevitable severity of magisterial authority. Society at large is grateful for the discipline by which it is maintained; but no magistrate, whether the chief or his subordinates, can hope to be *what is called* popular, while he duly exercises the penal and preventive duties of his station.

There

There are two sorts of popularity as there are two kinds of reputation—the tinsel favours of the giddy populace, and the solid and permanent esteem and approbation of reasonable men; and they seldom, if ever, exist together. When the brutal instruments of the Cromwellian *Reform* reviled the unhappy Charles, and spat in his sacred face, he meekly observed, that to-morrow they, for six-pence, would treat their then idols with equal indignity. Louis XVI. was a most *popular* monarch as long as he helped his affectionate people to pull his throne to pieces, and to build his own scaffold with the fragments. The sovereign the least *popular*, in the vulgar sense of the word, that ever reigned in England, was one whom every rational man at the time considered, and the united voice of the whole world now confesses to have been one of the best that ever guided the state, King George the Third! With what atrocious calumnies, with what furious seditious, with what personal violence, with how many attempts at assassination, was the life of that not merely blameless, but beneficent and able monarch embittered and endangered! Read the libels of Wilkes—the letters of Junius—the speeches of Fox—the beastly doggrel of Wolcot!—read the trials of Lemaistre, Hatfield, and Despard—turn to the files of newspapers from 1760 to 1810 for a succession of obloquy against his character, and violence against his person, and compare all these horrors with the unanimous approbation and honour which now surround that sacred name!

When the orator of old found himself applauded by the giddy multitude, he exclaimed, ‘What folly have I said?’ When a king finds himself extravagantly popular, he may well inquire whether he has not committed some folly; and if he finds that the popularity is, like all new-born zeal, most violent amongst those who had been hitherto the bitter opponents and revilers of everything royal, he may not unwisely suspect that he has unintentionally done something derogatory or injurious to the royal authority.

The constitutional axiom, that the *king can do no wrong*, must not be too literally interpreted, or it might be wrested to prove that the king can do no right—that he must be a mere gilded puppet in the hands of any ministers who happen by any accident to have gotten hold of power.

The king of England is not a mere pageant—he has, to be sure, no official power of either *speech* or *action*, but through the organs of his ministers; but he has *deliberative* duties, and a power of decision essentially independent of them, and to be exercised not only apart from, but sometimes *against*, them. No advice of ministers ought to overbear the royal conscience—no human power should impel a king to injustice or self-destruction. Charles the First should have died rather than sign the bills for attainting Strafford, and perpetuating the Long Parliament. When King George

the

the Third dismissed the Coalition cabinet, which, by the infamous union of two parties whose anterior life had been passed in mutual hostility, hoped to bully the prince and delude the people;—when, we say, George the Third dismissed those venal Whigs and turncoat Tories, he exercised a deliberative judgment which the sound part of the nation approved, and which the suffrage of every impartial historian justifies. ‘The king can do no wrong’—but he is bound to see that no wrong be done in his name, or *by* his name;—he is not to permit himself to be made the tool of a party, nor the sanctity of his character and person to be profaned by the intrigues of ministers and the clamour of mobs. To ministers, as long as they are so, he owes the frankest and most cordial official support; but his public dignity and his personal ease both require that it should never assume a private and individual character. We have read with great pain some indecorous anecdotes which, for the paltry object of election excitement, have been circulated of our present Sovereign’s conduct on the occasion of the late dissolution;—as, when some supposed delay occurred in getting ready on the sudden the royal carriages which were to convey his Majesty to parliament, he is represented to have said he would *go in a hackney-coach*: and again, when the ministerial press attribute to him the act of *placing the crown on his own head*, and exclaiming, ‘this is my coronation day.’ These ill-imagined proofs of the personal zeal of the monarch in the cause of his ministers are, we hope, mere inventions; but that they should have been invented and propagated by those who call themselves the king’s friends, is a *sign of the times* not auspicious to the monarchical character; and, indeed, the latter anecdote received but too much confirmation, from the fact of his Majesty having,—of course by the advice of his ministers—worn the crown on that occasion; though it is a known etiquette,—it is more than an etiquette, it is a constitutional rule,—that the crown is never worn before the coronation. And here we must take the liberty to remark, that the coronation is not, as it is too often treated, an empty pageant; it is a solemn and constitutional compact between the king and his people, in which the latter express their concurrence in the right, and their allegiance to the person of the monarch; while he, on the other hand, receives the crown from the hands of the first of his subjects, and swears before the assembled people to respect and maintain their laws and privileges, and the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the *United Kingdom*. The terms of the coronation oath were settled at the Revolution, and sufficiently explain the importance of the ceremony.

‘*The archbishop or bishop shall say, Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom and the dominions*

nions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?—*The king shall say*, I solemnly promiseso to do.—*Archbishop or bishop*. Will you to the utmost of your power cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in all your judgments?—*King*. I will.—*Archbishop or bishop*. Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?—*King*. All this I promise to do.—*After this the king, laying his hand upon the holy gospels, shall say*, 'The things which I have herebefore promised I will perform and keep: so help me God: and then shall kiss the book.'—Blackstone, vol. i. p. 231.

This *dispensing power*, as to the coronation, with which ministers seem inclined to invest themselves, has been forced upon our attention by having been made a topic of applause by those who are certainly no friends to the monarchy. We have seen in the low print-shops an engraving of *William IV. crowning himself*, with the following legend, meant for rhyme :

'Away with glittering pomp and lavish'd wealth !

The king that loves his people crowns himself.'

The radical reformer who made these lines saw, in the coronation which he deprecates, nothing but a royal pageant; he did not know that the whole ceremony forcibly inculcates the principle that the king derives his crown from the people and reigns by their consent; and is the only opportunity and proper occasion on which the king, in return, pledges himself to the administration of the LAWS in *justice and mercy*, and to the maintenance of the CONSTITUTION in *Church and State*. The *pageant* is an accident, and may be more or less glittering, according to the taste of the prince and the spirit of the times; nay, it may be made as plain and unexpensive as even Mr. Joseph Hume could wish; but the substantial part of it, the acceptance of the crown from the hands of the appointed functionary, and the obligation of the coronation oath, cannot constitutionally be omitted; and should be solemnized on every accession, as early as may be convenient.

From this digression—if, indeed, it be one—we return to the consolatory conclusions deducible from all the preceding observations—the first, that the 'prevailing opinion in favour of Reform' has been not only of rapid, but *sudden* growth, and may therefore be supposed not to have taken root in the deliberative judgment of Englishmen; and the second, that as a ministerial abuse of the royal name and of the royal authority has conduced so largely to the general error, the king—if, better advised, he should see the danger which threatens his own station, and all the institutions of his country—would, even now, find a strong

and powerful disposition in his people to second his *conservative* wishes, and to remit the decision of the question of Reform to more sober times and to less headlong and inconsistent ministers.

We have said, and hope to have made some progress towards showing, that the spirit of Reform has not been of spontaneous and natural growth in the public mind; we shall now proceed to show that it is the result of *party manœuvres*; and we shall endeavour to trace the steps by which this innovating party, which but a few years ago was so notoriously weak, has become all at once so influential, or, as they themselves would have us believe, omnipotent.

Many persons think that the concession of the Catholic question, by affording the example of an *inroad* on the constitution, has mainly contributed to the triumph of Reform. Though there is some truth in this proposition, it is much exaggerated: the concession of that question—among other consequences to which we need not recur—did undoubtedly unsettle men's minds; but it was not so much by its moral consequences as by its direct operation on the *state of the parties* into which public men were divided, that the Catholic question has *practically* influenced *this* question of Reform.

At the period of the Union the 'Tory party,\* in both the Irish and English parliaments, was at the acme of its power; but the then recent rebellion in Ireland, and the influence of a French party in that island, determined Mr. Pitt to attempt the accomplishment of a union between the two countries. To effect this object he thought it indispensable to obtain the support of the Catholics, and this he could only obtain by engaging himself to support their Emancipation, as it was called. The Union was accomplished; but Mr. Pitt found in the king and people of England an insurmountable determination against the Catholic claims. He therefore resigned; but he committed, in his mode of doing so, a great political error, though, perhaps, it was, in the then state of Europe, pardonable;—he resigned amicably and partially as it were, and left behind a portion of his own friends to be his successors. This division of his party weakened and ultimately destroyed it; that fraction which had remained in office was found too weak to conduct the government, and the dangers of the country from abroad became so imminent, that Mr. Pitt felt that he ought to postpone the Catholic question to more tranquil times, and return to office under a compromise

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\* We are aware that many distinguished persons, such as the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, &c., who joined Mr. Pitt on the breaking out of the French revolution, nay, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville themselves, were not professed Tories, but as they all opposed the Whigs, and formed the conservative party, we talk of them in common parlance as Tories; and, in fact, they did unite and act on the principles of an enlightened Toryism.

not to press the obnoxious topic during the life of George III., and without the co-operation of some of the most considerable of those who had accompanied him in his resignation. His accession to power, on this arrangement, again broke up his party into three distinct classes, which, as is always the case, soon became more odious to each other than their late antagonists had been: these parties were, Mr. Pitt's own—Mr. Addington's, which Mr. Pitt turned out—and Lord Grenville's, who had gone out with him, but whom he would not or could not bring back. This was the first, and perhaps the severest blow that the great Tory party ever received, and produced early inconvenience and remote mischief. Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Windham, fell back into the Whig connexion, and soon equalled the old Whigs in the vehemence of their hostility. Mr. Addington and his friends, less violent, but not less hostile, fell also into the line of opposition; and on Mr. Pitt's death in 1806, *his* fraction of the Tory party, at the head of which were Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, Mr. Canning and Mr. Perceval, fancied themselves unable to make head against the combination of their old antagonists with their late friends; and a second coalition, which attempted to veil the inconsistency of their union under the title of *All the Talents*, succeeded to power. We are not attempting to trace the *causes* of these changes, but their effects—we might almost say their *numerical* effects, on the state of parties; and we shall therefore only say, that soon after Mr. Fox's death, to whom, as leader of the Whig portion of the ministry, the present Lord Grey succeeded, *All the Talents* were turned out; Mr. Pitt's friends formed a new administration under the Duke of Portland, and exhibited, after a general election, a degree of strength and power which proved how essentially tory the opinion of the country really was; but that strength was not of long duration—the Duke of Portland died—Mr. Canning became jealous of Lord Castlereagh, and both, with their personal friends, went out of office, leaving Mr. Perceval, with hardly a remnant of Mr. Pitt's official friends, at the head of affairs in the most difficult and important crisis that ever occurred. The very difficulty of the crisis saved that ministry—the king and the country were satisfied with the minister's boldness and ability, and invested him with their confidence. Mr. Canning, though sore from his recent fall, was not hostile, and Lord Castlereagh was friendly. The Sidmouth party, too, soon showed symptoms of returning to their original principles. But this government, as the three preceding had been, was dissolved by the death of the minister. On Mr. Perceval's assassination, it was for a moment thought that the parties of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey would have united with Mr. Canning, and have formed a govern-

ment on the principle of Catholic concession; but England was sick of coalitions, and very little disposed to Catholic concession, and, after a good deal of hesitation, Lord Liverpool was placed at the head of the government. By the astonishing success with which the Duke of Wellington's series of victories crowned his administration, and by his own cautious and temporising management of men's personal interests and feelings, Lord Liverpool eventually succeeded in uniting once more the fragments of the Tory party—the old Pittites—the Castlereaghs—the Cannings—the Sidmouths—some of the Grenvilles—with the splendid accession of the Duke of Wellington, and the important addition of Sir Robert Peel, and the younger politicians of the Perceval school.

This Cabinet was, notwithstanding some private jealousies and personal ambitions, tolerably well united on all great points of foreign and domestic policy, except the Catholic question—that, indeed, remained a cause of present uneasiness, and a source of future discord. In vain was it made what was called an *open* question on which all the members of the government spoke and voted as they pleased. The subject was incidentally introduced into every debate, and the Opposition, seeing the embarrassment it caused, took care to bring it to one or two solemn hearings in every session; and then was exhibited the intolerable anomaly of a portion of the Cabinet speaking, with a degree of zeal that sometimes sounded like asperity, against the other, and voting in frequent divisions with the violent opposers of the general measures of their own administration. The legislature itself was divided in the same way; the Commons were for the question by a small majority—the Lords decidedly against it. It was clear that a Cabinet which was becoming every hour more discordant on a question so important, of such extensive ramifications, and so perseveringly forced upon them, could not be long kept together, and the disease which struck down Lord Liverpool only anticipated the dissolution of his government by its own internal differences on the Catholic question.

Then came another great schism. Mr. Canning, who (since Lord Castlereagh's death) had led in public the House of Commons, and in the Cabinet had had the greatest, if not influence, at least power, over Lord Liverpool, naturally presented himself as his Lordship's successor. In his successive intervals of semi-opposition, he had so entangled himself with Catholic emancipation, that he was now considered as the leader of that cause; and the majority of his colleagues under Lord Liverpool, who were of the contrary opinion, thought that they could not with comfort, and hardly with honour, continue in office under a head so devoted to a measure of internal policy which they looked upon with so much suspicion and alarm. The king, though

though personally fond of Mr. Canning, was also hostile to the Catholic claims; and Mr. Canning was obliged to enter into an engagement with his majesty, that they should not be pressed upon him. On this engagement Mr. Canning became first minister, and seven of Lord Liverpool's cabinet, and a large portion of the subordinate ministers, immediately resigned. It was, at the time, the opinion of many public men, and of no inconsiderable part of the public itself, that these resignations were unnecessary—that the seceders ought to have been contented with the same conditions which had satisfied the king—and should, by continuing to act with Mr. Canning on the system of Lord Liverpool, have preserved the unity of the Tory party. This opinion grew stronger when it was seen within how short a period the seceders became converts to the very question upon which they had separated themselves from Mr. Canning. *We*, however, are not *now*, whatever we may have been, of that opinion; we lament deeply the consequences of that schism, but we are now convinced it was inevitable. The great body of the Tories were more suspicious of Mr. Canning even than their leaders were; and if the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had, in the vain hope of keeping the party together, consented to go on with Mr. Canning, they would not have carried their party with them; nor is it probable that such a union would have lasted out even the session in which it was formed—the seeds of dissolution would have been in it—the Tory leaders might have sacrificed, or, at least, risked their own reputation; but in a few months, and, perhaps, in a few weeks, the separation must have at last taken place. If it was to happen, it probably was better that it should happen when it did.

But we have heard of another circumstance of a very peculiar character which is said to have confirmed the Tory leaders in the course which, on general principles, they were disposed to adopt. While the discussions of Mr. Canning's claims to be placed at the head of the government were going on between him and the king, it naturally occurred to his Majesty to inquire as to Mr. Canning's prospects of being able to form an administration if the Protestant Tories were to retire. Mr. Canning, to satisfy the royal mind, then confessed that he had been for some time in communication with the Whigs, *'upon whom he could rely, if the Tories should be obstinate.'* This fact soon came to the knowledge of Mr. Canning's Tory colleagues, and it seemed to them something so like an intrigue, and to afford so little earnest of cordiality and confidence, that, if they had doubted before, they were now determined not to pledge themselves to a leader who had provided, in his sleeve as it were, a weapon, if not of destruction, at least of intimidation. We ourselves believe that more importance was given to this incident than it deserved; for when the resignation of the Protestant

Protestant Tories took place at last, Mr. Canning certainly seemed to use every effort to supply the vacancies without having recourse to the Whigs; and when at last he found that he could not fill the offices without the Whigs, he selected the most moderate of that party, and stipulated with them for such a suspension of the Catholic question as should tranquillize and conciliate the minds of the king and the majority of the people of Great Britain, who were undoubtedly hostile to the Emancipation. But this is a little beside our present purpose—we mean to pursue the course of *facts*, and not of *motives*.

The Tory party was now again broken to pieces, and not, as heretofore, by amicable resignations or partial secessions arising from external circumstances, but violently, from internal differences, and with more of personal alienation than on any former occasion. The Tories who were favourable to the Catholic claims remained with Mr. Canning;—those who were against them retired.\* Nor were those who continued in office quite unanimous and cordial in the line which their common opinions on the Catholic question had obliged them to adopt. Some of them amalgamated readily with the Whigs, and laid the basis of the coalition ministry which now exists—while others stood aloof, showing, at each successive addition of Whigs, increasing uneasiness, and only tranquillized by seeing or thinking that Mr. Canning was as uneasy as they were.

His death—what a catalogue of deaths this summary has been!—his death brought a new crisis. Lord Goderich—whose principles were, of all those who adhered to Mr. Canning, supposed to be the least inclined to Whigism—was so ill-advised, so tempted by the ambition of being first minister, as to venture on continuing the government on that mixed principle which even Mr. Canning had begun to find he could not manage; and his lordship—as was foreseen by every one, perhaps even by himself—fell in his endeavour to maintain the Tory section of his Cabinet.

The Duke of Wellington succeeded him with the unanimous approbation of the whole nation: even the Whigs were not dissatisfied. Some of the most influential among them were somewhat displeased at not having been brought into power by Mr. Canning or Lord Goderich; and those who had been, were not altogether satisfied with the position in which they found themselves. The accession of the Duke of Wellington reunited them as a substantive party; they called themselves—with a *grata protervitas*—‘*His Majesty’s Opposition*,’ and exhibited strong hopes of obtaining office by some future combination, in a more respectable or, at least, a better defined position than they had lately occupied. The Tories were also rejoiced at the prospect of a similar

\* There were one or two exceptions, not worth mentioning in so rapid a summary as this.

reunion; and the Duke of Wellington, with great skill and moderation, contrived to combine most of those who had accompanied him in his resignation with that portion of the Tories who had remained with Mr. Canning. This reunion, however, was not as complete as might have been desired; Lord Goderich and Mr. Wyndham, Lords Eldon and Westmoreland, were not included in the new arrangement; and the absence of the two latter peers, who had belonged to Mr. Pitt's cabinet, was regretted by the high Tory party. Notwithstanding this, at first sight no ministry could look stronger; the confidence in the Duke was universal and unbounded; and he was seconded by men who stood deservedly high in public opinion for integrity, sound principles, parliamentary talents, and official habits. But the seeds of disunion existed, and sooner or later must have grown to disastrous fruit. So much division and exasperation—so many jealousies and suspicions, had been necessarily produced by the shifts and changes of the preceding years, that it required the conciliatory hand of time to produce entire cordiality. There remained also some questions of foreign and domestic policy on which several members of the new cabinet had, in various positions, taken different views; and there was the great rock of the Catholic question, upon which it was easily foreseen that the ministry must be eventually driven and wrecked. These differences soon showed themselves in Mr. Huskisson's speech at Liverpool, and in some explanations in both houses of parliament relative to Lord Goderich's nomination of Mr. Herries to be his Chancellor of the Exchequer; but they would perhaps have blown over, but for a difficulty which is said to have arisen in the cabinet about the Corn Bill. The Duke of Wellington, after his resignation, had defeated Mr. Canning's, or rather, Mr. Huskisson's Corn Bill, and substituted a temporary measure of his own. It was now necessary to make a definitive arrangement. This was not easy, considering how recent the difference had been; but it was arranged by the good sense and moderation of both the parties to the discussion. The scheme in which the cabinet unanimously concurred was to be introduced by Mr. Charles Grant. As, however, the time approached, that gentleman, from some scruples—honourable, no doubt, to his own delicacy—hesitated, objected, and finally declined to do so. Mr. Huskisson (and we believe his other more immediate friends in the cabinet) used every effort to persuade him of the unreasonableness of those scruples, but in vain; Mr. Grant said he would resign rather than propose the intended scale. This placed Mr. Huskisson in a position which he thought a very difficult one. He had been much and bitterly censured by Mr. Canning's family and immediate friends for his union with the Duke of Wellington;

Wellington; and he felt that if Mr. Grant were to resign on account of an attachment to Mr. Canning's Corn Bill, of which he (Mr. Huskisson) was himself the real author, his continuance in office would afford an occasion for more obloquy of the same kind; and, therefore, though he expressed his dissent from Mr. Grant's reasons, he nevertheless intimated his intention of resigning with him, if he should be so ill-advised as to push the affair to that extremity; and it was understood that Lords Dudley, Palmerston, and Melbourne, would (as they did on a subsequent occasion) have followed Mr. Huskisson. The matter was, however, by Mr. Huskisson's conciliatory influence, arranged. Mr. Grant's doubts were satisfied: he proposed the scheme of the cabinet, and to the public all looked smooth and sound; but it was not so. The majority of the cabinet were surprised and alarmed to find that there was a party—a *clique*, as it were—amongst them, who seemed bound to *act together*, or *resign together*, at the will, however unreasonable or personal it might be, of any one of their members. Had Mr. Huskisson and his friends *participated* in Mr. Grant's scruples, and *for that reason* offered to resign with him, it could have excited no sentiment but regret; but the confession of being so bound together as not to be at liberty to resist even what they might individually disapprove, impaired all confidence and cordiality to a degree that rendered the existence of a Cabinet, thus dependent on the caprice of any one individual, worse than precarious.

Then came the division on the East Retford question; in which, again, there appeared something like a combination of one portion of the cabinet to act together, whether *right or wrong*; for Mr. Huskisson, having been forced by circumstances, *purely accidental and personal*, to vote against what had been his original intention, Lord Palmerston, and we believe the other gentlemen of that connexion, to whom the personal circumstances did not apply, also changed their proposed course, and voted against the ministerial leader of the House of Commons. Even this however would probably not have led to the changes which took place, but for the hurry, and what we may call the indiscretion of Mr. Huskisson's midnight resignation; but the previous circumstances relative to the Corn Bill seem to have had the effect of inducing the Duke of Wellington to consider that resignation as a more pre-meditated step, and to hold Mr. Huskisson to it with more tenacity than he probably would have done in other circumstances.

It has been the fashion of late, to reproach the Duke of Wellington's government with its conduct in the East Retford case, as a main cause of the present state of things; 'because,' it is said, 'the refusal of him and his friends to agree to a step of reform so small, so easy, so just, and so safe, lost him the co-operation of Mr.

Huskisson's

Huskisson's party, and the confidence of the country.' This proposition we think we can show to be wholly unfounded. We lament the turn that question took, and admit that it had very injurious consequences, but its *direct* influence on the Reform question, which has *since* grown up, has been greatly exaggerated.

Even though the East Retford case had never happened, or even though it had been decided in a different way, there occurred subsequently other events, as we shall by and by show, which would inevitably have brought us to the present crisis; which, we repeat, has been produced by the *state of parties*, and not by any general desire for Reform in the public mind. *It was the state of parties which waked the spirit of Reform, and not Reform which created the state of parties*; and it was only as the Retford question happened to operate on the *state of parties*, that it had any *immediate effect* on the question of *Reform*. This point, so important both for present consideration and for future history, has been so much misunderstood, and is so constantly misrepresented, that we are desirous of developing and explaining the reasons of our opinion.

In the first place it is to be observed, that nothing can be more flagrantly FALSE, than the assertion, that the Duke of Wellington's cabinet refused to transfer the franchise of delinquent boroughs to large towns; on the contrary, it had adopted and acted on that very principle. Already, in the year 1821, had the government, after some hesitation and much consideration, consented to that course; and when Grampound was disfranchised, the bill as passed in the House of Commons very judiciously transferred the franchise to *Leeds*.—That arrangement was altered in the Lords, and the two members were given to Yorkshire—a very unwise step, because, although it did in practice give additional representatives to Leeds, and the other great towns in Yorkshire, yet it did it in an indirect, unsatisfactory, and anomalous way—it altered the balance of the House of Commons, by transferring a *borough* franchise to a *county*, and it introduced a principle of increasing county members in proportion to population, which if pursued, even to a plausible extent, would have dislocated the whole system of representation. This unfortunate change was reluctantly acquiesced in by many of the ministers *rather than lose the bill altogether*, and was supported by many who are now, we believe, zealous reformers.

When the cases of Penryn and East Retford occurred in 1828—for be it never forgotten that they were *simultaneous*—the majority of the members of the administration were inclined to support the bills for transferring the franchise to the two great towns of Manchester and Birmingham; but it was found that many country gentlemen in the House of Commons, and a great majority

rity in the House of Lords, looking on these small boroughs as being (as *in practice* they really were) a part of the landed interest, were reluctant to transfer four members at once to the manufacturing interest; and there was reason to apprehend that by attempting so much, *both bills* might be lost, and the corruption both of Penryn and Retford might thus escape unpunished and uncorrected.

It was *therefore* suggested as a compromise, that one of the franchises should be given to a great town, and the other thrown into the adjoining hundred; and by this agreement it was hoped, and *understood*, that the consent of the landed interest and the House of Lords would be secured to *both bills*. This once settled, it was not difficult to decide which of Penryn or East Retford was to be totally disfranchised, and which only merged in the hundred. Penryn had been three successive times convicted. This was the first offence of Retford. Justice, then, seemed to point out Penryn as the proper object of the severer punishment of disfranchisement. Again; Penryn is situated in Cornwall, which happens to have a large proportion of members, and in a hundred of that shire which contains at least one other borough; while, on the other hand, Retford is situated in Nottinghamshire, which happens to have a small proportion of members, and in a hundred which had a large unrepresented population. It was therefore obvious, that it would be a farce to extend the franchise of Penryn to the surrounding hundred; and thus both justice and policy seemed to concur in marking Penryn for disfranchisement, and Retford for extension to the hundred. *We* certainly, at the time and ever since, have individually wished that the landed interest and the Lords had not been so indisposed to the transfer of *both* franchises to great towns; but it cannot be denied that, by purchasing, at the price of this compromise, the *admission of the principle of transfer*, an important step was gained; and, as it had always been—up to Lord Grey's ministry—the wise policy of English statesmen to make political changes as gradual and as conciliatory as possible, the friends of the *progressive transfer* of the franchise of delinquent boroughs to great towns thought that they had made no small progress towards that desirable object. So far, then, the Duke of Wellington's government had established a principle of moderate and rational Reform.

The bill transferring the franchise of Penryn to Manchester passed the Commons immediately, for all parties concurred in it. That for transferring the East Retford members to Birmingham was amended by Mr. Nicolson Calvert, a leading country gentleman, member for Hertfordshire, *then a Whig, and now a Reformer*; and his amendment was, for the one simple reason we have stated—namely, to secure the passing of the Manchester bill—supported by the  
Government.

Government. In all the changes and chances of this extraordinary crisis, none seems to us to be so wonderful, so unaccountable, as that the very respectable member who brought in the amended bill which deprived *Birmingham* of two members, should be now found one of the foremost in the ranks of those who attribute the necessity for the present violent Reform to the folly and wickedness of that very amendment. If the East Retford amendment bill has had any share in bringing us into this crisis, who is responsible in a higher degree than Mr. Nicolson Calvert? and yet he is a Reformer!

When the Penryn bill got into the Upper House, the case, as is the practice there, was subjected to a minute and solemn trial of the alleged corruption; and it soon appeared very doubtful whether the case could be so satisfactorily made out, as to enable the Lords, as a *court of justice*, to inflict upon that borough the intended punishment of disfranchisement. This was a matter over which no political considerations had any control; it might have happened (and indeed was very near afterwards happening) in the case of Retford; the evidence did not support the charges, a verdict cannot be found without evidence, and it became every day more doubtful whether the Lords *could* pass that bill.

Such was the state of these cases, and such the views upon which the Duke of Wellington's cabinet was *unanimously* acting in May, 1828, when a trivial incident—a mere verbal slip—destroyed that unanimity, and led to the resignation of Mr. Huskisson and his friends.

That gentleman, in one of the earlier discussions on these cases, had, in defending the course of the government and the *compromise* as to the two bills, said that 'if there had been *but one borough to be disposed of*, he would have given its franchise to a great town.' When it became all but certain that the Lords could not pass the Penryn bill, Mr. Huskisson was reminded in debate of this *pledge*, as it was called, and summoned to redeem it. In truth it was no pledge at all, but only an argument, and Mr. Huskisson might have said, (as other members, not less friendly than he to the representation of the great towns, did say,) that 'if there had been *originally* only one franchise to be disposed of, he would have preferred the transfer to a great town; but that having acceded to the compromise, good faith required that it should be maintained; that the Penryn case was not yet decided, and although it was very likely, perhaps certain, to fail, it was not pretended that its failure was owing to any *mala fides*, but simply to a defect of evidence which neither party to the compromise had contemplated, and which no one could guard against.' It is quite clear that, under such circumstances, Mr. Huskisson needed not, indeed ought not, to have altered his course; or, if he, by an over delicacy, had felt himself bound by the casual expression attributed to him,  
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he need not have resigned so hastily, when the vote which he actually gave was only for an adjournment of the question; still less ought any other minister, who was not in the same verbal difficulty, to have resigned; and we never can sufficiently regret that the persons who intervened between the Duke and Mr. Huskisson managed the matter so awkwardly as it seems to us they did. But much as we did and do regret all this transaction, it is clear that it had no real connexion with the general question of Reform; for the Cabinet were unanimous on the measures to be taken, and we believe we may assert, that Mr. Huskisson did not differ from Sir Robert Peel in any part or point of the transaction, till the vote on the night of the 3d of June for the adjournment of the question; and we further believe, that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington would have been as glad as Lord Palmerston or Mr. Charles Grant, that the franchise of Penryn had been transferred to Manchester!

It is, therefore, the *fact* of the resignation of that party, and not the *motive* of the resignation, which has influenced the present state of affairs. If they had resigned, as they intended, some months sooner, on the Corn question, the event would, most undoubtedly, have been the same—a union between them and the Whigs; and if the *verbal difficulty* about East Retford had not occurred, it is but too probable, from the temper which that case and the Corn question proved to have existed in the cabinet, that some other more important question must too soon have led to a similar result.

But Mr. Huskisson and his friends might have joined the Whigs, and increased the strength of the Opposition, without materially affecting the stability of the ministry, and without at all endangering the constitution. These gentlemen had ceased to be popular with the landed interest, and were (justly or unjustly) looked upon with no favourable eye by the Tories in general; and although their secession was a serious amputation of a useful limb, it was by no means an operation which threatened dissolution; but then came the great event which alone would have endangered any government, and which, in the then state of parties, decided the fate of the Tories. Of course we mean the concession of the Catholic claims. Of the policy of this measure it is not here our business to speak, but its immediate effect was to dissolve the Tory party. Already weakened by the retirement of those who called themselves Liberal Tories, it was now irreparably mutilated by the hostile secession of those who were denominated Ultra-Tories. These, indignant at being abandoned by the leaders in whom they had so long and so implicitly confided, threw themselves, with all the blind temerity of revenge, into the arms of their deadliest foes. The Liberal seceders soon  
grew

grew into secret but close union with the Whigs; the Ultras, without, we believe, any secret understanding, were willing to unite with Whig, Liberal, or Radical, in *any* measure of hostility to the administration; and this line of conduct they pursued with a degree of acrimony which no bystander could have foreseen, and with a fatal and suicidal success of which they themselves have been the first victims, and for which, as all the world knows, they are now, on public grounds, among the sincerest mourners.\* We beg not to be supposed here to censure or blame the motives or conduct of these gentlemen; we only narrate the facts, and lament the consequences which we do them the full justice of believing that none of them could have anticipated. Thus, then, that great and powerful party in both houses of parliament, which, in January, 1828, was united in principles, in views, in public policy and private friendship, was, by two successive amputations, dismembered of nearly two-thirds of its strength; for the Liberals, though numerically few, carried away a great proportion of parliamentary talents and official expertness, and the Ultras were considerable for their number, and still more so for their personal respectability.

The first symptom of the danger of the government from this formidable combination of Whigs, Radicals, Liberals, and Ultras was on the address in February, 1830, when Sir Edward Knatchbull, one of the leaders of the Ultras, proposed an amendment in which the majority of the Whigs concurred, and which would have closed the Duke of Wellington's administration *on that night*, but that a few of the Whigs, and most of the Radicals, (by, as it was surmised, the *friendly advice* of one of the Whig leaders, who thought the fruit not yet quite ripe,) professing to dislike the quarter from which the amendment came, voted with the Government; who, even with this unexpected help, had only a majority of fifty-six, and, without it, might perhaps have been in a minority. It was now evident that ministers were *in misericordiâ*—at the mercy of their opponents whenever a question should be found or made, on which they chose to unite: but the parties were not yet sufficiently agreed to be able to find such a question during that session, though some very ingenious and *some very curious* attempts were made towards that object. And here it is important to observe, that in all this period of intrigue and manœuvring, and during all this discussion about Manchester and Peuryn, and East Retford and Birmingham, not a single Reform petition was presented, nor was the question of *Reform* sufficiently popular, either in the House or the country, to be selected as a field for the great

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\* It is very remarkable that the leaders of this party should have been such peculiar and early victims of their own hostility to the late cabinet. Where—and we ask it with the deepest regret—where are Mr. Bankes, Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir Richard Vyvyan, Mr. William Duncombe, General Gascoyne, and so many others of the majority of the 15th November, 1830?

battle which the new coalition was desirous of fighting: one Ultra-Tory, indeed, Lord Blandford, who had openly professed his union with the Radicals, made an attempt of that nature, but this exception only proves the general proposition: for its miserable failure showed that, *at that time*—not a year ago—Reform was anything but the formidable engine which it has since been made.

The general election then took place; and Reform, as a popular electioneering topic, was advocated by some of the Whigs, and more particularly by Mr. Brougham; but (notwithstanding that gentleman's success in Yorkshire) without any considerable sympathy, as we have already stated, on the part of the electors of the empire at large.

On the meeting of Parliament, however, Mr. Brougham, to redeem his pledge to his constituents, and in, it is supposed, a direct concert with the Liberals, (who having by an accident, universally deplored, lost Mr. Huskisson, were obliged, even by that very circumstance, to fall still more cordially into a union with the Whigs,) and not without hopes of assistance from the Ultras, (who were disposed to vote for any question which might displace the ministry,) -- Mr. Brougham, we say, gave notice of a motion for Reform, the details of which, if we may judge from his speeches in Yorkshire, would have been moderate and safe, compared with the plan which Lord John Russell has since proposed; but early as was the day for which Mr. Brougham gave notice of his motion, an earlier occasion presented itself for the desired junction of all the opponents of the ministers; the question of the Civil List happened to come on on the very night before that appointed for Mr. Brougham's reform motion. That question was really as to the *form* of the Civil List—subsequent events have proved that there was no *substance* in it—it was not even a question of economy, as appears from the fact, that the new Civil List does not differ in amount from that originally proposed. The Ultras felt this, and, preferring a question of *form* to one of *Reform*, resolved, at a meeting, to support the Whig motion for a committee on the Civil List. The simplification of the public accounts and economy of public money—and *not parliamentary Reform*—were the popular topics of that so recent period; and the latter question was hardly alluded to in the debate. The discussion was nominally on the Civil List, but the real object was a trial of the strength of the government; which, meeting then, for the first time, the four opposing parties in one body, was signally defeated by a majority of 29, the numbers being—for Sir H. Parnell's motion, 233; against it, 204.

Next day the Duke of Wellington resigned. How could he have done otherwise? After a defeat on a subject so near to the personal feelings of the monarch, and so important to the general interests of the crown—after so strong a proof of the want of confidence

fidence in the House of Commons, and after so strong a censure of their measures, how could a government, thus affronted, persist in clinging to dishonoured office? The fatal consequences which have followed the accession of the Whigs to power induce many sober-minded men to wish that the Duke of Wellington had not resigned. But, in the first place, we ask, did any man in England believe that Lord Grey, who had lately professed a chivalrous attachment to the aristocratical branch of the constitution, could lend himself to a wild scheme of democracy? and who could doubt, that if *some* Reform was really indispensable, *he*—the earliest friend to that measure, but now much sobered by age and reason—was the man who could best guide us to a safe and satisfactory accommodation? Was it not natural to expect, that, with Lord Grey's avowed moderation at the head of the government, fortified by the conservative principles of the late ministry, the question of Reform was likely to be treated in a manner the least dangerous to the permanent interests of the country? But we ask, in the second place, how—even if the Duke of Wellington could have foreseen that the Lord Grey of 1830 was about to surpass in rashness and violence the Mr. Grey of 1793, or that the king could be induced to sanction such extraordinary measures—how, we ask, could his Grace have prevented it? The House of Commons had withdrawn its confidence from him—the vote was understood, on all sides, as decisive of the existence of his administration. The instant the numbers of the division were declared, Mr. Hobhouse rose, and, with coarse exultation, amidst the acclamations of the victors, called on Sir Robert Peel to declare the government dissolved. The fact was apparent and undeniable. If the ministers had been base or mad enough to have attempted to have gone on, the next step, whatever it might be, of public business would have been similarly defeated: for those who had met his Majesty, on his accession, with a censure of the Civil List which he had authorised his ministers to propose, would have still more readily voted any less offensive proposition which might affront the ministers alone.

We need not press this topic further: it is evident that the *state of parties* rendered the Duke's resignation inevitable; and it would have been equally so—all other circumstances being as they were—had the question of Reform never been propounded. The Duke resigned then, on the 16th November, as he must have done on the 5th February preceding, if that portion of the Opposition which voted against Sir Edward Knatchbull's motion had, by voting for it, left the ministers in a minority.

Again; we have heard great stress, and still greater blame, laid on the Duke of Wellington's expression on the first night of the session of the new parliament, that 'he would oppose every degree of  
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parliamentary reform.' But to us it seems that this declaration was not only expedient but absolutely necessary; because, as our readers will recollect, rumours that his Grace and Sir Robert Peel had become converts to Parliamentary Reform, and were even preparing a measure to that effect, had been industriously propagated, and had already produced some degree of uneasiness. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to contradict such a suspicion; and it became the Duke of Wellington's station and character to express his opinion on so vital a question on the first occasion and in the clearest manner. We are told that a more expert political tactician—a more practised debater—would have softened or diluted the expression; and veiled his opinion in a cautious ambiguity of words. Such arts may suit little men; but they are not for the Duke of Wellington! Believing—as appeared from the general course of his argument—that any change in the general system of our representation, however small in appearance, would eventually, and perhaps immediately, involve larger and most dangerous *consequences*, would it have been honest to excite expectations that he never could hope to realise? and would it have been wise to suggest, contrary to his opinion—and to all experience, that Reform, once begun, as a concession to popular clamour, could have been stopped in its career? If the Duke of Wellington had been guilty of any such absurd insincerity, he would have degraded himself, without postponing, even for a year, the peril of the country; nay, the very admission on *his* part that some *safe* and *useful* general *system* of Reform was *possible*, would have weakened the hopes and courage of the friends of the existing constitution. But, in fact, this celebrated declaration had no *real* effect whatsoever on the subsequent events. It became a *pretence*, but never was a *motive*. Had his Grace never said a syllable on the subject, or had he even used ambiguous language, the combination of the Whigs, Radicals, Liberals, and Ultras, which *was arranged before Parliament met*, would have equally displayed itself on the Civil List question; and perhaps in still greater force; for the majority might probably have been swelled by other members, whom any doubt as to his Grace's sentiments on Reform would have rendered hostile to his administration. Honesty was here, as it always is, the best policy. The late ministers have *now* nothing to reproach themselves with; but had they, by double dealing, evasion, or equivocation, encouraged the frenzy for Reform, they would have been accomplices in the ruin which now threatens all the institutions of the empire.

But that it was not the strength of the *reforming* party in the House of Commons which overthrew the Wellington administration, if not already sufficiently proved, is demonstrated and placed beyond all doubt by the single fact, that his successors, in order to  
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execute their plan of Reform, were obliged to *dissolve that very House of Commons*. To this there can be no reply; and thus we leave that part and period of the question.

Well; the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues resigned; and Lord Grey, with the assistance of the Liberals, (who had, indeed, the lion's share of the spoil,) formed an administration, respectable both in names and talents—noblemen and gentlemen of high rank and great stake in the country, and many of them pledged by the whole course of their lives, as well as by recent and reiterated declarations, to the maintenance of the existing constitution. With such a ministry,—controlled where necessary, and aided where expedient, by such an Opposition as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were at the head of,—there seemed nothing serious to apprehend for the permanent interests of the nation. The new ministers, indeed, shortly found, that it was easier to find fault than to avoid blame—to manœuvre an Opposition than to conduct a government. Their inexperience and incapacity became the subject of public dissatisfaction and general ridicule, and they soon saw that they had not the confidence of the very House whose recent vote had transferred to them the seals of office.

Tel brille au second rang qui s'éclipse au premier;

The public saw, with less surprise than alarm, that the giants of Opposition became dwarfs in office; and from many small circumstances, but above all, from Lord Althorp's *tricolor* speech, men began to feel very apprehensive of the combined weakness and rashness of the new Government—but it was not till Lord John Russell's opening speech on the 14th of February that any man in England, out of the Cabinet, imagined that the ministers of the Monarch could have ventured to propose a plan of Reform, so violent, so unjust, and so *boundless*, as that which was then so coolly, glibly, and smirkingly detailed. No one had believed it possible, that Lord Grey should have forgotten his recent declarations of attachment to his *order*, and his still more recent professions of a moderate and conservative policy. No one suspected that Lord Lansdowne, a sensible and moderate man, who had so lately joined Mr. Canning—the greatest and most powerful enemy of all Reform—and, above all, no one insulted those who professed peculiar veneration for Mr. Canning's person and principles—Lords Palmerston, Anglesey, Melbourne, and Goderich, and Mr. Charles Grant—with a suspicion that all or any of them would be found lending *their* hands to the entire subversion of the constitutional edifice. What wrought so wonderful a change in such men, we cannot venture to decide. Some well-informed persons believe, that the failure of the Budget, and, indeed, of every other measure of the ministers, showed them, that, without some new and powerful

assistance, they could not keep their places, and that they threw themselves into the arms of the radical Reformers in a fit of mere desperation. Others, without altogether rejecting this hypothesis, surmise, that balancing between the necessity of doing something to redeem their opposition pledges, and the danger of commencing a career of reform, they artfully concocted such a plan as, they hoped, could never be carried, calculating that their adversaries would incur the odium of defeating it, while they should have all the honour of proposing, without the risk of carrying it into execution. Others again, more favourable to them, suppose, that, wishing to accomplish *something*, they thought it safest—like diplomatists at a congress—to make large demands at the outset, with the intention of accepting less, by compromise and mutual concession. But the supporters of all these hypotheses agree, that it was not until the ministers found in the country such an unexpected, and to the majority of them *unwelcome*, fury of support, that they began to contemplate the necessity of staking their existence on '*the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.*'

Lord John Russell, indeed, in his last speech, has assigned a motive so absurd and inconsistent, that we suspect he must have been misreported. He is stated to have said, that he introduced a measure so much larger than any of his original visions, because he felt that if he had attempted anything less, his own *principle* would have been too strong for him, and the people would have gone on insisting on larger concessions. If Lord John Russell really assigned this reason, it establishes the fact—a very probable one—that the ministers were driven, by the very storm they had raised, to a course much wider than they were originally inclined to adopt. But if this was their motive, why have they not gone still further?—Do they hope that their measure will quiet the minds of men and close the question for ever?—Do they believe that, on their own principles, the 30,000 inhabitants of Bolton will be satisfied with *one* member, while the 4005 of Malton are favoured with *two*? If they do, they are mad as well as mischievous!

'Tis the time's plague, when madmen lead the blind.

But we will not stop to discuss their motives—nor is it necessary to our present purpose, as we rest our argument on acknowledged *facts*, and not on disputable inferences.

We have already stated the principal causes of the success of the ministers in the late elections, namely, the activity of the old republican sectarians and the new republican levellers, and, above all, the sight, unexampled in the history of mankind (for the main errors of the unhappy Charles, and still more unhappy Louis, were *passive*), of a government heading and exasperating the populace against the very system by which they were created, and of which they were considered the guardians. Nothing but  
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this, and the abuse of the royal name, and the exertion *in proclivum* of all the influence intended by the constitution to act *in adversum*, could have disordered to such a degree the imagination of a people who had hitherto looked with reverence to their ancient constitution, and who were enjoying under its operation and influence the highest national glory and the most abundant national prosperity that had ever blessed any people on the earth.

There were, however, some auxiliary causes which may be usefully noted, because it will be seen that their support of *the Bill* was partial, and is likely to be transient:—

1. The divisions of parties in the House of Commons were accompanied (as generally happens—and this is another argument against the Reformers) by similar divisions in the country. Many Tories had, like Lord Blandford, become radical Reformers from disgust and vexation; and, while they thought Reform at a distance, had talked language which they were ashamed to revoke at the sudden and unwelcome appearance of the monster itself: this class are even now far advanced towards convalescence, and already regret, deeply and bitterly, the countenance which they were induced to lend to what they—we hope, not too late—see to be a Revolutionary faction.

2. The almost unanimous and wholly unprecedented violence of the newspapers, and the frightful system of riots and burnings which had, during the last autumn and winter, afflicted half the country and alarmed the whole, operated, to a considerable degree, on the minds of the classes to which such influences address themselves; and the ranks of the Reformers were swelled by all those in whom the organs of reason are but weak, and those of fear very strong—the thoughtless and the timid—a numerous body, which is, in all cases and times, the ready subject of panic and perversion, and which, on this occasion, prostrated itself before the Juggernaut of Reform with the same short-sighted pusillanimity that Mr. Windham (alas for Mr. Windham!) prophesied they would have exhibited on the invasion of the military despotism of Buonaparte.

3. A considerable class, whom we distinguish from the *merely* timid and thoughtless, are persons of honest but narrow views, and who, good easy men, would willingly *do something* towards satisfying public opinion, but not at all agreeing what that *something* should be. Some of these worthy persons have heard that Old Sarum is an uninhabited portion of Salisbury Plain, and therefore see no objection to abandon its grassy mound to the subversive plough of the Reformers; but, (not knowing that the cases are identical in principle,) they would pause before they gave up the respectable towns of Westbury or Midhurst. Another, better informed, ‘knows that these *burgage* *tenures* are older than the monarchy, and coeval with the first rude attempts at a House

of Commons—that they have in process of time adapted themselves to the present complicated state of society, and are in practice neither unfit nor inconvenient, but, on the contrary, useful and almost necessary representatives of property which could not be otherwise represented ; and whatever else may be said against them, *they* are at least free from that demoralizing *bribery and corruption* of which the Reformers so loudly complain.’ But, such advocates for burgage tenures ‘cannot say as much in behalf of the *corporations*, which represent, say they, nothing but usurpation, corruption, and perjury.’ A neighbour, however, who happens to know something of a corporation, ‘explains that corporations are not necessarily the tools of some great man—that mayors, aldermen, and freemen, have their own interests and feelings, and are in constant contact with the interests and feelings of the inhabitants of their town, of whom they are the organs and representatives, and on which they collectively have conferred many private and public benefits, which, as individuals, they never would or could have attempted—that they form a portion of that bond which in this happy country unites the upper to the lower orders in common duties and mutual good offices ; and that, as to *bribery and corruption*, it does so happen that corporations are, in practice, found to be more or less venal exactly in proportion as the right of voting is more or less popular—witness Liverpool and Evesham—and that the *worst corporation* is, in this respect, infinitely more pure than the *most open scot and lot* borough in the kingdom.’

These well-intentioned persons, who would thus amend the constitution by bits, selected according to the fancy, or the interest, or the ignorance of each, have constituted that great—but *rapidly decreasing*—body, which, professing only that *something* should be done, has been artfully enlisted in the support of a Bill which leaves *nothing* unaltered.

4. A small, but, in the late elections, very influential class, were some of the second-class aristocracy, whose whole lives had been passed in abhorrence of radical politics, and who had been in the several counties the steady support of the old interests, but now fancied that if *their* county were to send *four* members elected without expense, they themselves would have a good chance of being included in the happy quaternion. These gentlemen therefore *rattled*, to use a vulgar but expressive phrase ; and the conversion of Sir Thomas or Sir George, whose respectability, good sense, and patriotism had never been doubted, was trumpeted about by their old enemies, the Reformers, with considerable effect ; but this class also is already undecieved—the delusion of personal ambition begins to disperse, and they have seen enough to satisfy them that they will have infinitely less chance of being returned to a reformed parliament than to the present.

5. A still narrower, but yet more influential class, were some members of the late House of Commons themselves, who, intimidated by the violence or the expense of the contests with which they were threatened, either resigned without a struggle; or, what was worse, attempted to deprecate defeat by professing a reluctant and ungracious conversion to some degree of Reform. To many of those who thus retired from the storm, no blame can be imputed—the result of the contests in other places seems to justify their prudence: at the same time it must be observed, that every seat thus abandoned gave a double advantage to the opposite party—it was not merely a victory, but it set at liberty the means of obtaining other victories. We happen to know a case in which a large sum of money, appropriated for a particular contest, was, on that contest being too hastily abandoned, transferred to a neighbouring county, where it created a contest that would otherwise not have been thought of. But for those who endeavoured to retain their seats by abandoning the principles which had seated them,

*Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas,*

we have little excuse and less pity. We are well aware how difficult and perplexing their circumstances were; but it would have been infinitely more honourable to have retired at once, than to have involved themselves in the unnatural alliance which they were induced to attempt. Many of them lost their seats; but that is of little public importance, in comparison with the mischief they did by lending to the cause of Reform the appearance of their support and the shadow of their authority.

6. The last and most powerful of the secondary causes which we shall notice is—*intimidation*; and, where terror was not powerful enough, *actual violence*, carried, in some instances, even to fatal extremities.

We need not enter into details upon this point, they have been within the personal knowledge of every man who has witnessed any of the contests; but we must advert to two circumstances pregnant with important considerations—first, these riots were distinguished from all former election tumults by the pretence of being raised in favour of *the King* and his ministers, and by the hope of impunity and by the consequent audacity which such a pretence generated. Heretofore a salutary dread of penal consequences had in some degree checked and moderated such violences; on this occasion, the very reverse of any such *dread* seems to have been felt. It would be improper to allude to cases which may probably become the subjects of legal investigation, but of the spirit in which such matters were conducted, we can give an innocent but very pregnant instance by stating, that we saw the *Royal Standard of England*—never before, that we ever heard of, used, except on some *royal* occasion—carried before

before Sir Francis Burdett, while his band at once delighted and astonished Covent Garden by playing ‘*God save the King.*’ The other circumstance is quite as extraordinary. The newspaper press, generally so greedy of scuffles, accidents, mainings, and murders, became, on the sudden, so much improved in taste and so delicate in their choice of subjects, that all these brutal and flagitious violences, which, in other days, *magno optaverint emptum*,—they would have eagerly sought, gladly paid for, and elaborately detailed, were either wholly suppressed in *impartial* silence, or, when mentioned at all, extenuated as the innocent frolics of a happy people disporting itself in the recovery of its long usurped rights and liberties! and now and then a *Friendly Adviser* added a hint to warn anti-reformists, that if they ventured to persist in opposing the voice of the people, something more serious would assuredly happen, for which *they* (the *sufferers*), and not, as it was in old times, the *perpetrators* of the violences, would be wholly responsible. We beg our readers to comment in their own minds, and according to their own experience, on this apparently trivial, but, in truth, very important fact.

By all these causes, accidents, and arts, a House of Commons has been elected, in which, of the 658 members, about 380 are said to be in favour of the Reform Bill, 250 against it, and the rest have not declared themselves. *Numerically* then the principle of the Bill may be considered as *carried* in the House of Commons; but it is in cases of this kind that it may be truly said that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. The *numerical* force may be counterbalanced by a *moral* force; Whigs and Radicals are fond of quoting instances in which, as they say, minorities in the House have influenced and converted the opinions of the nation. We, too, are ready to admit the possibility of such conversions, and we are much deceived in our hopes if the present crisis will not eventually exhibit the most remarkable and indubitable instance that has ever occurred.

In the first place, against such an Opposition no government in the ordinary progress of *business* could exist a week. Mr. O’Connell, we think it was, who said that he could bring any government to a stand-still with only twenty determined and vigilant assistants—Mr. O’Connell may have exaggerated a little his *twenty-man power*; but against 250, the greatest minister—in the most prosperous times—could not make head—if it be not a solecism to imagine that he could be a great minister, or the times prosperous, when the Opposition were swelled to 250. But of the 380 reckoned upon by the ministers, what is the composition, and on what points can they be united? We are so near the practical solution of this problem, that it would be idle to attempt to prophesy the minutiae of divisions and subdivisions of parties, and of shades and varieties of  
opinion.

opinion. But we may ask generally, granting the whole 380 are for the *principle* of Reform, is it probable that they will be found of one mind on all the parts of the Bill? Its countless absurdities, inconsistencies, and contradictions, and the crying injustice and flagrant partiality of some of its clauses—which, in the new Bill, are only varied to be increased—can never, we hope, unite the assent of 380 British gentlemen, under whatever prepossession and excitement they may have been elected.

It is true that the late ‘appeal to the people,’ which the king has been advised to make, differs essentially, vitally, in the spirit, the manner, and the time in which it was made, from what the constitution understands by that phrase. *Virtual Representation* has been made a term of obloquy, and direct representation is, as every man sees, *mere delegation*. The king appealed to his people for their sentiments on the Reform Bill;—the people at the hustings catechised the several candidates, and bound them, as they thought the king’s wishes required, to support the Reform Bill; which course they are in duty and in honour pledged to follow, whatever change their private opinions may have undergone, or may undergo; such votes his Majesty is advised to consider the voice of his people, and in such votes the ministers profess that the ultimate power and sovereign will of the state is actually vested.

This leads us to the most important of all considerations—how, on the principles thus laid down by ministers, and promulgated in the name of the monarch, is *any* will or wish of the people, that is to say, of the *electors*, to be resisted or even discussed? If the people, even in the present state of the representation, have an *omnipotent* voice, on the subject of Reform—if its mandates are to be obeyed as the final decision of the last resort on a *theoretical* question,—how can it be resisted upon any *practical* question—on the corn laws—on tithes—on a church establishment—on every branch of taxation—on cash payments—on the equitable adjustment—on public credit—on slavery—on the policy of maintaining our eastern and western colonies—on an army—on a navy—on primogeniture\*—on the division of property—on the expediency of maintaining the UNIONS—on the ballot—on universal suffrage—on the utility of an hereditary peerage, and, finally, on the necessity for an hereditary monarch? Every one of these questions has been set afloat on the public mind in the *wake* of REFORM. They

Pursue the triumph and partake the gale!

Every one, except the last, and perhaps the last but one, *may*,

\* Will the reader be pleased to turn to a Letter to Lafayette by ‘General Arthur Condorcet O’Connor,’ which has just issued from the press in London? He will find in it much to amuse, and perhaps something to instruct him. Take one specimen: ‘While the law of primogeniture exists, I defy the English to make a reform in their representation, able to control corruption.’—p. 32,

some certainly will, be brought into discussion this very session. *For this session*, even in the new House of Commons, we have no great fears how the most important of them would be decided ; but in a future assembly directed on *those subjects*, as the present parliament promises to be on *Reform*, that is, by implicit obedience to the voice of the multitude, we tremble to think of what must be the result. It is notorious, that every agitator, speculator, sectarian, infidel, demagogue, republican, and insane enthusiast, whether *Spencean*, *Owenite*, or *St. Simonist*, who wishes for a revolutionary change in any or in all of these tremendous topics, is a hot friend of Reform, chiefly because it must, according to his reasoning, (and the reasoning, as deduced from the principles of the ministers, is undeniable,) lead, by no slow or distant steps, to the accomplishment of the other greater and dearer objects of his revolutionary hopes. How, we ask, is anything to be resisted in the Commons, rejected in the Lords, (we say nothing of the negative of the Throne, that has been '*reformed altogether*,') if, as we are told by the high authority of the *Friendly Adviser*, it is not *competent* to the Lower House, nor *safe* for the Upper, to question the *sic volo sic jubeo* of the people on the Reform Bill?

Be assured, my Lords and Gentlemen, that the votes you are about to give on this Reform Bill, (immense as their immediate importance is) are yet as *nothing* compared with the *consequences* of those votes : *any* increase to the democratic power in the constitution (which has already shown that it has grown out of its old proportion to the other two powers) must inevitably lead, as it goes on increasing, to the gradual weakening, and ultimate extinction, of the aristocratic and monarchical branches of the constitution : but if this democratic operation is to be accelerated into direct and immediate action by the principle—impious in expression, and fatal in import,—'*Vox populi vox Dei*,' the *subversion*—for *revolution* is too mild a term,—will proceed with a rapidity and impetus which will be utterly irresistible ; and leave no-distant posterity to wonder where it was that the high and palmy state of Britain so lately stood, and what has become of that happy, wealthy, brave, free, and religious people, which had enjoyed centuries of repose and glory under its protecting branches.

But we cling to better hopes ; the disunion of parties broke down the government founded on principles of constitutional order, and brought, not into *power*, for they have none,—but into *office*, a set of men, who, through indifference, ignorance, and incapacity—through private pique, personal vanity, and a childish appetite for the vulgar sweets of low popularity, have been led, driven, and betrayed (each man according to his kind), into measures which, if accomplished, will ruin the country, and, whether accomplished or not, will extinguish *them*. Let

Let us hope that their extinction may prevent the national ruin. Let us hope that our lot is not cast in an age and country in which the eloquence of reason is to be of no more avail before the tempestuous violence of the populace, than Demosthenes's exercises on the stormy *Ægean*; let us hope that all the literature of the best-informed people in the world is not to be silenced and suppressed by the rancorous violence of a venal ephemeral press. We fear, indeed, that some few of the ablest writers who, in our day, have discussed this question of Reform, and so eloquently and victoriously exposed and refuted its hollow pretensions and flimsy fallacies,—Sir James Mackintosh, in his *History of England*, published in 1830, as well as in the introduction to his course of Lectures on Public Law, published in 1790; Mr. Jeffrey, in two or three celebrated articles of the *Edinburgh Review*, written, or at least edited, by him; and Lord John Russell, in his *Essay on the Constitution*, and in the celebrated *Aladdin* oration, quoted by Sir Robert Peel, which, though originally a speech, was afterwards *polished* up as an essay, and *rubbed*, to follow its own metaphor, till something like a *genius* appeared;—we fear, we say, that we must not expect that the Commissioner for India, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, or the Paymaster of the Forces, will resign their political offices to maintain the consistency of their literary character. Indeed, from the Whig portion of the present Ministry we entertain no hope, and hardly a wish, of palinode or repentance. From the versatile *Adviser* of the Lords we might expect any thing and every thing, which, after all, is but another form for saying that we can expect nothing. The less intellectual members of the Cabinet, Lord Durham, Lord Grey, the Duke of Richmond, Sir James Graham, and Lord Althorp, are all irrevocably mortgaged too far beyond the extent of their capacities—incapacities we perhaps should have said—to the Reform Bill; and are, moreover, hopeless of making themselves either heard or felt in such a storm as careers around us. But we cannot persuade ourselves—we almost discredit even the evidence of our senses—and, in spite of appearances, we hesitate to believe that Lord Goderich, the disciple of Lord Castlereagh, and the successor of Mr. Canning—that Lord Melbourne, so long the sound and eloquent opponent of even mitigated plans of Reform—that Lord Palmerston, for two-and-twenty years so closely connected with the opponents of reform, and himself so deeply pledged to the same principle—that Mr. Charles and Mr. Robert Grant—brought up, as it were, at the feet of Gamaliel, in a salutary abhorrence of the excesses in politics and the labefaction in morals which are the characteristics of revolution,—that, we say, these statesmen should persist in a course of which the true and formidable character has been manifested by every successive event,  
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and is daily becoming more apparent and more tangible, is what we will not—cannot believe. The events which have occurred in alarming succession since they concurred in the first proposition of Reform, are surely enough to justify them in pausing in so perilous a career. They may be taunted with inconsistency, but their real inconsistency was in being deluded into joining the democratic rout—the true and honourable consistency would be to escape from it now, when they can no longer doubt which way it is going.

Upon the King's future *conduct* we cannot presume to speculate. We have intimated boldly,—because the crisis requires truth—but respectfully, because we duly reverence the monarchical station,—our opinion of the *duties* of the King of England. We are satisfied that his Majesty, in following implicitly the advice of his ministers, conscientiously believes that he fulfils his duty, and his Majesty is unquestionably right in that opinion; but—at the moment when a cabinet should have proposed to his royal father a measure of one-tenth of the danger of this Reform Bill, they would have ceased to be his Majesty's ministers. Again; when on the budget it was demonstrated that the Cabinet had neither the experience of business nor the confidence of the country, they should, according to the usual principles of our constitution, have ceased to rule; and again—when the voice of a parliament, so lately elected by his Majesty's own summons, had expressed its opinion against the Reform Bill, the good old practice of our constitution would have pointed out, that his Majesty, instead of *dissolving the parliament*, should have *dissolved the Cabinet*.

But these occasions not having been taken for the exercise of the King's undoubted right, we confess we contemplate his Majesty's situation with the most dutiful and affectionate regret. We do not see how he can now appear in the character so essential to his office, and so congenial to his feelings, of the protector of his people against a portentous danger. His sacred name has been so liberally abused by every ministerial candidate, that it seems, as it were, identified with *Reform*: and his Majesty appears to us, notwithstanding the fumes of false popularity with which his ministers obscure his eyes and, as we believe, offend his good taste, to be in a situation of perplexing and powerless embarrassment, such as no King of England has experienced since the Revolution.

It is not for us to suggest the means of extrication—that is the duty, above all, of his Majesty's *hereditary counsellors*—but we may be permitted to say that if any new encroachment on the part of the ministers, or if a nearer view of the probable effects of their bill, were to give his Majesty a fair and rational ground for a change of opinion, we have no doubt that  
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the same general and generous patriotism which twice over burst forth to emancipate George the Third from two infamous coalitions, would be ready in the same spirit to respond to the call of William the Fourth; and would show his Majesty how different is that semblance of popularity, with which the radical enemies of the crown mock the 'patron of the Reform Bill,' from that sober but steady, that moderated because rational affection and reverence with which the PEOPLE of England regard the SOVEREIGN GUARDIAN of their constitution in CHURCH AND STATE,—a constitution which alone, of all the political devices of mankind, has been found adequate to combine the necessary power of the monarch with the individual liberty of the subject,—the stability of society with popular rights widely diffused and constantly exercised,—and fixed gradations of rank and riches with an open field to every talent, and a fair career to every ambition! Such is our constitution, such only could it have become, and such only can it be maintained, by that very excellence which the Reform Bill professes to destroy—the nice combination and well-poised balance of all the powers of the state in the House of Commons, where, in fact, the chief powers of the government are exercised, and where the influences of the other two branches of the sovereign legislature are mutually felt, fairly appreciated, and satisfactorily adjusted.

Surely, surely, men cannot be so mad as on the sudden—without any alleged practical evil—without any presumed practical good—to overthrow so ancient and admirable a system, merely because some of its parts look old-fashioned. On this point we are tempted to quote an anecdote, the accuracy of which we can guarantee. During a late contest for a town in the West, a watchmaker in the Reform interest went to canvass a particular friend who was in some other trade, a coachmaker as we recollect. After the watchmaker had explained to his friend the merits of the Reform Bill, the latter replied, 'My good friend, if you had a *clock* which had not only regulated your own family for a century, but which was consulted by the whole neighbourhood—and never equalled by any clockmaker who had tried to copy it; and if one of those who had never been able to imitate it, should advise you to take the old-fashioned machine to pieces, and substitute newer wheels, more modern movements, and the last *Parisian scapement*, what would you say to him? for whatever you would say about mending your good old clock, I say to you about *Reform*.'

'Non meus hic sermo est, sed quæ præcepit Ofellus  
Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minervâ.

We humbly submit to the consideration of the peers, whether the plain good sense of this honest mechanic is not more deserving attention

tention than the flimsy sophisms and impudent threats—‘*les ruses doublées de force*’—of their *Friendly Adviser*. Of that pamphlet there is not a single line addressed to the *judgment* of the Lords ; not a syllable on the imperfections of the present system, nor on the advantages of Reform,—its whole force is menace—its sole argument intimidation. It tells the Lords, ‘ You must pass the bill ; you cannot—dare not, resist the unanimous voice of the king, the House of Commons, *and people* ; you may do it with a good grace or bad—but do it you *shall* ; and, therefore, I *advise* you, as a *friend*, to submit without a struggle.’ This is very like the celebrated recommendation instanced by Dr. Johnson, ‘ of throwing a man out of a window, and *advising* him to *fall soft* !’

If the King and the House of Commons and the people *were* unanimous, it would no doubt influence the wishes of the House of Lords, but it could not absolve their consciences, or excuse them from performing their proper duty ; their negative is given them to be exercised—and indeed can *only* be exercised—when the other two branches agree ; to say that they are never to oppose the united King and Commons is to say that they are never to oppose when their opposition can have any effect ; and that their assent or dissent is a mere form—a solemn farce. Suppose in the high-church ferment in the reign of Anne, when the Queen, the Lords, and the people were unanimous against the Whig ministers—suppose that Harley or St. John had, by way of *friendly advice*, menaced the Commons with popular vengeance if they should dare to exercise their separate judgment on the state of affairs, what would have been said of the constitutionality—the *sanity* of such advice ?

It is in a crisis of this nature that the proper action of the Lords is peculiarly legal, constitutional, expedient, necessary ! If they are not to be free agents in such circumstances, they had better not exist at all ; and the very grounds on which they have been thus *advised* to abdicate their duty ought to be the strongest motive with them to exercise it with redoubled vigilance and intrepidity—Now or never ! They may rest assured, that those who have hitherto been their friends, as well as those who now presume to call themselves their friendly advisers, are quite agreed upon one point—namely, that their order now touches the crisis of its fate.

But the ‘ *friendly advice*’ is not more fallacious in principle than its alleged motives are false in the fact. It is *not* true that the King, the Commons, and the people are *unanimous*.

The King’s sentiments, in the present stage of the affair, are the *sentiments of his ministers*, and we think we may assert, without danger of contradiction, that his Majesty’s personal feelings are in *entire* accordance with his constitutional duties ; that he sup-  
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ports his ministers because he believes they have the confidence of the other branches of the legislature, but that beyond that measure of support, his Majesty is not, either in his public or his private character, disposed to interfere; and that if his faithful *hereditary councillors*—made *hereditary*, and appointed *councillors*, by the constitution, for such special epochs as the present—will intimate that they have withdrawn their confidence from the present ministers, his Majesty will feel not the slightest private, and he certainly could feel no constitutional, reluctance in parting with them.

But are the Commons unanimous? Why, the very House of Commons which called this very ministry to office decided against the Bill, and the ministers were reduced to the ungrateful necessity of dissolving the parliament that had just made them. ‘Oh, but that parliament did not represent the opinions of the people—look at the new house, specially elected *ad hoc*, and you will find, that we shall be 380 to 250 in favour of reform.’

Be it so:—but 380 to 250 is not *unanimity*; in the whole annals of parliament there is not an example of so large a minority as 250. Whenever, heretofore, a *minority* had attained anything like that number, it became inevitably the *majority*. The Opposition that put out Sir Robert Walpole never, but at its final effort, reached 241; that which dismissed Lord North was only 193, which increased after its first victory to 232. The majority against Lord Shelburne was only 204; the Opposition which unseated Lord Sidmouth, but 203; and, finally, that which, by a union of the most discordant materials, forced the late ministry to resign, was 233!

To talk, then, of the House of Commons as *unanimous*, when it is more widely and fiercely divided than it ever was before, is audacious nonsense. There may be a majority for Reform in the abstract—nay, perhaps for the principle of the ministerial bill—but who can answer for a majority on all the details? and, above all, will any one dare to say, that the ministers are sure of a majority on any other ministerial measure whatsoever; and if, *as ministers*, they should be left in a minority, how long would their majority *as reformers* last? No: there never was a moment nor a question in which the arbitrating—the *umpire* power of the Lords was so necessary towards striking a balance between the two parties that *divide* the Commons and the Country; for the unanimity in the Country is just of the same *Irish* kind which exists in the Commons,—namely, a wide and violent division of opinions.

We freely admit, that a great many reformers have, at the late elections, replaced anti-reformers; and we also admit, that in the large majority of contests the reforming candidates have been successful. We have already shown, that the *causes* of this success

were

were anything but the sober and deliberate judgment of the people—but we shall not insist upon that: we admit that the majorities, however influenced, and however transient the influence may be, were for Reform—but *majorities* are surely not *unanimity*. Well, ‘but the majorities were very large, quite overwhelming;’ the clamour, we admit, was very great, and the violence in most cases quite overwhelming, but the majorities themselves were of a very different character—they were, wherever the contests were conducted with firmness and perseverance—wherever, in short, there was even the appearance of fair play—*painful and scanty majorities*. We find this arithmetically, and therefore irrefragably proved, in ‘*Fraser’s Magazine*,’ from which we make the following interesting extract.

‘Fortunately, however, we have had some few contests, and these have told a different tale. They have shown, indeed, what all will admit, that the poison has done its work; that the “*delusion spread by ministers*” has operated widely; but they put an end at once to all the falsehoods about the unanimous delight of the people, and their general satisfaction with the proposed new constitution. The ministerial candidates have, indeed, too often carried the day, but by majorities vastly inferior to what their friends would have led us to expect. In Oxfordshire, out of every twenty-nine freeholders who recorded their opinions, sixteen voted for the bill, and thirteen against it. In Essex, out of every thirty-nine voters, twenty-two were for the bill, and seventeen against it. In Northamptonshire, out of every forty-one freeholders, twenty-one voted with ministers, and twenty against them; and if, in Cumberland and Cornwall, the majority was two to one in favour of the bill, in Buckinghamshire and Shropshire the preponderance was equally against it. The following is an abstract of the gross number of votes given in all the county contests, by which it will be seen at a glance how perfectly unfounded is the assumption, that the voice of the people of England is unanimous and decided in favour of this change in the constitution:—

AGAINST.			FOR.	
<i>Bedford</i> .....	Stuart.....	690	Payne.....	1073
<i>Brecon</i> .....	Wood.....	282	Watkins.....	138
<i>Bucks</i> .....	Chandos.....	1594	Grenfell.....	825
<i>Hunts</i> .....	Mandeville.....	812	Rooper.....	841
<i>Cumberland</i> .....	Lowther.....	452	Blamiro.....	915
<i>Montgomery</i> .....	Wynn.....	692	Lyon.....	302
<i>Oxford</i> .....	Norreys.....	1316	Weyland.....	1688
<i>Essex</i> .....	Tyrell.....	1707	Wellesley.....	2250
<i>Worcester</i> .....	Lygon.....	1385	Spencer.....	1765
<i>Shropshire</i> .....	Pelham.....	1355	Lloyd.....	828
<i>Cornwall</i> .....	Vyvyan.....	901	Lemon.....	1804
<i>Dorset</i> .....	Bankes.....	1176	Calcraft.....	1452
<i>Northampton</i> .....	Cartwright.....	2019	Milton.....	2135
<i>Pembroke</i> .....	Owen.....	1949	Greville.....	1850
16,280			17,866	

Exhibiting, on a balance of the whole account, a majority of only 1600 freeholders on a gross poll of *more than four and thirty thousand*.

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Will any man, after this, making any reasonable allowance for the influence of the Crown and of the Government, venture to aver, that a decided majority of the freeholders of England have declared in favour of the bill?’

But thus nearly balanced as the gross numbers are, will it be pretended that of the property—the education—the intelligence of the country, there was not and is not a vast majority against the bill; and if the numbers on one side were still greater, and if the weight and authority on the other were even less than they are, would it not be the peculiar province—nay, the bounden duty, of the Lords to strike the balance between the ponderating forces?

These few observations are a full and complete answer to the whole of the *Friendly Advice*, which rests on no other ground than the alleged incapability of the House of Peers to exert its power in opposition to the alleged unanimity of the people.

But there is another view of the subject very important to the House of Lords;—that body has hitherto had a considerable and legitimate weight arising from property and connexion in the House of Commons; the late elections have, for the present parliament, very much diminished that weight, and, *pro tanto*, rendered it the more necessary for the Lords to make that stand *on their own ground*, which, in former times, was *preliminarily* made, by their influence in the debates of the House of Commons. If ever the Reform Bill should become a law, the whole of their power will be to meet the decisions of the House of Commons with direct affirmatives or negatives; they will have lost that veiled and indirect, but powerful and salutary influence, which moulded the original propositions, whether of individual members or of ministers, into a shape likely to be finally acceptable to all the branches of the legislature. It is this operation which has preserved amongst us the equiponderance of the constitutional powers, and has prevented those collisions which have destroyed every other government which has attempted a separation and balance of the sovereign authority. If ever we are mad enough to break the elastic spring which moderates such shocks, two branches of our legislature will inevitably be destroyed—the King and the Lords by a Democracy, or the Commons and the Lords by a Despotism. This is a fact as clear as any moral truth can be—all history attests it, and the experience of every day of the last forty years has been exhibiting its operation in the affairs of France and the countries which have been affected by her influence. Even while we write, a new instance of this momentous truth threatens the peace of France and of the world. A reform in the election laws of that country (*infinitely less extensive—less democratic than that proposed in England*) has lately taken place, and its first effect appears likely to be the annihilation of the peerage of France;

France; and it seems too probable that the monarchical power will not survive the peerage six months. Shall we not take example from these convulsions? Shall we not even be induced to take time—a few months or weeks—to see how Reform works with our neighbours, before we commit ourselves to the perilous experiment? Can our remaining in our present position for only six months involve any public evil? If the opinion for Reform be well rooted in the public mind, it will advance and become stronger during that interval; if, on the other hand, it be of a nature to be rendered less satisfactory—less popular—by reflection and consideration, is there any man mad enough to say that it ought to be passed *next week*, because—if you wait till *next year*, it will be universally scouted?

The minority in the Commons will do its duty; but if it should be unable to reject, or even to delay, the fatal bill, the Lords will not be wanting in theirs. They must know that this alarming crisis was produced by the *state of parties*, and not by the merits of the measure; and they will not allow temporary differences and personal disputes to subvert, *for ever*, the Constitution of England. They will afford the king an opportunity of more clearly understanding the true interests of the crown and the real wishes of his people; and they will give the people time to recover from an intoxicating excitement; and to weigh carefully, and deliberately to decide, whether they will not best secure their liberties and their glory by adhering to that venerable principle on which *Magna Charta* itself was founded by the *Barons*, as BY THE BARONS we trust it will be preserved—*NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIÆ MUTARI.\**

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\* We have laid on our table, just as this sheet is going to press, a little tract entitled, ‘Observations on a Pamphlet falsely attributed to a Great Person;’ and it is a subject of sincere regret with us, that this admirably reasoned and eloquently written performance did not happen to fall in our way before our present labours were concluded. The picture which it exhibits of the practical effects of this Reform question on the industry and internal commerce of the country—the suspension of building—the limitation of domestic expenditure, especially among the clergy and the fundholders—the contraction of discounts—the hoarding of the precious metals—the rapidly increasing distress among shopkeepers and traders of all descriptions—even, in spite of the extraordinary court gaieties, here in the capital—the general and growing stagnation and alarm—these details of the actual influence of the ministerial *incubus*, evidently presented by a man of great talents, intimately connected with the *haute commerce* of London, will, we trust, be *considered* by the members of the legislature, ere it is too late.

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# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 82.]

JUNE 25, 1831.

[Vol. iv. No. 10.]

## THE WEST INDIAN MANIFESTO EXAMINED:—

*Abstract of Ameliorating Laws, viz. 1. On Religious Instruction, Observance of the Sabbath, Baptism, Marriage; 2. Food, Clothing, Lodging, &c.; 3. Labour, Exaction of; 4. Arbitrary Punishment; 5. Separation of Families (Mr. Burge's Misrepresentations); 6. Manumission; 7. Slave Evidence; 8. Right of Property; 9. Legal Protection.*

THE following Address to the People of Great Britain and Ireland has been of late most extensively circulated throughout the United Kingdom by the West India Body in this country. When we say *extensively*, we mean by hundreds of thousands.

“Fellow Countrymen! We, the undersigned persons, possessing property in the West India Colonies, have seen with regret and astonishment an Address to the People of Great Britain, put forth by a body of persons styling themselves the ‘London Anti-Slavery Society,’ and signed on behalf of that Society by Messrs. T. F. Buxton, S. Gurney, W. Wilberforce, W. Smith, Z. Macaulay, D. Wilson, R. Watson, S. Lushington, calling on all the people of this kingdom who prefer ‘humanity to oppression,’—‘truth to falsehood,’—‘freedom to slavery,’—to support those candidates only to represent them in Parliament, who have determined upon adopting measures for ‘the speedy annihilation of slavery;’ and in that Address they proceed to assure you that ‘none look with greater horror on the shedding of blood, or the remotest chance of occasioning such a calamity, than themselves; but that they are in their consciences convinced, after investigation most careful and scrupulous, that, from the emancipation recommended, no risk to the white inhabitants could arise.’

“Fellow Countrymen! We also prefer humanity to oppression, truth to falsehood, freedom to slavery; but we possess, with our property in the West India Colonies, the means of *correctly ascertaining* the actual state of the Negro population. We know, and are ready to prove, that the general condition of the Slaves has been most grossly misrepresented by the London Anti-Slavery Society; and we assert, in the face of our country, our well-founded conviction, that the ‘speedy annihilation’ of slavery would be attended with the devastation of the West India Colonies, with loss of lives and property to the white inhabitants, with inevitable distress and misery to the black population, and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of this empire.

“We deny the injurious slander that ‘the holders of Slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen;’ on the contrary, out of the various measures suggested by the British Government, for ameliorating the condition of the Slaves, the far greater proportion of them are now in force under laws enacted by the Colonial Legislatures. We have desired, we still desire, and will most actively promote, any investigation on oath which Parliament shall be pleased to institute, for the purpose of ascertaining what is the real condition of the slave population—what laws have been passed for their benefit—what progress they have made, and are now making, towards civilization—and what further well-digested measures are best calculated ‘to prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by

other classes of his Majesty's subjects'—and this 'at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the Slaves themselves, with the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

Simon H. Clarke, Bart.	John H. Deffell.	Neill Malcolm.
Henry W. Martin, Bart.	James B. Delap.	William Manning.
W. Windham Dalling, Bart.	John Fuller.	John P. Mayers.
William H. Cooper, Bart.	Alexander Grant.	Philip John Miles.
William Fraser.	Alexander Hall.	John Mitchell.
Wm. Max. Alexander.	Robert Hibbert.	Rowland Mitchell.
J. L. Anderdon.	George Hibbert.	G. H. Dawkins Pennant.
David Baillie.	Thomson Hankey.	William Ross.
John Baillie.	Isaac Higgin.	George Shedden.
J. Foster Barham.	Hugh Hyndman.	A. Stewart.
Eneas Barkly.	John Innes.	George Watson Taylor.
Andrew Colvile.	William King.	Robert Taylor.
John Daniel.	Roger Kynaston.	John Watson.*
Henry Davidson.	David Lyon.	

London, April 29th, 1831.

"The Anti-Slavery Society declare—

"That the experience of the last eight years has demonstrated incontrovertibly, that it is *only* by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied."

"And one of the Resolutions proposed to the House of Commons at the close of the last Session, by Mr. T. F. Buxton, also declared—

"That, during the eight years which have elapsed since the Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1823, the Colonial Assemblies have not taken adequate means for carrying those Resolutions into effect."

"As it is, therefore, on the express ground of the alleged refusal of the Colonial Assemblies to take adequate measures for carrying into effect the Resolutions of 1823, that the Anti-Slavery party invoke the interference of Parliament, it has been thought fit to show what are the existing laws of the several Colonies, and which laws (with one exception, p. 12,)<sup>†</sup> are either entirely new, or have been re-enacted with great improvements, *within the last eight years.*"

These *forty-one* gentlemen then proceed to give, what they call, an "Abstract of the existing laws of our West India Colonies" compiled, they say, from Parliamentary documents. The correctness of this abstract thus vouched, and the value of the enactments it boasts of, it shall now be our business to examine.

1. The "Abstract" commences with a view of the measures said to have been adopted in Jamaica for the benefit of the slaves, in pursuance of the suggestions of His Majesty's Government; and the first point which they select in proof of the compliance of the legislature of this island is that of "*Religious Instruction and the Observance of the Sabbath.*" Now, we should be quite willing to rest the whole merits of this controversy on the truth or falsehood of the alleged compliance. The recommendation of the British Government was that Sunday markets and Sunday labour should be abolished, and a day in lieu of the Sunday given to the slaves for those purposes. But in what respect has the legislature of Jamaica complied with this suggestion? It has given the slaves no day in lieu of Sunday, nor do its present

\* We have inserted the *forty-one* names subscribed to this paper by way of securing a lasting record of them. They are names which ought not to be forgotten.

† We shall hereafter show how unfounded is this statement.

advocates pretend that it has done so. Neither has it abolished Sunday markets. On the contrary, it has given them, as the "Abstract" itself admits, the express sanction of law, by permitting them to be held and kept open till eleven o'clock. The legislature of Jamaica, these *forty-one* gentlemen gravely tell us, has passed a law for the observance of the Sabbath; and yet that law, on their own shewing, makes Sunday markets lawful, permitting them to be kept open till eleven o'clock. The enactment in question, therefore, instead of providing for the observance of the Sabbath, actually provides, (as if in mockery of the recommendation of Government and of the wishes of the parliament and people of Great Britain,) for the *non-observance*, for the *desecration* of that sacred day. The markets may now by positive law (a law that had no previous existence in the Statute book of Jamaica) be kept open for nearly half the Sunday. But even the having thus legalized Sunday markets for so large a part of the day is only a small part of the evil consequent on this pretended act of compliance. The slaves, be it remembered, who bring their produce to be sold in the Sunday market, kept open by a new and express law till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, must previously have travelled with their loads from their residences in the country; and having consumed half of the Sunday in this labour, and in effecting their sales and their purchases, must again retrace their weary steps, under a noontide sun, to their respective plantations, at a distance of five, ten, fifteen, or perhaps twenty miles from the market-place. Can Sunday, under such circumstances, be designated with any truth as a day of rest and religious observance? Is it not rather absolutely converted, by the pretended ameliorating enactment itself, into a day of toil and fatigue, into a day devoted to the most secular of all employments, into a day of peculiar hurry, and distraction, and dissipation? What period of such a day, so spent, would it be possible to appropriate with any effect to the work of religious instruction? What, then, is it that we have to contemplate in the statement made to us under the solemn asseverations and the formal attestation of these *forty-one* gentlemen? Is it not something which very much resembles a deliberate attempt to impose on the public by a representation, not which slightly varies from the truth of the case, but which stands in direct opposition to it? Those must have formed a strange idea of the gullibility of that public who could boldly venture to stake their credit on such a statement, a statement so notoriously contradicted by the very words of the Act, that they themselves, if they opened their eyes, could not but know, at the very time they affixed their signatures to this paper, that it was destitute of even the shadow of truth.

And let it not be here forgotten that the West Indians generally, nay that many of these very gentlemen themselves, have told us repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, that, in their opinion, it is only by means of religious instruction the slaves are to be improved, or fitted for freedom; a consummation which they further profess to desire as ardently as we do ourselves. And yet, the grand proof they give of the sincerity of these opinions and these professions, and which proof they render peculiarly prominent by placing it in the very front of their

present laboured defence, is an enactment which, instead of abolishing Sunday marketing and Sunday labour, and allotting other time in lieu of Sunday for these purposes, so as to afford to the slaves their only opportunity of religious instruction, confers for the first time a legal sanction on the gross and systematic violation of the Sabbath, by recognising it as *the day*, the exclusive day of traffic for the slaves, and thus imposing upon them, as an inevitable effect of the law, the necessity of undergoing on that day much severe and exhausting toil.\* We put it to the understanding of every impartial man, nay, we put it to the consciences of the *forty-one* subscribers to the paper before us, whether this be a fair, open, ingenuous, and honest course; and whether, therefore, both the enactment of the Jamaica legislature on the subject, and their own attempted vindication of it, do not wear an air which in the case of less honourable men would be deemed somewhat akin to imposture? We dwell on this point the more intently and explicitly, not only because these gentlemen have made this point a prominent part of their case, but because they have uniformly chosen to represent the religious instruction of their slaves as an indispensable preliminary to improvement and ultimate emancipation. The legislation however, of Jamaica, of which they boast, and for which they claim credit with the public, is manifestly so far from tending to promote religious instruction, that it seems to have been skilfully adapted to retard, if not wholly to frustrate, that object.

These *forty-one* gentlemen charge the Anti-Slavery Society with having most grossly misrepresented the general condition of their slaves. It is obviously impossible for us to reply to so vague and indefinite a charge; and on that very account, we doubt not, they have found it convenient to avoid all specification. We, on the contrary, in dealing with their statements, wish to avoid mere generalities, and to grapple with their assertions on the ground of fact and evidence. Such is our course in the present instance. We have proved by the best of all testimony, namely, by their own, that their defence is invalid; and that, notwithstanding their bold affirmations to the

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\* The *forty-one* gentlemen who have affixed their names to this paper, will probably allege that we deal unfairly with the legislature of Jamaica, in not admitting that it has passed an act, which relieves slaves from arrest for their master's debts, not only on Sunday but also on Saturday, and this with the *professed* object of facilitating their attendance on a Saturday market. But of what use is this pretended indulgence to the slave, while the same legislature who passed this clause (the only purpose of which seems to be to furnish an argument against the abolitionists,) has not chosen to appoint the market to be held on Saturday, or to give Saturday to the slave on which to go to that market. To the slave, therefore, it is obviously of no use.

Again, what benefit does it confer on the slave to pass a law that he shall not be required to perform plantation work on the Sunday, when not only, as we have shewn, the state of the law respecting the Sunday market compels him to toil and fatigue and secularity on that day, but when the refusal to allot time to him in lieu of Sunday for cultivating his provision grounds, (which grounds furnish to him and his family their means of subsistence) drives him to the alternative that he must either labour on that day, or starve?

contrary, Jamaica has not complied with the suggestions of the Government on this most vital point of religious instruction and the observance of the Sabbath. By the very evidence, therefore, which they themselves have adduced, and which stands foremost in their defence, they "have demonstrated incontrovertibly" the truth of our position, "that the holders of slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen;" and "that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied" to the admitted evils of Colonial slavery; being the very point, by their own statement, at issue between us.

Now if we have established in this single instance, avowedly one of the prime importance and of peculiar solemnity, that this "Abstract," deliberately framed as it has been, and sanctioned by so many high names, is nevertheless a deceptions document, calculated to mislead the public, and to convey false views of West Indian improvement, we might well be spared from proceeding farther with our inquiry, and might be justified in at once calling on the public to refuse any longer to listen to representations so wholly undeserving of regard. —These *forty-one* gentlemen lay claim to public attention on the ground that their possession of West India property affords them the means of *correctly ascertaining* the truth. If we were to concede to them this claim, the concession would neither disprove facts that are incontrovertible, nor convert truth into falsehood, though it might add to the discredit of those whose authority, grounded on the claim of superior knowledge, should be exerted to that unhallowed end.

But we must not omit to remind the public that the very mistatements which we have now held up to merited reprehension, have been already, over and over again, exposed in our pages, in terms similar to those which we have now employed. And yet the very same misstatements have continued to be repeated, by nearly the same parties, without a single attempt to disprove those direct charges of deliberate mistatement we had preferred against them; those charges, too, being supported by evidence which they themselves (the West Indians) had supplied. We might refer, indeed, in order to confirm this heavy imputation, to the three volumes of the Anti-Slavery Reporter already published; but we will only point out at present, to those who wish (in addition to the statements given in our very last number) to satisfy themselves of the fact, the Anti-Slavery Reporters, No. 37, and No. 60. No. 60 especially, contains an unanswered and unanswerable exposure of an attempt, under the same title of an "Abstract," in many respects similar to the present, and from which, indeed, the present has evidently, in great part, been borrowed. And this circumstance, coupled with the uniform and determined policy adopted by these parties, cautiously to avoid all notice of the *specific* proofs we adduce of their deliberate misrepresentations, furnishes, of itself, no light presumption of the correctness of our statements. These gentlemen, naturally enough, prefer, in such a case, general and vague abuse to any thing like distinct refutation.

With respect to the points of *baptism and marriage*, comprised under the general head of religion, it will be sufficient to observe, that

baptism can be considered of little value if disjoined from the religious instruction which is, to a great degree, unattainable under the system which prevails in Jamaica, in regard to the Sabbath;—and that the law of this Island, relative to marriage, instead of promoting, serves rather to obstruct and discourage that institution, though it be the necessary foundation of all domestic and social improvement. (See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii. No. 60, p. 193—195.)

The above statement with respect to Jamaica may be considered as applicable, in one most material respect, to all the Colonies, whether Crown or Chartered. In none of them, even where Sunday markets have been abolished, as in the Crown colonies and in Grenada and Tobago, has a day been given in lieu of Sunday. But even the entire abolition of the Sunday market, and the appointment of another day for holding markets, will be of no value to the slave unless the day so appointed shall be made *his* by law, and unless the slave be also protected, by law, on that day, from arrest for the debts of his master. A slave going to market on any day but Sunday may now be seized and sold for his master's debts. How, then, can he go to market on any day but Sunday? Jamaica, indeed, has exempted him from arrest on the Saturday, but has dexterously contrived to nullify that provision by refusing to give him the Saturday for the purposes of marketing and labour.

In the case of the mere limitation of the Sunday markets to nine o'clock as in Barbadoes, or to ten as in St. Vincent, or to eleven as in most of the other chartered colonies, the case is equally disadvantageous to the slave as we have shewn it to be in Jamaica. They are in fact only different modes, under the hypocritical shew of a compliance, of depriving the slave population of the benefit intended for them by the Government and legislature of this country, in requiring that Sunday markets and Sunday labour should cease.

The remarks respecting baptism and marriage are also with slight variations equally applicable to the other chartered Colonies as to Jamaica; the regulations respecting marriage being, in general, calculated to discourage rather than to promote that institution.

2. The next topic on which these gentlemen choose to insist as establishing their claim to humanity, and their fitness to legislate for their bondsmen, bears this title:

*“ Food, clothing, lodging, general treatment.”*

Now the highest scale they give us of their estimate of the sufficiency of the essential articles of food and clothing, on which so much of human comfort necessarily depends, is contained under the head of Demerara, and is as follows—

*“ Weekly Allowance of Food and of Clothing, to be given to Slaves in the United Colony of Demerara and Essequibo.”*

“ Adult working male or female, to have of salt fish, herrings, shads, mackerel, or other salt provisions, 2lbs. : if fresh, double the quantity, with half a pint of salt : one and a half bunch of plantains, weighing not less than 45lbs., or of other farinaceous food ; 9 pints corn or beans ; 8 pints pease, or wheat or rye flour, or Indian corn meal ; or 9 pints oatmeal ; or 7 pints rice ; or 8 pints Cassava flour ; or 8lbs biscuit ; or 20lbs. yams or potatoes ; or 16lbs. eddoes or tanios, and not

less. Invalids, and boys and girls from 10 to 15 years of age to have two-thirds, and boys and girls from 5 to 10 years of age, to have one-half of the above quantities of salt provisions, and of plantains, or other farinaceous food. Children from 1 to 5 years of age, to have one-third of the above quantity of salt provisions, and one-third of the quantity of plantains, or other farinaceous food.

“*Yearly Allowance of Clothing* :—

“Working males : 1 hat, 1 cloth jacket, 1 check shirt, 1 pair Osnaburg trowsers, 2 Salampore caps, 1 razor or knife, 1 blanket every 2 years. Working females : 1 hat, 1 gown or wrapper, 1 check shirt, 1 Osnaburg petticoat, 1 pair of scissors, 1 blanket every 2 years. To invalids and children in proportion.”

The allowances of food for the slaves in the Leeward Islands including Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Montserrat and Tortola are on nearly the same scale, except that the salt fish is reduced to 1½ lbs. a week and the fresh in proportion, and that a permission is given to the owner to diminish, with the exception of the fish, even these scanty allowances by a fifth part, in time of crop. The clothing consists of a single suit annually. The allowances of Tobago do not differ very materially from these.

No specific allowances are by law assigned to the slaves generally in any of the other Colonies excepting the Bahamas. But there, instead of eight pints of flour a week as in Demerara, &c. the legal allowance is twenty-one pints for each slave, and instead of seven pints of rice, fourteen, and instead of one suit, two suits of clothing yearly.

In Jamaica, though no specific allowances of food are prescribed by law for the field or working slaves, that is, for the slaves generally, yet the law of that island, as these *forty-one* gentlemen admit, fixes, as *sufficient*, the rate of allowance, for slaves confined in gaols or workhouses, at twenty-one pints of flour and seven herrings weekly.

It cannot be supposed to be the intention of the legislature of Jamaica to pamper their criminal slaves, or their apprehended runaways, by giving them a superabundance of food. On the contrary, the utmost that justice and humanity could require would be that the food, afforded to these offenders against the laws, should be *sufficient*. But when we compare their twenty-one pints of flour a week with the eight pints allowed in Demerara and the Leeward Islands, to hard working field slaves, toiling under an exhausting sun from day dawn to dusk, and often much longer; what must we think of the cruel parsimony which can have dictated such a law? We marvel what any one of the *forty-one* subscribers to this address would say to his being kept for a single day on such fare as this—a pint and one-seventh, or about a pound, of raw undressed flour, and three ounces of salt fish a day? The utmost such a pittance could do for him would be to keep soul and body together for a brief space. In truth it is an absolutely starving allowance, and of itself sufficiently explains the frightful waste of life in our slave Colonies. Still we think that each of these advocates of the sufficiency and humanity of this provision, if he persists in his plea, is bound fairly to put the matter for once to the test of a week's experiment in his own case, and to favour the public with the result. And if not, he is at least bound to refute

the authentic facts which Mr. Stephen, in the second volume of his *Delineation of Slavery*, has adduced to prove the miserable and destructive insufficiency of such an allowance as that which is here held forth as ample. (See his eighth chapter, p. 243 to 341.) "The shocking and opprobrious result" of the elaborate comparison which Mr. Stephen has there instituted between the allowances to the field slaves in the West Indies; and those to the inmates of our gaols and penitentiaries, both when idle and when put to hard labour, in England; is thus stated by that able and accurate writer:—

"The English vagabond or felon, when imprisoned for his crime has a subsistence which, on the lowest general estimate that can be formed, is, at least, two-fold superior in nutritious value to that of the poor West Indian negro, whose freedom has been forfeited by no crime of his own, but solely by the deep, publicly acknowledged, legislatively recorded crime of this enlightened Christian land, perpetrated against himself or his African progenitors. The one is thus fed while in idleness. When forced to labour his subsistence is still greater. The other (the slave), though his forced and permanent labours are twice as great, has, at best, not half the food. Yet the former's allowances are limited by the necessity of the case, the necessity of saving him from the wasting of the body, from debility, sickness and death. What, then, must be the consequences of giving less than half the subsistence to the ultra-laborious slave? What they actually are, my readers have sufficiently seen. They cannot be better summed up than in the emphatic words of Dr. Collins,\* in his *Practical Rules, &c.* p. 87, 88, 'With so scanty a pittance, he says, it is, indeed, possible for the soul and body to be held together for a considerable time with no other resource.' 'They (the Negroes) may crawl about with feeble emaciated frames,' but 'their attempts to wield the hoe prove abortive; they shrink from their toil, and being urged to perseverance by stripes, you are soon obliged to receive them in the hospital, whence, unless your plan be speedily corrected, they depart but to 'the grave:' and he goes on to 'aver it boldly,' on the 'ground of his own experience, that numbers of Negroes have perished annually by diseases produced by inanition.'" (Stephen's *Delineation*, vol. ii. p. 318.)

We need say no more to prove that West Indian legislation, respecting the subsistence of the slaves, does not go very far to es-

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\* Dr. Collins was an eminent medical practitioner in St. Vincent's, where he became possessed of many slaves. He was one of the most able and zealous apologists of the West India system. He published a work entitled "*Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*," which was so highly valued by some West Indians, that Mr. G. Hibbert, the agent of Jamaica, caused an extensive edition of it to be printed and circulated. It was not till afterwards that the melancholy impression of the condition of the negro slave, which this faithful though indirect exhibition of its evils was calculated to produce, became fully known to the public. Mr. Stephen has drawn from it a most remarkable confirmation of every part of the horrid case which his own masterly *Delineation of Colonial Slavery* has laid bare to the eye of the national conscience.

tablish the planters' claim to humanity, or their "fitness to frame laws for benefit of their bondsmen."

As for the legal provision of *clothing*, it is almost too ludicrous to be seriously mentioned, were it not for the melancholy consequences which it involves. One suit of clothing in the year, to men and women! and of such clothing! made of the vilest and most flimsy materials! What must be the state of this annual suit at the close of the year, if it has indeed been worn and washed during that time? Will it be pretended that such an allowance can provide for comfort or even for decency? It would be utterly inadequate even to cover the nakedness of these human cattle, if they have no other resource, which many of them have not. The whole value of it probably does not exceed that of the cloth of one of the pampered horses of any one of the *forty-one* subscribers to this address.

As for the articles of *lodging* and *general treatment*, the terms in which these are spoken of in the Colonial Acts are too vague to serve any purpose but that of imposing, by a mere shew of legislation, utterly worthless in itself, on the ignorance of the good people of this country. As for general treatment, that is obviously to be measured, not by any vague terms they may employ on the subject, but by the quantity of food and clothing secured to the slaves, the labour exacted from them, the punishments arbitrarily inflicted, the protection given by law, the instruction imparted to them, and a variety of other particulars which have already appeared, or will hereafter appear under their separate heads, and which, united, go to form the aggregate of what may be called general treatment.\*

3. Our *forty-one* West India advocates produce, in the next place, the legal regulations respecting *labour*, as proving "the humanity" of the planters, and "their fitness to make laws for their bondsmen." It might indeed be assumed *à priori*, that as the benefit of the slave's labour was to belong to the planter exclusively, and as the slave had no voice in regulating its amount, the tendency of enactments, framed and enforced by the interested party, would be to an excess of exaction. And that such has been the actual result, is shewn by this very "Abstract," which professes to establish a contrary conclusion.

Taking the new law of Jamaica as a sample of the whole, both because it is a fair sample, and because its slave population is nearly equal to that of all the other colonies, what, on the shewing of these *forty-one* gentlemen, is the state of the case? The slaves then of Jamaica, as well as of most of the colonies, are compellable by law, to labour *in the field* from five in the morning till seven at night, being fourteen hours a day, with intervals of two hours and a half, which still leave, even supposing them to be effective intervals, eleven hours and a half of field-labour in each day, under the blaze of a tropical sun, which the planter may exact, and the slave is bound to yield, on pain of the lash. Eleven hours and a half of compulsory labour *in the field* during each day, the whole year round! Was any thing like this

\* The reader has only to turn to our last number, p. 283 and 284, for a striking illustration, in the case of Jamaica itself, of the hunger, and the nakedness, and the maltreatment incident to Slavery.

exaction ever known, even in temperate climates? But then this is only the labour they may be actually compelled to perform *in the field*. The additional night labour of crop-time, to which there is no limit, is expressly excluded from the eleven hours and a half which may be consumed in field work. The night work of crop-time is over and above this, and may be estimated at five hours more, namely, from seven in the evening till midnight for half the gang, and from midnight to five in the morning for the other half, alternately. And this period of crop lasts for from four to six months of the year, according to circumstances. During those four, five, or six months, therefore, the slaves may be legally required to be actually employed in plantation labour, for sixteen hours and a half out of the twenty-four. Thus much, we repeat it, the law expressly authorizes the master or his delegate to exact from them, for the sole benefit of the master. But in addition to this enormous continuity of labour, it is obvious that there are various indispensable demands on the time of the slaves, which are of constant and daily recurrence, and which must greatly abridge their broken intervals of repose. They must be ready for the field in the morning, in order to be there at five, and must travel thither in the morning and afternoon, and must return thence at noon and at night. They must prepare and cook their raw and undressed food, collect fuel for that purpose, obtain water, often from a distance, take care of their children, wash their clothes, and attend to other domestic objects which we need not enumerate; and for all which it would be unreasonable to assign less than an hour and a half or two hours in the day; thus swelling their time of actual occupation, during crop-time, to eighteen hours or eighteen hours and a half in the twenty-four, leaving only five or six for meals and for repose.

During the six or eight months which may remain, exclusive of crop-time, their case is doubtless mitigated. Still they are liable, even then, to thirteen or fourteen hours of unceasing employment, independently of the time for meals and for repose. Even this, however, is too luxurious a state of ease and indulgence to be suffered to subsist without encroachment. Accordingly it is considered, out of crop, to be, in most cases, a regular part of the duty of the field-slaves, after the labour of the field is over, (that is, after seven o'clock at night,) to employ themselves in collecting fodder for the horses and cattle on the plantation, and in bringing it to an appointed place, to be inspected and duly deposited, before they are finally dismissed to their rest for the night.

This most onerous task of grass collecting, in addition to all the other labours of the day, is seldom alluded to by West Indians. They seem anxious to hide every trace of it from the knowledge of the public, and at this we cannot wonder, for it is a most grievous and wanton aggravation of the miseries of their bondsmen. The following is the manner in which Dr. Collins speaks of it:—"The picking of grass in situations where it is most abundant, is a labour more felt and regretted by the negroes than others much more severe." Again, he says, "The neglect of grass-picking is another frequent cause of punishment. On some estates it draws more stripes upon the negroes

than all their other offences put together, as the lash seldom lies idle while the grass-roll is calling over." "As it (this grass-picking) is to be performed when the negroes are retired from the field, and no longer under the eye of the overseer or driver, it is apt to be neglected. Besides it encroaches much on the time allotted to their own use; and even after they have, with much trouble, picked their bundles, they are frequently stolen from them by other negroes, and their excuses, however just, are seldom admitted to extenuate their fault." Dr. Collins strongly recommends some other mode of meeting this want, if it were only that the negroes might escape the whip, "which," he adds, "is too intemperately employed on this as on other occasions. The misfortune is, the whip is always at hand, and therefore supplies the readiest means of punishing; for the overseer, having such a summary mode of balancing offences, never thinks of any other." p. 192—205.

The common practice with respect to grass-collecting is, that all the field slaves shall be compelled, after quitting the field at night, (and in many cases at noon also,) to collect a bundle of grass, and to proceed with it to the stable or cattle-pen, and when all are there assembled, to have their names called over and their bundles examined, in order to see that they are sufficiently large. If not, or if they fail to attend this roll-call, they are punished. The bundles are then thrown into a heap, and the slaves are dismissed. Nor is it only the demand on the time and labour of the slaves, after the fatiguing toil of a tropical day, which is to be lamented in this inhuman practice, but their exposure to the chilling effect, on their heated bodies, of the night air, and often of the rain, which, when it falls, soaks their bundles, and streams down from the head, on which these are carried, over their whole bodies, generating colds, fevers, and consumptions.

Nor is this a practice which belongs only to ancient times, or to the days of Dr. Collins which are comparatively modern, but which exists, at the present hour, even in the Crown Colonies. And it will be found, by the Protectors' returns, which have been laid before Parliament, that in Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, Mauritius, &c. there is no part of the fatiguing exactions required from the slaves which brings down upon them now, as it did in Dr. Collins's time, more frequent floggings than this. The same is the case in most of the other colonies; the laws of some of them expressly giving the master a right to exact this bundle of grass after the labour of the field is closed.\* This practice, however, is neither so onerous nor so universal in Jamaica as in most of the other colonies. It nevertheless prevails there to a considerable extent. And wherever it does prevail, it is unquestionably a practice of the most oppressive and injurious description, as it respects both the comfort and the health of the slaves.

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\* The Act of Grenada expressly provides, that the slaves are not to be compelled to work beyond the period of field-labour, except "in manufacturing such produce as necessarily requires night or extra labour," or "in the carrying a bundle of grass or stockmeat from the field to the stable or other place, where the same is consumed."—They must collect this bundle before they can carry it.

Such is the general system of labour which, our *forty-one* advocates of slavery affirm, proves the "humanity" of the planters, and "their fitness" to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen!

4. The next point we shall advert to is that of arbitrary "*punishment*." Now, the *forty-one* gentlemen who have undertaken to vindicate the humanity of the colonial legislatures, and among them of that of Jamaica, tell us that "the *existing* laws," of which they profess to give an "abstract," "are either entirely new, or have been re-enacted, with great improvements, *within the last eight years*." They here make no exception. Now, we beg to ask of them to point out, under which of these classes they mean to place the clause of the Act numbered by them 36, of which they give the following abstract, viz:—"No slave shall receive more than ten lashes, except in presence of owner or overseer; nor, in such presence, more than thirty-nine in one day, nor until recovered from former punishment; under penalty of £20." This is neither a new nor an improved enactment. It stands forth in the latest Slave Code of Jamaica, with precisely the same grim and ferocious aspect which it exhibited in the consolidated Slave Act of 1788, and in every intermediate renewal of it! But let us give the very words of the clause as it now stands: they ought never to be lost sight of by the British public. They bear now, it seems, the date of 1831. "AND IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT, be it further enacted, that no slave, on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols of this Island, shall receive any more than TEN LASHES at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, workhouse-keeper, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than THIRTY-NINE lashes, at one time, or for one offence, nor inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, such last mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes on the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effect of any former punishment, under a penalty of not less than ten pounds, nor more than twenty pounds for every offence."

Such then is one of the laws which these *forty-one* gentlemen, the acknowledged representatives of the West India body, ostentatiously hold forth to the public, as an evidence of colonial humanity, and as a refutation of what they term the gross misrepresentations of the Anti-Slavery Society, when it affirms that "the holders of slaves have proved themselves unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the *benefit* of their bondsmen," and that "the experience of the last eight years has demonstrated incontrovertibly that it is only by the direct intervention of parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied." And yet, what farther evidence can be wanting to establish these positions than the very existence of such a law, retained, cherished, unmodified, vaunted, not only by its framers, but by their distinguished defenders. Would the oaths these gentlemen tender, in proof of the humanity of colonial bondage, efface this revolting enactment, an

enactment not dragged from the records of some barbarous age, and long since become obsolete, but deliberately renewed from time to time, during a long series of years, after reiterated debate and discussion, in contempt of the strongest recommendations of the crown, the denunciations of Parliament, and the indignation of the whole British nation; nay more, triumphantly re-enacted by the assembly, as a part of the Jamaica Slave Code of 1831, and then exhibited, by *forty-one* West Indian planters and merchants of the first eminence, as a decisive proof of the humanity of slave-holders, and their fitness to legislate for their bondsmen.

But let us contemplate more nearly and particularly the whole enormity of this clause. We are continually reproached with dwelling on individual instances of cruelty, which, as they may occur in the best regulated community, prove nothing as to the general state of law and manners which may prevail in it. But here we have whole communities, acting by their representatives freely chosen, strenuously contending for the continuance of this monstrous and revolting power of lacerating, at their pleasure, the prostrate bodies of their dependants, and pertinaciously clinging to it, as if it was their life. They seem to hug the cart-whip to their bosoms as their glory, their grand badge of distinction. And not only are those, it would seem, ready to fight for it, who actually wield it, who exult in its explosions, and whose lust of power is gratified by directing and witnessing its application; but by *forty-one* chosen advocates of the West India body, residing among ourselves, mixing in our assemblies, joining our convivial parties, occupying seats in our imperial senate, and claiming the name and the character of English gentlemen.

And then, over whom, and by whom, is this power, thus fondly cherished and thus firmly grasped, thus reasserted in the year 1831 by the Assembly of Jamaica, and thus defended by no less than *forty-one* select and distinguished members of the West India body;—over whom and by whom, we ask, is this power to be exercised? It may be exercised over every slave of the 325,000 who inhabit the Island of Jamaica. Every man, woman, or child, by this law, is subjected to it. Each and all of them may, by this law, be laid prostrate on the earth, and have their bared and quivering limbs shamefully exposed to the common gaze, and torn and mangled with thirty-nine lashes of the torturing cart-whip. And to all this they are liable, without even the form of a trial or the order of a magistrate; at the mere caprice or bidding of another; for no defined or specified offence; but merely because the individual, armed with this tremendous power, chooses to exercise it.—And then who are those to whom the law delegates this frightful exercise of arbitrary power over the persons of their fellows? They are, to the extent of TEN lashes, every driver or *quasi* driver, and to the extent of THIRTY-NINE, every one, whether male or female, who is the owner of a slave, or to whom such owner may think proper, at his sole discretion, to transfer or delegate his legal rights of proprietorship. In short, every owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, nay every keeper of either gaol or work-house, is armed, by this law, with the power of thus lacerating the body of every slave under his charge; at his discretion; without

being required, by this or any other law, to assign a reason for so doing; nay, being actually protected by law, in so doing, from all responsibility whatever, provided he does not kill or maim his victim.

And yet, as if in mockery of every feeling of humanity and justice, and as if to mark the pernicious effect of participating in the administration, or even in the gains, of slavery, the legislators of Jamaica, and their *forty-one* British advocates, continue to maintain that the very object for which this clause has been framed, is, "IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENT!"

Now let us never forget, when considering the degree in which the boasted limit of thirty-nine lashes may be considered to operate as an effectual *restraint* on cruelty, first, the candid declaration of the Assembly of Barbadoes in 1826, (when apologizing for its refusal to limit the number of lashes which an owner might arbitrarily inflict,) namely, that even "a given number of stripes, in the hands of a relentless executioner, may, under the sanction of the law, be so inflicted as to amount to an act of cruelty;" and second, the candid and humane statement of Mr. Barrett, himself a large owner of slaves in Jamaica, who, in his place in the Assembly, asserted that the cart-whip was a base, cruel, debasing, detestable instrument of torture, thirty-nine lashes of which might be made more grievous than five hundred of the cat, though the latter was only inflicted after solemn trial, and the former, "at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice, or passion," (and he might have added or drunkenness, or brutal lust) "dictated."

On this head we have confined ourselves hitherto chiefly to Jamaica. We will now briefly advert to the other chartered colonies. In none of them has the flogging of females been abolished by law, and in practice it is still continued, and in no one more shamelessly and cruelly than in Jamaica itself, of which recent Parliamentary papers furnish abundant proof. (See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii. No. 71, p. 481, and vol. iv. No. 76, &c.) In the crown colonies, indeed, this abomination has been prohibited, not by the planters, but, in spite of their clamorous opposition, by the authoritative mandate of the supreme government.

Barbadoes stoutly maintained, that "to forbid, by legislative enactment, the flogging of female slaves, would be productive of the most injurious consequences." There are, however, *forty-one* eminent planters who vauntingly tell us, that, by the humane law of that island, women when flogged, are to be flogged *decently*, and *with the military cat*, and that "*pregnant women*" are no longer to be flogged, but merely confined. Could the most inveterate enemy of the Colonists have imagined, beforehand, that in the year 1827, such a law could have been unblushingly framed, by a body even of Barbadian legislators; and that in 1831, the humanity of it should be vindicated by *forty-one* English gentlemen? So seems to have thought the late Mr. Huskisson. In his despatch of the 18th October, 1827, he observes, that the military cat was an instrument "intended for the correction of men, in the maturity of life, guilty of serious offences. It would be most formidable, if the young, the aged, and the infirm, were to be the sufferers. In the case of females," he added, "I

should hope that *no man could seriously think of resorting to it*. The case supposed of a woman being flogged in an *indecent* manner, or of a *pregnant woman* being flogged at all, would seem to require some much more severe punishment than a fine of £10 currency." How must these Barbadian legislators, who had been flogging naked women all their days with the *cart-whip*, have laughed to scorn the squeamishness of Mr. Huskisson, and his horror of the *army cat*! So far were *they* from sympathizing with him, that they solemnly and officially declare, that to discontinue the flogging of women, would be inconsistent with "the safety of the inhabitants, the interests of property, and the welfare of the slaves themselves." And yet these men are held out to us, by the distinguished *forty-one*, as men of humanity, "*fit to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen!*"

St. Vincent, the Bahamas, and several other colonies, in respect to severity of punishment, stand precisely on the same footing as Jamaica. In some of them we have a similar affectation of *decency*, in the flogging of women, as is shewn in Barbadoes. In Grenada, St. Christopher's, and Tobago, the limitation of stripes has been reduced from thirty-nine to twenty-five; and Dominica has substituted the *cat* for the *cart-whip*. As for the laws *professed* to be passed in a few of the chartered colonies, for abolishing the driving-whip, they are nothing more than a gross attempt to blind the eyes of the British public. The remarks of Earl Bathurst, on that of St. Vincent, are applicable, with trivial variations, to all of them. "The law," he says, "is so constructed, that a free-negro may use it (the driving-whip) with impunity, and even a slave may be employed to use it, if not carried as an emblem of authority, but as a means of impelling other slaves to labour. The prohibition, too, extends only to *one* description of whip, namely, that which is usually called the cart-whip. And it is only on the plantation it is prohibited at all. In other places it may be exhibited even by a slave with impunity." (Papers by Command for 1827, p. 112.) Is it not an act of deliberate dishonesty to pass such a law as this, or to exhibit it when passed, as a law for abolishing the driving-whip?

We mean to reserve, for another occasion, some remarks we shall have to make on the gross violations of the laws humanely passed, by His Majesty's government, to regulate and restrain arbitrary punishments, which have taken place in the Crown Colonies, notwithstanding the appointment of Protectors. In the mean time, we have said enough on the subject, as it respects the chartered colonies, to invalidate the testimony of our *forty-one* West India proprietors, in favour of the humanity of the planters, and of their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen."

5. The next point in order, is "*the separation of families*." But although our *forty-one* subscribers mention the subject, by way of swelling, we presume, the number of alleged ameliorations, yet they do not pretend to affirm that any thing effectual has been done to cure this evil. All they venture to say upon it is, that "where a levy shall be made of a family or families, each family shall be sold together and in one lot." This regulation, however, is most obviously nuga-

tory, so long as *levies* are permitted without regard to family ties, and more especially, so long as there is no law to prohibit the separation of families by private sale.

Mr. Burge, the agent of Jamaica, had indeed the extraordinary hardihood, on the 15th of April last, to affirm in his place in the House of Commons, that separations by private sale were not permitted in Jamaica. But the falsehood of this assertion was completely established by Lord Howick, who exhibited an intimate acquaintance with this and other parts of the Colonial question, which, considering the short time he had been in office, excited our surprise and admiration. His Lordship challenged Mr. Burge to "point out any clause of any law, in the whole statute book of Jamaica, in which the practice in question was denounced and proscribed." Mr. Burge, unable to meet this challenge, boldly resorted to the subterfuge of saying that, "the Courts of law would set aside the sale;" but this he said without being able to produce a single instance in proof of his allegation, although the case of separation by private sales is one of constant occurrence in Jamaica. Mr. Burge too, be it remembered, was actually the Attorney General of Jamaica, and a member of its legislature, in December 1826, when it was proposed in the Assembly, by Mr. Batty, "That it shall not be lawful in cases of sale" (making no distinction between voluntary sales by the master and sales under legal process) "to separate married people from each other, or from their issue if under ten years of age, provided the parties belong to the same owner; and it shall not be lawful for any collecting constable, the provost marshal, or any of his deputies, to levy upon, or sell them separately." This clause, however, was rejected; and the only provision made on the subject was this, that on levies, in execution, 17 mothers and children under ten years of age are seized together they shall be sold together. Some of the speeches on this occasion throw much light on the state of feeling among the legislators of Jamaica. Mr. Brown said, it would be very hard upon a man who owed a small sum of £50 to have a whole family sold by the marshal. (The hardship to the slave, was made no account of.) In reply to Mr. Batty, Mr. Hilton observed (and his opinion prevailed in the assembly) "that it would be violating the rights of property to dictate to the master how he should dispose of it: he had a *right* to sell one or more of his slaves, according to his wants and inclinations, in the same way as he had to dispose of any other property. The proposed clause, therefore, he considered as an invasion of property." (Royal Gazette of Jamaica, December 1826.)

Now Mr. Burge, we should think, must have been aware of these occurrences, when, trusting to the ignorance prevailing in the House of Commons as to the details of Colonial questions, he ventured to contradict Lord Howick respecting the liability of families to be separated by private sale, or to affirm that the Courts of law in Jamaica would annul such sale. It is difficult to conceive how *he*, at least, could have uttered either the denial, or the affirmation, in ignorance of its truth or its falsehood.

But can it then be true that the different legislatures of the British

Colonies should, for eight long years, have contumaciously refused to adopt any effectual measures for rectifying this crying evil of forcibly separating husband and wife, parent and child by sale, for the convenience, or at the caprice, of an owner; and that *forty-one* English gentlemen, holding respectable stations in society, and some of them members of the British Parliament, should be found to come forward before the public to praise the humanity of such legislators, and to guarantee their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen?" Such is the fact, though it is almost too bad for belief.

6. Our *forty-one* gentlemen have taken the trouble of raising a head for "*Manumission*;" but this could not have been with any hope to establish the claim of the legislators of the West Indies, to be regarded as willing to comply with the suggestions of His Majesty's government on this point; since all they have said and done, respecting it, has only served to prove their determination wholly to refuse to the slave the right of self-redemption *invito domino*. On this subject, indeed, Mr. Burge astonished the House of Commons by boldly and broadly asserting that slaves were a freehold property, which it was *unjust* to compel a master to dispose of against his will. "This observation," said Lord Howick in his able reply, "shocked me more than I can describe. Is it not the ordinary practice of the British legislature to compel a man to dispose of his own freehold property when it is for the public convenience? Does he mean to say it is unfair to make a man part with his slave for the value of that slave, when we every day compel a man to part with his property for the mere convenience of the public? When for constructing a rail-road or a turnpike-road, we compel any man to sell property which he has neither acquired nor held by guilt, or with a shadow of injustice, and this too on the mere ground of convenience, is it to be said that we are to be barred from pursuing the same course when justice is concerned, and when the subject of compulsory sale is that which no man can have acquired, or can retain, innocently—the freedom of an unoffending slave—the birthright of every human being? I did hear with astonishment this argument of the hon. and learned gentleman, and though it excited a great sensation in the House, I wonder it was not infinitely greater."—It was impossible for any liberal mind to listen to the manly and indignant expostulation of the noble lord without a thrill of delight.

7. The next head of vindication and apology refers to the "*Evidence*" of slaves. Of the law on this general subject, as it exists in our chartered Colonies, we know not that we could give a more accurate view than will be found in our third volume, No. 65, p. 370, viz. "Of the chartered Colonies, Grenada and Tobago have admitted the evidence of slaves without restriction. In the others the restrictions imposed on that admission are of such a nature as to render their *apparent* concessions perfectly futile and valueless." Our *forty-one* gentlemen, however, seem disposed to falsify this statement. Not content with affirming the fact, which we gladly admit, of the unrestricted admission of slave evidence in Grenada and Tobago, they assert, for

example, that, by the law of St. Vincent, "Slave evidence, except against owners, is admissible, as in the case of free persons." Now that our readers may judge of the misrepresentation which is involved in that assertion, we will here transcribe Lord Bathurst's comment upon this law in his despatch of April 3, 1827, "The law (*viz.* the law of slave evidence) excludes," says his Lordship, "the evidence of unbaptized slaves, and of slaves baptized by any ministers dissenting from the established Church.—It also excludes all slaves not sufficiently known to some clergyman" (a dissenting teacher will not do) "to obtain from him a certificate of their good character and repute, and of their being sufficiently instructed in the principles of religion to understand the nature of an oath.—What is still more objectionable is the necessity of obtaining a certificate to the same effect from the proprietor or his attorney, which will prevent the slave being heard as a witness in any case where the proprietor or attorney has a motive for preventing it.—The slave cannot be admitted as a witness in any civil case, and even in criminal prosecutions, he cannot be heard against his owner, or manager, or his delegates.—The testimony of a single slave, though supported by the clearest circumstantial evidence, or even by the testimony of another witness of free condition, would not, under this act, be sufficient for a conviction.—No public record is established for registering the names of slaves competent to give evidence." (Papers by command, part ii. p. 112.) Now our *forty-one* gentlemen, though they must have been aware that the law had been thus described by His Majesty's Secretary of State, yet, without advertg to any one of the many potent objections he had urged against it, give to the legislature of St. Vincent full credit for compliance with the suggestions of the Government, and describe this evasive and futile enactment in the untrue and deceptive terms we have already quoted.\*

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\* We are here forcibly reminded of a very recent attempt, of the same kind, to mislead parliament on the subject of Colonial Slavery, made by the body of Colonial agents in this country, and of which, on account of its character, it seems desirable to preserve some reminiscence.

A paper of forty-six folio pages was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and by that House ordered to be printed, on the 28th of March, 1831, entitled, "Slave-laws: West Indies," and numbered 301. Notwithstanding its size, it passed through the press with extraordinary celerity, and was in the hands of members on the following morning. This paper was naturally presumed to be some important official document, which government had deemed it their duty to furnish, in the utmost haste, previously to the discussion on Colonial Slavery, which stood for the very day of its appearance, namely, the 29th of March. On looking beyond the first page, however, the attentive reader discovered, to his no small surprise, that this paper, though bearing, on its exterior, some marks of authority, was no *official* document, but a paper prepared by the West India agents, and having been transmitted by one of their number to Lord Goderich, was then moved for in the House of Commons, evidently in the hope that, in this transition through the colonial department, it would somehow or other acquire, in the eyes at least of superficial readers, a character of authority, and, reaching them on the very morning of the approaching debate, might influence the votes of many; while opponents would have no time to examine

Equally ineffective to its purpose is the new legislation, on the subject of slave evidence, of Jamaica, as well as that of the other Colonies, with the exceptions already mentioned. On the law respecting it in the Jamaica Act of 1826 (being the same as in the Act of 1831), Mr. Huskisson, with his characteristic good sense, thus comments: "It appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves in these cases of crimes *only* in which they are usually the actors or the sufferers,

and expose this new and artful contrivance for giving, to fallacious party statements, in official aspect. A suspicion of this kind appears to have suggested itself to the mind of Lord Goderich, and, to prevent his being implicated in a proceeding so manifestly unfair and disingenuous, he instructed Lord Howick, to give due notice of its real nature to all who might otherwise have been deceived by it. Accordingly, the pseudo-official papers published by order from Lord Howick to the Colonial Agents tell *them*, although them the House of Commons, that Lord Goderich felt it necessary "for the prevention of any possible misconception," that he should distinctly apprise them, that Lord Goderich declined to express any opinion respecting the accuracy of the various "Abstracts" which they had thus transmitted, and that his Lordship could not too distinctly explain, that they were invested with *no official authority*, but must be regarded only as expressions of the opinions of the individuals from whom they emanated.

Notwithstanding this prompt and honorable proceeding on the part of Lord Goderich, some effect might have been produced by this paper had Mr. Buxton's motion actually come on, as it was intended, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of March, but its unexpected postponement to the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, allowed the requisite time for discovering the disingenuousness of the proceeding, and for exposing the gross misrepresentations which the paper contained.

This elaborate work of these agents commences with an Abstract of the Slave Law of St. Vincent's of December, 1825, accompanied by an apparently truthful but deliberate misstatement, on the part of the framers, of the sentiments of his Majesty's Secretary of State respecting it.

"Upon this bill, the Agents state, that 'the Secretary of State for the Colonies made the following observations, in a letter to the governor of St. Vincent, dated 3<sup>rd</sup> of April, 1827. 'His Majesty has observed with satisfaction the progress made by these enactments in the measures to be taken for the improvement of the state of the slave population. Upon a review of the whole of the law, I am commanded by his Majesty to express his satisfaction with the general disposition of the council and assembly to adopt the recommendation addressed to them on this important subject.'"

Now it cannot be denied that these identical words occur in the Despatch of the Secretary of State of the 3<sup>d</sup> April 1827, (inserted in the papers presented to Parliament by his Majesty's command in 1827, part ii. pp. 110-111) one half of them being put off the first sentence at the commencement of that Despatch, and the other half part of a sentence at the close of it,—between which two detached sentences, three folio pages and a half of observations intervene, of a wholly different character, which the framers of the "Abstract" not only do not quote, but do not even allude to in the very slightest degree. Thus, therefore, do they leave, nay, almost force, the reader to infer, that they have fairly exhibited the judgment of the Secretary of State respecting this law, and that that judgment is one of unmingled approbation. Whether this was fairly intended will be best understood by looking at the intermediate observations of the noble Secretary, Lord Bathurst, consisting of a series of severe animadversions on the different clauses of the Act in question. "His Majesty," says the

excluding their evidence in other cases," (indeed in all other criminal and in all civil cases\*) "a distinction which does not seem to rest on any sound foundation.—There is not any necessary connexion between the baptism of a witness and his credibility.—The rule which requires that two slaves shall consistently depose to the same fact, on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule: In some cases, as that of rape, such a restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description.—The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to discover what solid advantage could result from it in any case.—If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the Court has no power of declaring the slave free, though it may exercise that power when it proceeds on other evidence.—Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of every motive for giving false testimony against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority.—In rejecting the proposal for a record of the names of all slaves sufficiently instructed to be compe-

noble Secretary of State, "has observed with satisfaction the progress made by these enactments, in the measures to be taken for the improvement of the state of the slave population." Thus far the quotation is correct; but the agents omit entirely the latter half of the same sentence which runs as follows:—"But it is at the same time my duty to remind you, that there are several measures which, though recommended in the instructions approved by the two Houses of Parliament, are either entirely omitted in the bill, or are imperfectly accomplished; and that, unless the legislature of St. Vincent's take them into their serious consideration, and make some further provision on these subjects, they will not have satisfied the expectations of Parliament and the public." (Papers by command, 1827. Part ii. p. 110.) Such is the whole of this garbled sentence.—Then follow the severe and lengthened animadversions to which we have alluded, and the substance of which may be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. ii, No. 29, p. 116. At the conclusion of them come the words which the agents have again garbled to make out their case of approbation by the King's Government. The words they have taken are: "Upon a review of the whole law, I am commanded by his Majesty, to express his satisfaction with the general disposition of the Council and Assembly to adopt the recommendations which have been addressed to them on this important subject." What follows of the sentence the agents have prudently suppressed; namely, "But I have it further in command to signify to you, that his Majesty's expectations will not be satisfied until the law has been revised and amended with reference to the observations contained in my present despatch." (Ibid.) But this is only one of a multitude of apparently studied misrepresentations which this pretended "Abstract" contains;—a charge we are perfectly ready to substantiate, when called upon to do so.

\* The only crimes even, in the trial of which their hampered and restricted evidence can be given, are, murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion, treason, rape; mutilating, dismembering, branding, or cruelly treating a slave; seditious meetings, and the harbouring of runaways.

tent witnesses, the legislature appear to have neglected the means of providing a cheap and effectual encouragement to good conduct, and of investing the religious teachers of slaves with a powerful and legitimate influence over them."

With such unanswerable objections to the wisdom and efficiency of this law, the West Indians have little reason to boast of it. But they give also an untrue view of its provisions. They say of it that it admits the evidence of slaves in *all* criminal cases against all persons; whereas it only admits that evidence in *some* cases; and they wholly omit to mention some of the most injurious of the restrictions specified by Mr. Huskisson.—Certainly the Jamaica Assembly furnish no proof, in this act of legislation, which has been the subject of their renewed deliberation for five or six years, of their "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen."—What hope, moreover, can exist of a pure and effective administration of justice, where nine-tenths of the community are placed under so many harassing and degrading distinctions, as to their right of giving evidence in Courts of justice? And yet such is the strange perverseness of our Colonial legislators that their laws admit the evidence of a single slave, unbaptized and unsworn, to convict a fellow slave even in capital cases, and to doom him to die by the hand of the executioner.

8. The representations of the *forty-one* distinguished individuals who have come forward on this occasion, are, if possible, still more wide of the truth, under the next head of pretended reform, namely, the slave's "*Right of property and Right of action.*" Their statement, in the case of St. Vincent, for example, is as follows: and as it varies little from their corresponding statements respecting Jamaica and the other chartered colonies, we may take it as the basis of our remarks:—

§ 5. "Secures to slaves the possession of personal property,\* and guards against its invasion by a fine of £10 (currency), over and above the property taken from them."

To exhibit the whole deceptiveness of this statement, it will be necessary to transcribe the very words of this fifth clause, differing in nothing material from the corresponding clause in the Acts of Jamaica and of other colonies.

"*And whereas by the usage of these Islands slaves have been permitted to acquire, hold, and enjoy personal property, free from the control or interference of their owners; and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be continued and established by law; he it therefore enacted, That if any owner or possessor of any slave, or any other person whatsoever, shall unlawfully take away from any slave, or in any way deprive, or cause him to be deprived, of any species of personal property by him lawfully possessed or acquired; such person shall forfeit and pay the sum of £10, over and above the value of any such property, so taken away as aforesaid; the same to*

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\* Under the head of Jamaica, the "Abstract" says, that the law "establishes the right of slaves to personal property." The two statements are substantially the same.

be recovered by warrant under the hand and seal of the justice of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved."

That the full measure of the evasion, deliberately practised in this enactment, may be duly appreciated by the reader, it will be proper to place in juxtaposition the 24th clause of the Trinidad Order of March, 1824, which was evidently before the eyes of the legislature of St. Vincent's, as well as before the eyes of the legislatures of the other Colonies, at the time their new Acts were framed.

§ 24. "*And whereas by the usage of Trinidad slaves have hitherto been reputed competent in the law, and have in fact been permitted to acquire, hold, and enjoy property, free from the control or interference of their owners; and it is expedient that the said laudable custom should be recognized and established by law, and that provision should be made for enabling such slaves to invest such their property on good security; be it therefore ordered, that no person in the Island of Trinidad, being in a state of slavery, shall be, or be deemed, or taken to be, by reason or on account of such his condition, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, and dispose of property; but every such slave shall, and is hereby declared to be, competent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, enjoy, alienate, and dispose of lands, or money, cattle, implements or utensils of husbandry, or household furniture or other effects of such or the like nature, of what value or amount soever; and to bring, maintain, prosecute and defend any suit or action, in any court of justice, for or in respect of such property, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes, as if he were of free condition.*" And by another clause (§ 8.) the Protector is empowered and required in all such cases to act for the slave and on his behalf. (Papers by command, 1824, p. 151.)

The corresponding terms in the two enactments are given in italics: a perusal of the whole will, therefore, at once exhibit, in full view, the evasive tenor of the affected imitation of the Trinidad law on this subject.

For the deceptive preamble to this enactment the legislatures of the chartered colonies stand, in some measure, excused by the example of the Trinidad Code. But that the statement it contains is incorrect, is abundantly proved by the official Report of His Majesty's Commissioner of Legal Inquiry, Mr. Dwarries, himself a considerable proprietor of slaves in Jamaica. That gentleman tells us, that neither in Barbadoes, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, nor Tortola, the nine islands he visited, can slaves acquire any property *by law*, except for the benefit of their masters; nor can they claim any redress for injuries done them, either by their master, or his delegate, or even by third parties, except through the master.\* And when in the last of his Reports, the third, at p. 106,

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\* See Mr. Dwarries's First Report, No. 587 of 1824; pp. 67, 90, 222, 223. Second Report, No. 276 of 1826, pp. 250, 251, 252. Third Report, No. 36 of 1826—7, pp. 13, 87.

he comes to sum up the whole of the evidence respecting the slave's legal rights of property, he thus expresses himself: "The slaves now labour under prodigious disadvantages. A slave is under a personal disability, and cannot sue in any court of law or equity, not even in respect of injuries done to him by other slaves. A slave cannot prosecute in the criminal courts. A slave cannot enter into a recognizance." "Slave evidence is not admitted against freemen, white or black, even against wrong-doers. In those cases," (namely, against fellow-slaves,) "where slave evidence is admitted, it very often is not upon oath." "If the property of a slave is taken from him, he cannot personally seek redress. His master, it is said, *may* bring trespass. This, however, is very insufficient; for he also *may not*; and if he does, and none but slaves are present at the infliction of the injury, as is likely to be the case, there is no satisfactory proof of the fact. The owner, suing for his slave, must establish his case by competent evidence, and cannot prove the fact by persons under legal disabilities." Mr. Dwarris then goes on to prove, by other considerations, that from the non-admissibility of slave evidence, "the slave is left defenceless," and concludes the whole thus: "From *all* we saw in *all* the islands, it was the *firm conviction* of His Majesty's Commissioners, that the foundation of every improvement, both as regards the white and black population of these colonies, must be laid in an improved administration of justice, and in the admission of slave evidence."\*

It may even be true, that in many, if not most cases, the slaves are allowed to enjoy their *peculium* without direct control or interference; but this by no means affects the question of *law*. And, as Mr. Dwarris himself properly intimates, the question for the legislator is not what is done, but what *may* be done, in a case of this description. And that it is always in the power of the master, and may often be in his inclination, to disturb his slave's enjoyment of property, is unquestionable. He may do so every time he chooses to sell his slave, or to permit him (a very frequent occurrence) to be levied upon for debt or for taxes. He does so whenever he drives him, by severity, to run away, or whenever, by engrossing his time, he deprives him of the power of attending to his stock or to his grounds. He *may*, and often does, take from him his grounds, and he *may*, and often does, kill his stock, without the possibility of redress. (See House-of-Commons Papers for 1825, No. 476, p. 45, and for 1826, No. 401, p. 17.) In the Report of the Berbice Fiscal, we find the slaves of an estate complaining that the overseer had killed all their hogs.

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\* Even in Trinidad, before the new Code of 1824 was framed, this same gentleman and Mr. Jabez Henry, acting as Commissioners of Legal Inquiry in that Island, had ascertained as follows: 'The judge of criminal inquiry said, that a slave *could* acquire property for his own benefit;' but the chief justice was of a contrary opinion; for he said, '*a slave cannot*, by the Spanish law, acquire any property, except for the benefit of his master.' 'In case of property in the possession of a slave, whether belonging to himself or his master, being wrongfully taken from him, it is only recoverable by the owner.' (House-of-Commons Papers for 1827, No. 551, p. 29.)

One man, Leander, had ten hogs killed at one time by the manager, and for complaining of this act he was put in the stocks. The Fiscal, to whom Leander complained, regrets this harsh proceeding; which he does not however punish or redress, but rather extenuates. Here we have, probably, the accumulations of Leander's whole life destroyed, in one hour, by the merciless and irresistible act of the petty despot of the plantation; and for this injury there was no redress! —(*Ibid.*)

But besides the insecurity of his property, (for property must necessarily always be insecure in those circumstances of personal dependence and civil disability under which the slave is placed,) the slave is actually prohibited, even by this vaunted law of St. Vincent, §§ 81 and 82, from dealing in "sugar, cotton, rum, molasses, cocoa, coffee, or other goods or merchandize of any sort, except firewood, fish, poultry, goats, hogs, grass, fruit and vegetables."\* Indeed, in the colonies having legislatures of their own, the clauses that have been introduced into their new codes, on the subject of the property of slaves, are no more than an evasion of the recommendations of His Majesty. They set out, in general, with a preamble, like that of St. Vincent, affirming that, by custom, slaves have been allowed to possess and enjoy personal property. After this preamble, it might have been expected, that that would have been made their right by law, which, it is stated, had formerly been enjoyed by permission and sufferance. The enactment which generally follows, however, is, not that such custom shall be established by law, but that if any master, or other person, shall unlawfully take away from a slave, or deprive him of, what he may be lawfully possessed of, such person (not shall be punished as a felon, but) shall forfeit ten pounds currency (less than five pounds sterling), over and above the value of the property. We are not even told how a slave may lawfully possess property, nor is any legal title to it conferred upon him. No means of suit are afforded him, and he is generally debarred from giving evidence in all civil actions. In short, with scarcely an exception, the provisions on this point are, it is again maintained, a mere evasion of the king's recommendation, and leave the slave in the same helpless and unprotected state, as to all essential rights of property, as he was before those provisions were enacted.

The insidious clause which we have quoted from the St. Vincent's Act, on the subject of the slave's rights of property, and which is nearly word for word the same as that of Jamaica, obviously effects a complete revolution in the laws of theft and robbery, as they respect the property of a slave, which would, of itself, be fatal to his security. But the slave possesses, by law, no rights of property, for most assuredly this clause gives him none; while it effectually excludes him by its very terms from acquiring any interest in land,—a restriction which is at once harsh, impolitic, and unnecessary.

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\* The law is nearly the same in all the colonies, whether crown or chartered; and a most iniquitous law it is, independently of its being inconsistent with any valuable right of property in the slave.

Of Jamaica it is further affirmed, by our *forty-one* West Indians, that § 16, "secures to slaves the right to receive bequests of private property." Never was there a clause framed which more strikingly exemplifies the evasive spirit of colonial legislation than this; for to the barren recognition of the right in question is annexed the following sweeping proviso:—"Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorise the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity, for the recovery of such legacy, or to render it necessary to make any slave a defendant in a suit of equity." And even the law of Tobago on this point, though it advances more nearly than any other to the model of the Crown Colonies, yet is rendered almost equally inoperative with that of Jamaica, by the want of a Protector, or of any authorised channel for vindicating the slave's rights of property.

Surely, surely, here are no proofs either of the *humanity* of the planters, or of their alleged "fitness to make laws for the benefit of their bondsmen," but proof enough of studied evasion, and of deliberate and flagrant misrepresentation.

9. The only remaining head of the "Abstract" drawn up by these *forty-one* gentlemen, which it remains for us formally to notice, in the way of exposure and refutation, bears the title of "*Legal Protection.*"

The Secretary of state had required, as the only effectual means of securing "legal protection" to the slaves, that a Protector and Guardian of slaves should be appointed, who should not be a proprietor of slaves, or interested in slave property. The fulfilment of this proposal is thus announced in the "Abstract." St. Vincent, § 25:—"Magistrates, a Council of Protection. On receiving information of ill-treatment of slaves, they are bound to inquire, and, if the complaint be well founded, to prosecute." Jamaica, § 33:—"In cases of maltreatment of slaves, 'Justices and vestry to be a council of protection to prosecute offenders,'—and so with slight variations in other colonies.

It seems scarcely necessary to expose this stale and idle pretence, this mockery, of protection, by which the very persons to be guarded against, the owners or managers of estates, are themselves constituted the legal guardians of the slaves. Indeed the very clauses which are here referred to, and which also are not new but old laws, are so feebly and inadequately framed, as rather to deprive the slave of the means of protection, than to secure it for him. In case any justice of the peace shall receive a complaint that any slave has been wantonly or improperly punished, then such justice may associate to himself another justice, who may proceed to inquire, &c.; and having inquired, and found the complaint true, "it shall be the duty of such justices, and they are required, to prosecute the offender according to law;" or, if the complaint be found groundless, to punish the complainant with thirty-nine lashes, &c.: and all this is to be done by these two justices without penalty, or responsibility, or record, or report whatsoever. Was there ever such a barefaced imposition on parliament and the public as to call this protection? To prove this, it would be sufficient to refer to the uniform principle

maintained by government, of placing, in all the Crown Colonies, the office of Guardian and Protector of slaves solely in the hands of men disconnected with slavery.

But let us hear the judgment of Mr. Commissioner Dwaris, when speaking of this very clause; for it stood in the St. Vincent's Act of 1821, as it does in that of 1825, and in the Jamaica Act of 1816, as in that of 1831. There is "no other magistracy, board, or council, to discharge the delicate duty of investigating the complaints of slaves (whether of cruelty, oppression, excess of work, or subtraction or deficiency of food or clothing,) *except the attorneys or managers of estates.*" Hence the salutary provisions of the Slave Act are in danger of being rendered ineffectual." (House-of-Commons Papers, No. 276 of 1826, p. 24.)—One magistrate testifies to the commissioner, that he recollected only two complaints of slaves for ill-usage in three years. (Ib. p. 23.) Can this be matter of surprise, when thirty-nine lashes are ready for the unsuccessful complainant?

It is impossible to place in a clearer light, the uselessness of such provisions as those which are now boasted of by our *forty-one* subscribers to the manifesto, than has been done by Mr. Huskisson in his despatch of September 22, 1827. "The council of protection," he says, "cannot be considered an effectual substitute for the office of a distinct and independent protector. It will consist of those individuals over whom the protector was to exercise his superintendence. Their duties are limited to the single case of extreme bodily injury, and are to be discharged only if they think proper. The periodical returns required from the protector upon oath are not to be made by this council, nor are they even bound to keep a record of their proceedings. No provision is made for executing the duties of the office in different parts of the colony, on fixed and uniform principles; and the number of persons united in this trust is such as to destroy the sense of personal and individual responsibility."

The truth is, that Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Vincent, and the other colonies, under the name of *legal protection* to the slaves, have actually contrived to give protection and immunity to the oppressors of the slaves. Against whom is protection for the slaves required? Is it not against their masters and managers? But to whom is their protection confided by the legislatures of Jamaica, &c.? To these very masters and managers, who, in fact, compose the entire of the magistracy, and of the parish vestries. Surely the *term* protection does not necessarily involve the *principle* of protection. On the contrary, it involves, under the laws we are considering, the extinction of that principle: for if the purpose had been to divest the slaves of all protection, no more effectual device could have been framed for accomplishing that object, than the insidious enactment in question.

Nor, we apprehend, are we singular in this opinion. If we mistake not, such is the clear and unambiguous judgment of Lord Howick, as expressed in his powerful speech, on the 15th of April last, in reply to Mr. Burge, the late Attorney General and the present agent of Jamaica, and one of the avowed framers of one at least of the fallacious abstracts we have been examining. "Of the many extraordinary

propositions,' (proceeding from Mr Bugee,) "none astonished me so much," said his lordship, "as the remark that in Jamaica the council of protection answered the same purposes as 'a protector,' for I thought I knew, on very competent authority, that councils of protection were no substitute for the office of protector, as established in the Crown Colonies. It so happens that in the year 1826, Lord Bathurst sent out the heads of certain bills, formed on the order in council, which he wished to be regularly drawn up by the law officers of the crown, and laid before the different Assemblies. To the draft of a bill appointing a protector, which was accordingly prepared by the law officers of Jamaica, was appended the following note signed by William Bugee, Attorney General, and Hugo James, Advocate General: 'We have not considered ourselves called upon to notice in the draft of this bill, either by way of repeal or otherwise, that part of the 25th section of the consolidated slave law, which constitutes the justices and vestry of each parish a council of protection, because the duties assigned to that body are of a nature perfectly distinct from those which are committed to the protector and guardian of slaves by the provisions of this bill.' I fully concur," added his lordship, "in this opinion, and I think it most able and just. A council of protection is a mere device for dividing the responsibility among a number of individuals. It is a protection to the oppressor, not to the oppressed. A numerous council of planters can venture to stifle prosecutions which would be instituted were the responsibility of refusing to do so to rest on a single individual only. I firmly believe that in the case of Kitty Hilton, a case which I have recently been compelled to lay on the table of the House with mingled feelings of regret and shame and horror, I firmly believe that no one of those individuals who voted as members of the council of protection, and, by a large majority, declined a prosecution would have come to such a decision if he had been called upon singly to pronounce upon the case. He would have feared to meet the undivided responsibility."

But be it remembered that Kitty Hilton's case is but one out of many which have lately encumbered the table of the House of Commons, in proof of the utter worthlessness of these boasted councils of protection, and of the utter unfitness therefore of the planters to make laws for the benefit of their slaves. We will not now enter further into them than to refer the reader to the following passages which have recently appeared in the Anti Slavery Reporter, viz. vol. iii. No 64, p 341 and 345, No 66, p 373, No 68, p 416 and 419, No 69, p 420—441, No 71, p 481—495,—vol. iv. No 76, p. 134—136, and No 79, p 246.

But this is not all. Every packet which arrives from the western world comes fraught with fresh tidings of horror to the same effect, and the difficulty we now feel pressing upon us is to find time and space for communicating to our readers the accumulated proofs of the inveterate and incurable evils of slavery, and especially of that state of utter destitution of *legal protection*, in which the slaves are unhappily placed, by leaving the work of legislating for them, a work

for which parliament alone is competent, to be performed by the planters.

We have thus gone through the principal heads of the "Abstract" on which the West Indians found their claim, not only to the forbearance but to the confidence of the parliament and people of England, and we think we have proved that it is so far from supporting that claim, that it furnishes the very strongest demonstration of the unfitness of the planters to legislate for their slaves, and that it is only by the direct intervention of Parliament that any effectual remedy can be applied to the evils of colonial bondage. And yet we have left wholly unnoticed a multitude of misstatements contained in this Abstract, which are either the blunders of ignorance, or the wilful perversions of fact. It would be endless to notice even a tythe of these. On a future occasion we may resume the subject.

But before we conclude, we are anxious to remind our readers that this "Abstract" exhibits to them only what our *forty-one* gentlemen deem the favourable side of West Indian legislation. We cannot commend their taste, indeed, in the selection. Still their object was to give us a succinct view of those Colonial improvements;—of those beauties in short of Colonial legislation, which raise the slave's enjoyments far above those of the British peasant, and which are to serve as convincing proofs that the West Indians were maligned and slandered by the Anti-Slavery Society when it pronounced them "unfit and unwilling to frame laws for the benefit of their bondsmen," and affirmed that it was a task which could only be effectually accomplished "by the direct intervention of Parliament." Had they chosen to give, not only what they regard as the light side of the picture but the dark side also; to give in short, a just, impartial, and unsophisticated whole length portrait, as it were, of the entire legal condition and liabilities of the Colonial slave, it would form a pretty exact counterpart, or rather amplification, of another Manifesto, namely, the Anti-Slavery Manifesto, dated the 1st of October, 1830, entitled "a Brief View of the nature and effects of Negro Slavery as it exists in the Colonies," with copies of which the *forty-one* authors of the West Indian Manifesto may be supplied on application at the Anti-Slavery office.

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*This and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their Office, 48, Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatfield's, 187, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depôts of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*









